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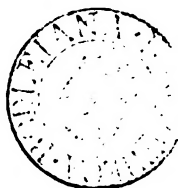
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BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW.

JANUARY 1870.

ART. I.—*The Jewish Synagogue.*

Synagoga Judaica, hoc est, Schola Judaeorum, in qua nativitas, institutio, religio, vita, mors, sepulturaque ipsorum e libris eorundem, M. JOHANNE BUXTORFIO literarum Hebraearum in inclita Academia Basiliensi Professore, graphice descripta est. Addita est mox per eundem Judaei cum Christiano disputatio de Messia nostro. Quae utraque Germanica nunc Latine reddita sunt opera et studio M. Hermannii Germbergii. Accessit Ludovici Carreti epistola, de conversione ejus ad Christum, per eundem ex Hebraeo Latine conversa. Hanoviae, apud Gulielmum Antonium. MDCIV.

JOHANNIS BUXTORFI *Synagoga Judaica*, auspiciis authoris jam olim Latinitate donata, nunc primum in vulgus emissa. Basileae, impensis Ludovici König. MDCXLI.

IT is now some years since we first visited the old city of Basle, in the calm peacefulness of an autumn evening: the full waters of the river were flowing past in unruffled majesty; the sun was setting behind the woods and knolls and picturesque landscape of Alsace, shedding a stream of glory on the peaks of Jura, and casting its splendours on the hills and sombre scenery of the Black Forest. There was a meditative silence and solemnity in the scene, as we stood on the left bank of the Rhine, and entered within the precincts of the Münster, the cathedral of the city, celebrated by the labours or hallowed by the ashes of Reuchlin, and Erasmus, Ecolampadius, and Grynaeus, the Bernoullis, and the Buxtorfs.

It has been repeatedly observed, that there is a hereditary genius in certain families. In our own country, the Gregories,

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James the uncle, and David, James, and Charles the nephews, excelled in mathematics; the Bernoullis, James and John the brothers, and Daniel the son of the latter, with a fine mental idiosyncrasy, going forth in the same direction, did for Switzerland what the Gregories did for Scotland; and, as fellow-citizens of the Bernoullis, the Buxtorfs, John the father, John the son, John-James the grandson, and John the nephew of the last, stand out, names as great and distinguished in Hebrew literature, as the Bernoullis in abstract science.

The *Synagoga Judaica* is the work of John Buxtorf, who, born at Camen in Westphalia in 1564, and settling down as Professor of Hebrew in Basle, is the founder of a family that successively have been the lights of Jewish learning, criticism, and lexicography, during a period of not less than two centuries. The *Synagoga Judaica* was first published in German at Basle, in 1603. It was then translated into Latin by Hermann Germberg, rector of the Academy of Corbach, the capital of Waldeck, in the circle of the Upper Rhine; and published at Hanau, in Wetteravia, in 1604 and 1622. It appeared in Flemish at Amsterdam, in 1650. A new Latin translation, which was executed by David le Clerc, Hebrew Professor at Geneva, and John Buxtorf, the son of the author, was published at Basle in 1641; and, again, revised and corrected by James, the author's grand-nephew, it was published in the same place in 1682. Of those editions, that of 1604, and that of 1641, are now before us. The former, that of Germberg, in clear and easy Latin; the latter, that of Le Clerc and the younger Buxtorf, in the same language, in a style more complicated and ambitious, interspersed occasionally with criticisms, and imbued with a spirit of anti-judaic sarcasm, in which, certainly with no injury to the Christian argument, it would have been more seemly not to indulge.

The *Synagoga Judaica*, a small octavo or duodecimo of not more than five hundred pages, or at the most under seven hundred, is in many respects a great work. Consisting of thirty-six chapters, drawn from Biblical, Talmudic, and Rabbinical sources, it is a rich and authentic repertory of the usages and customs and antiquities of the Jews; we know of nothing in so small a compass that is, in point of information, so full and comprehensive, so interesting and satisfactory, so curious and amusing, and yet by turns so sad and melancholy; we seem at times to rise from the ludicrous jollity of a play of Plautus, and then to be absorbed in the deep pathos of a drama of Euripides. Here we have laid before us the articles of Jewish faith, or Creed of Modern Judaism, the birth and up-bringing of the Jews, their training and instruction in piety; the niceties of their toilet and morning prayers, their exercises

in the synagogue, their conduct after morning prayers, and preparation for dinner; their usages when at table, their evening prayers and retirement to rest, their mode of worship on Mondays and Thursdays; their observance of the Sabbath, how they begin and end it; their mode of observing the feast of the Passover, its seven days' observance, its beginning and close, the feast of Pentecost, that of Tabernacles, and of the new moon; how the Jews prepare themselves for the festival of the opening year, and how they celebrate it; how they prepare themselves for the feast of expiation, with some unusual rites; how they hold the festival of gladness for the law, and the manner in which ecclesiastical offices are distributed, the feast of dedication and of Purim, the observation of fasts, distinctions in food, its preparation and culinary vessels; the laws of marriage and divorce, the peculiarity of a woman marrying her brother-in-law, ceremonial pollutions and local affections, Jewish poverty and mendicity, diseases of the Jews, certain punishments inflicted upon offenders, customs in relation to the sick and the burial of the dead; and then the notions of the Hebrew nation in reference to the Messiah whom they expect still to come.

Such are the topics discussed with great precision and minuteness in this work of rare and multifarious erudition,—themes of no passing or trivial importance, presented with a strong claim on the attention of the sage, the antiquarian, and the Christian. “An inquiry into the peculiarities of the Mosaic laws,” says Spencer, “deservedly commends itself, on the ground of its attractiveness. For, if the laws of Athens, and Rome, and others, venerable on account of their antiquity and wisdom, afford so great an attraction to the sons of wisdom, it must be that we are at once ridiculously foolish and impious if we should be able to peruse these divine laws, unmoved by any pleasure. If we pursue with such eager eyes the fleeting forms of ancient statues, if touched with a certain reverence we contemplate the ruins of an old monument or city, if we purchase at so great a price brazen coins bearing the face of a Cæsar or an Alexander, if imbued with so much delight, we discover the origins of ancient nations or antiquated words, rescued from the darkness of antiquity, shall we be so silly as to pass by in a perfunctory manner the most ancient laws of the Hebrews, and suppose that they can recompense our attention with no pleasure? Scäliger derived so great pleasure from the knowledge of Roman laws and customs, that he hesitated not to say, ‘If the knowledge of Roman antiquity is of no use, I do not see of what use to us letters are.’ But he would have been much nearer the truth, if he had said, letters are of no use if there be no use in the knowledge of Jewish

antiquity, far surpassing that of Rome, at once in point of time and of dignity. But not only the antiquity, but also the hidden wisdom of the Mosaic laws will supply the student with great delight. For, if we look at those laws and rites with attentive and clear eyes, we shall easily perceive certain truths, natural, moral, and evangelical, often lying hid under the outer rind of the Mosaic dispensation. If we are, therefore, instigated by an almost insatiable thirst to examine the mysteries of the Chaldees, the Egyptians, and other ancient nations; if we torture, with sundry and anxious conjectures, the obelisks of the Egyptians, and the magical shapes of animals that they bear, that they may disclose to us the sacred mysteries which they conceal; much more, it must be, that we should know the very institutions of God, not unfrequently pregnant with mysteries, unless we have a vitiated taste, or think that the pearl of wisdom may be sooner found in the dung-hill of heathen dogmas and institutions, than in the treasury of the divine law. If any one well disposed will come to the study of this law, it will undoubtedly be pleasant to contemplate the mysteries of our faith, here and there transparent through the intermediate shadows of Jewish rites, and in them, revealed in some ruder draughts, the Messiah who was about to come. It will also be delightful to perceive the Church uttering her voice, as it were from her first cradle, and apprehend the means or steps by which the light of the gospel, from the first dawn of the Mosaic ritual, advanced to this full blaze of meridian splendour.”*

So far the elegant author of the famous work “*De legibus Hebræorum*” speaks well, and to the purpose. There can be no doubt that the Hebrew ritual, the *lex scripta*, as given by Moses, is a glorious hieroglyphic, a hidden wisdom, a marvellous theosophy, containing under it a still more wonderful reality, the wisdom of God in a mystery, the germ and incipient blossom of the everlasting gospel. But the Hebrew ritual, the *lex oralis*, *thorah shebeal peh*, as given by the Rabbis, is a curious conglomerate of all imaginery things, where strange customs and outlandish rites have been thrown together with things of a sacred origin, and having the name of Moses inscribed upon them, like the name of Hermes on an Athenian statue, opens up sights rare and mystical, but the true are mingled with the false. It is with this latter ritual that we have to do in the pages of the *Synagoga Judaica*. Paganism has in it some truth; but it holds error in strong solution: modern Judaism has in it a larger portion of truth; but, in

* *De legibus Hebræorum ritualibus, et earum rationibus, libri tres.* authore Joanne Spencer, S. T. P. Cap. 3, Sect. 1.

many respects, it has absorbed Paganism to no small extent, whilst sometimes it borrows from Popery, and, at other times, Popery borrows from it. Amidst so great a variety of subjects so closely connected with, or decidedly opposed to, the verities of the Christian faith, and which have been severally examined and discussed by divines and legislators and philosophers of very different schools, and in ages at once recent and remote, there are some of the peculiar dogmas and usages of the modern Jews to which we would specially advert.

The principles of the Jewish faith, as held by the Jews at the present day, were reduced to the form of a creed by the celebrated Rabbi Mosche bar Maimon, who died, according to the Jewish computation, in the year of the world 4964, that is, in the year 1104 of the Christian era. Those fundamental principles, *ikkarim*, as they are called, are found in the common prayer-books of the Jews; they are compactly and guardedly expressed, and might, at first glance, be regarded merely as an exhibition of negative theology; but, on nearer inspection, it will be seen that they embody a covert protest against Christianity. For as the creed of Pope Pius IV., embodying some great truths, and adding some great errors, is to be looked at in connection with the light of the doctrines of the Reformation, which it was designed to counteract, so the creed of Maimonides is to be considered as a stern substantive disclaimer of the distinctive principles of the Christian faith, in respect to the incarnation and sacrifice of Christ, as revealed in the Scriptures of the New Testament. The articles of the Jewish creed are thirteen in number, and are as follow:—

1. "I believe with a perfect faith that the Creator (blessed be His name!) is the Governor and Creator of all created things, and that He alone hath made, is making, and will make all productions." This article is designed to exclude the Lord Jesus Christ as Creator of "all things visible and invisible." (Colos. i. 16.)

2. "I believe with a perfect faith that the Creator (blessed be His name!) is one, and that there is no unity like his in any respect, and that He alone has been, is, and shall be our God." This article is, in like manner, meant to strike against the doctrine of the Trinity, as held by Christians, viz., three persons or subsistencies in one eternal essence.

3. "I believe with a perfect faith that the Creator (blessed be His name!) is not corporeal, and that attributes of body do not appertain to Him, and that there is no likeness to Him whatever." This article manifestly goes to deny the incarnation of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, Emmanuel. (Isa. vii. 14; Matt. i. 20–25.)

4. "I believe with a perfect faith that the Creator (blessed be His name!) is the First and the Last." This article indirectly implies that Jesus Christ our Lord is not "the Alpha and Omega, the begin-

ning and the ending which is, and which was, and which is to come, —the Almighty." (Rev. i. 8.)

5. "I believe with a perfect faith that the Creator (blessed be His name!) is alone worthy to be worshipped, and that there is none worthy to be worshipped besides Him." This article is designed to deny that all men are to honour the Son, even as they honour the Father." (John v. 23.)

6. "I believe with a perfect faith that all the words of the prophets are truth." This article is designed to ignore the inspired penmen of the New Testament Scriptures.

7. "I believe with a perfect faith that the prophecies of Moses our Master (upon him be peace!) are true, and that he is the Father of all the wise men that precede and that follow him." This article is designed to uphold the Hebrew ritual as a "middle wall of partition" that shall never "be broken down." (Eph. ii. 14.) Making the Jewish law-giver greater than all that precede or follow him, it exalts Moses above the Messiah.

8. "I believe with a perfect faith that the whole law which is found this day in our hands was given to Moses our Master (upon him be peace!)." This article establishes the oral law as well as the written law.

9. "I believe with a perfect faith that this law shall never be changed, and that there will not be another law from the Creator (blessed be His name!)." This article maintains the eternity of the law or Mosaic dispensation, and denies the revelation of the New Testament.

10. "I believe with a perfect faith that the Creator (blessed be His name!) knoweth every action of the sons of men, and all their thoughts; as it is said, He fashioneth all their hearts, and considereth all their works." This article, taken along with the first, is designed to ignore the fact that "all the churches shall know that Christ is He who searcheth the reins and hearts." (Rev. ii. 23.)

11. "I believe with a perfect faith that the Creator (blessed be His name!) rewardeth good to him who keepeth His commandments, and that him who transgresseth His commandments He will punish." This article is designed to deny that "by grace we are saved through faith, and that not of ourselves: it is the gift of God" (Ephes. ii. 8), whilst otherwise, no doubt, the article may be understood in a sound sense.

12. "I believe with a perfect faith in the coming of the Messiah; and although He delay, yet I will wait for Him every day until He come." This article, whilst holding the fact of Christ's future coming, ignores the fact that He hath already come.

13. "I believe with a perfect faith that there shall be a resurrection of the dead at the time in which the purpose shall go forth from the Creator (blessed be His name, and exalted be His memorial for ever and ever!)." This article, taken in connection with the first, ignores the fact that Christ is "the resurrection and the life" (John ii. 25), and that, "as the Father raiseth up the dead, and quickeneth them, even so the Son quickeneth whom He will." (John v. 21.)

In regard to this creed, it will be observed as somewhat remarkable, that amidst the doubt and darkness of modern Judaism, through hopes deferred and centuries of procrastination, there is the profession of "a perfect faith" prefixed to each article: (alas, for the firmness of that faith's assertion!) and, what is equally remarkable, notwithstanding the deeply sacrificial character of the Mosaic economy, and the frequent mention of ransom, and redemption, and Redeemer in the Hebrew Scriptures, there is no direct reference to the blood of atonement, no ground of a sinner's hope, decidedly pronounced, in this rabbinical creed. But, the human soul, conscious of guilt, yearns for some atoning sacrifice; and the modern Jews, rejecting the great sacrifice which brought in "everlasting righteousness," have here fallen into a most mournful practice for the expiation of sin:—

"On the ninth day" of Tishri the seventh month, "the Jews rise early and go into the synagogue, and sing and pray much. But, as soon as they have returned home, all the males, both boys and men, take each a cock in their hands, the women a hen, those that are *enceintes*, both a cock and a hen. Then the father of the family, with a cock in his hands, comes forward first into the midst, and from the Psalms of David recites these words: 'Fools because of their transgression, and because of their iniquities, are afflicted. Their soul abhorreth all manner of meat; and they draw near unto the gates of death. Then they cry unto the Lord in their trouble, and he saveth them out of their distresses. He sends his word and heals them, and delivers them from their destructions. Let them praise, therefore, the Lord for his goodness, and for his wonderful works to the children of men. And let them sacrifice the sacrifices of thanksgiving, and declare his works with rejoicing' (Ps. cvii. 17–22). He then adds from the book of Job, 'If there be a messenger with him, an interpreter, one among a thousand to shew unto man his uprightness; then he is gracious unto him, and saith, Deliver him from going down to the pit; I have found a ransom' (Job xxxiii. 23, 24), namely, this cock, which will be my *capparah*, or reconciliation, thus expiating my sins. Accordingly, he commences the expiation, and three times waves the cock about his head, and each time repeats these words: 'May this cock be a substitution for me; may it come in my stead; may it be an expiation for me; let this cock be devoted to death, but let there be a happy life to me and unto all Israel. Amen.' This the father of the family goes through three times in order, namely, for himself, for his children, and for strangers who are with him; as the High Priest, under the Old Testament, also made expiation, as we read in the book of Leviticus (chap. xvi. 17.) Then proceeding to slaughter the cock, whilst he draws and gripes, in the first instance, the skin at the cock's neck, he ponders in his own mind that he himself deserves to be strangled; next, he cuts the cock's throat with a small knife, revolving again with himself, that he himself deserves to be killed with the sword; still farther, he quickly dashes out of his

hands the cock with violence to the earth, to denote by that action, that he himself deserves to be stoned to death ; last of all, he roasts the cock, that by doing so, he may intimate, that he himself deserves to be burnt alive. And thus a cock is devoted to bear those four sorts of death for the Jews.*

O thou Saviour of men, Lord Jesus, have compassion upon them !

And yet, sad as this exhibition is, there are not awanting instances of customs which, if not so melancholy, are still as far removed from "the Scripture of truth." We are about to refer to a practice detailed in the present work, which, if it did not excite sorrow, might be apt to move a smile at the weakness of our common humanity.

Antecedently to the feast of Tabernacles, which begins on the fifteenth day of the seventh month (Leviticus xxiii. 34), there is a species of divination exercised by the Jews:—

Commenting on the fourteenth chapter of the book of Numbers, Ramban, Rakanat, Bechai, and many other rabbis, do not hesitate here to say, that on the night of the seventh day of the seventh month, God reveals by moonlight the events about to take place during the entire course of the year immediately following that day. The mode of procedure is this : At night, they go forth under the light of the moon ; some, with a bare head ; some, with nothing on but a shift ; some, with not even a shred ; or, with a coverlet thrown over them, which allowing to fall to the ground, they stretch out their hands and arms from their body. If in the shadow thrown from their body by the light of the moon, the head be awanting, this want of the head is ominous to the diviner, portending that within that year he shall without doubt lose his head, or die. But, if in the shadow of any one, a finger be awanting, that defect is a certain sign that one of his friends shall, during the year, pass away from this mortal life. But, if in the shadow the right hand be awanting, that is a prognostication that the death of a son is certain. But, if in this mystic shadow any one's left hand should be awanting, that is a proof, that during this same year his daughter shall meet with her death. But, if any one can see no shadow of himself at all, then beyond all doubt he himself is doomed to die. There is to him no hope whatever of avoiding death this year : his fate is sealed : if he undertake a journey by land, he shall never return home again ; if he make a voyage, he shall be shipwrecked. This the rabbis endeavour to prove from these words : ' their shadow נִשְׁלָשׁ is departed from them' (Num. xiv. 9). For so they read, understanding the word ' shadow' literally, instead of ' defence.' Nevertheless, toward the close of this subject, in the Gemara, we find the affirmation, That although a Jew on this night may not see his shadow under the light of the moon, yet he does not cease on that account still to be a Jew ; he is not a nobody."†

* "*Synagoga Judaica*," cap. xx.

† "*Synagoga Judaica*," cap. xvi.

Are we, therefore, to infer, that he who goes through this rabbinical charm is yet more a Jew; whilst those who refrain from it, are with difficulty allowed to boast of the privilege of circumcision in the flesh? Or, are we to understand that the entire absence of the shadow, although portending death, still leaves the man with all the hopes and privileges that the creed of a Jew can supply? The custom itself is, as near as possible, pagan: it is to this day to be found in some parts of India: it is practised in the wilds of Finland: it is alluded to by the Roman poet, as he introduces Canidia and Sagana, with their incantations:—

— — — “Has nullo perdere possum
Nec prohibere modo, simul ac vaga luna decorum
Protulit os, quin ossa legant herbasque nocentes.
Vidi egomet nigra succinctam vadere pallā
Canidiam, pedibus nudis, passoque capillo,
Cum Sagana majore ululante. Pallor utrasque
Fecerat horrendas aspectu.”

—*Horat. Satir. I. viii. 21-26.*

And it is, undoubtedly, the same old relic of heathenism that has been so graphically described by our Scottish bard, and that still lingers amidst the antiquated rites of Halloween:—

“Whyles owre a linn the burnie plays,
As through the glen it wimpl’t;
Whyles round a rocky scaur it strays,
Whyles in a wiel it dimpl’t:
Whyles glitter’d to the nightly rays,
Wi’ bickering, dancing dazzle;
Whyles cookit underneath the braes,
Below the spreading hazel,
Unseen that nicht.

“Among the brachens on the brae,
Between her and the moon,
The deil, or else an outler quey,
Gat up and gae a croon:
Poor Leezie’s heart maist lap the hool,
Near lav’rock-height she jumpit,
But mist a fit, and in the pool
Out-ower the lugs she plumpit,
Wi’ a plunge that nicht.”

But, to a Christian, the strangest part of this curious book is the chapter concerning the future Messiah, as expected by the Jews. The following particulars claim our attention:—

“That a Messiah is promised to the Jews, all grant: hence, in their daily prayers they beg of God that ‘He may come quickly, and in their own days.’ But, who he is, or when he shall come, is greatly doubted and controverted among them.

“They commonly believe, that he will be a man of the people and a plebeian, who, however, will far surpass the rest of men in manifold virtue: He will also marry a wife, and beget children, who shall succeed Him in the kingdom.

"But, since sacred scripture speaks of the Messiah in a twofold manner, sometimes, namely, as of one despised, poor, and abject; sometimes as of one grand, mighty, and exalted; they have, therefore, fashioned for themselves also two Messiahs: the one, whom they call 'Messiah the son of Joseph,' who will be poor and despised, a person, however, energetic and very skilled in war; the other, whom they call 'Messiah the Son of David,' who will be the true Messiah, and King of Israel, and who will rule over them in the land of Canaan.

"The ancient Jews, before the nativity of Christ, did not go far from the mark, when one of them, namely Elias, said, 'that the world would endure six thousand years; to wit, during two thousand years the world would be empty and void, that is, without the divine law; during two thousand years under the law; and the remaining two thousand years would be the days of the Messiah.' They hoped, therefore, that after four thousand years from the creation of the world, the Messiah would come; nor, indeed, were they far from the mark. For, according to the common computation of Christians, Christ the good and true Messiah was born in the year of the world 8968, or by the computation of the Jews 3761; for they differ from us in their reckoning by two hundred and two years. But because Christ came not like some nobleman or very powerful king, as David or Solomon, and did not deliver them from the tyranny of the alien Herod, and the power of the Romans, nor broke nor bruised at all with His iron sceptre all their enemies, but began his sway over them with the spiritual sceptre of His mouth; they would not, therefore, receive Him for the true Messiah, although He was acknowledged and received by some; and at that very time also, righteous and pious men expected Him, as it is said of Simeon, 'that he waited for the consolation of Israel' (Luke ii. 25), that is, Christ, even as the prophetess Anna 'spake many things of Him to all them that looked for redemption in Jerusalem' (ver. 38). And this is what the apostle Paul saith, 'Even so, at this present time also, there is a remnant according to the election of grace' (Rom. ii. 5), who have received Christ as the true Messiah and Saviour. However, as they had lost all regal power, and the true sacerdotal honour and dignity, as the city of Jerusalem was destroyed and the temple burned, the Jews believed that the time of the Messiah was past. Hence, in the fifty-second year after the destruction of the temple, a certain proud and arrogant Jew obtruded himself for the true Messiah, and ascribed to himself this prediction of Balaam, 'There shall come a star, *cochabh*, out of Jacob, and a sceptre shall rise out of Israel, and shall smite the corners of Moab, and destroy all the children of Seth; and Edom shall be his possession, Seir also shall be a possession for those whom Seir hates; and Israel shall do valiantly' (Num. xxiv. 17, 18). These things the Jews at that time understood of the rising power of the Christians; and still at the present day, they believe that the Messiah, who is about to come, will execute them. This was most agreeable and welcome news to them, when they heard that they would subdue and rule over the Romans, who a little before had destroyed their city and temple. Now, that impostor called himself, according to this prophecy, *Bar cochabh*, that is, The Son a Star, or

The Rising Star. There was with him at first, Rabbi Akibha, a most distinguished and learned man, who had twenty-four thousand scholars, and he proclaimed publicly, regarding *Bar cochabh*, 'Behold Messiah the King.' In this manner the impostor collected a great multitude of people, and had his royal seat at Bithur. But, when shortly after, the Emperor Adrian had besieged this Messiah for three years and a half, stormed his city, punished the captive Messiah with death, and, along with this Son of a Star, destroyed and slaughtered miserably upwards of four hundred thousand of his followers, the rest of the Jews discovered that they had been deceived by this *Bar cochabh*, The Son of a Star, and from that time to the present day have called him *Bar cosabh*, The Son of a Lie, or *Cosibhah*, The liar. Besides, many others, at different times, gave themselves out for the Messiah, as may be seen in the book entitled *Shebhet Jehudah*. And hence, constrained by conscience, the Jews were compelled to acknowledge that the time of the Messiah was past.

"But when they had despised and rejected the true Messiah, even Christ, and no other arose, they then vitiated that tradition of Elias which we have just mentioned, namely, 'That after four thousand years from the creation of the world, the Messiah would come,' and added, 'That on account of their sins, the time was delayed, and that the Messiah therefore had not come.' But, after no Messiah at all had come, and they were no farther able to ascertain the date of His coming, they devoted to curses and execrations those persons who should reckon the time of the coming of the Messiah, and inquire into its date, saying, 'Let their breath expire, or, Let their body burst, who reckon the times,' namely, for the coming of the Messiah. Nevertheless, many, slighting those curses, and impelled by the conviction of conscience, have, according to the predictions of the prophets, acknowledged that the time of the coming of the Messiah is past; and they have, therefore, recorded 'That the Messiah is born indeed, but on account of our sins and impenitent life, He has not yet been revealed.' And that is believed by a very great portion of the Jews at the present day.

"But where the Messiah has been concealed so long, is a matter of uncertainty. There are some who think that He is lying in Paradise, bound *ad pilum mulieris*, and to this end they twist the words of Solomon in the Song of Songs: 'Thine head upon thee is like Carmel; and the hair of thine head like purple; the king is held,' or bound 'in the galleries': (ch. vii. 6, Hebrew) not hesitating, by 'the king,' to understand the Messiah; and, by 'the galleries,' Paradise. And to this exposition of the ancient Rabbis on the place, Rabbi Solomon also alludes. It is said, again, in the Talmud, 'That the Messiah is sitting at the gate of the city of Rome, among the sick and the lepers,' in reference to that passage in the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah, where He is called, 'the despised and rejected of men, a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief' (ver. 3). Others of the Jews tell other untruths and various fabulous stories.

"But, however it may be, they believe that the Messiah will yet come, and ten wonders will precede His coming, by which all shall be warned and roused to observe His coming. For His advent will not

be so mean and hidden as when Christ our Saviour came in the flesh."*

Those ten wonders may be found at length, by any lover of Rabbinical Hebrew, in a little Jewish book, called "*Abkas Rochel*;" that is, The powder of the merchant, or perfumed dust, in reference to the Song of Solomon (chap. iii. 6), and published at Venice in 1597. Or, any one stricken with the love of the marvellous, or touched by the spirit of antiquarian research, may read them in Latin, as transcribed, with no small minuteness, by Buxtorf, who adds, moreover, an account of Behemoth, and Leviathan, and Bar juchne, namely, the celebrated beast, the wondrous fish, and the unparalleled bird, all of immense dimensions, that are to make their appearance, and grace the festivities of the grand royal banquet.

From those and similar instances of luxuriant fancy and judicial fascination, we are induced to draw two conclusions: The one, that such hallucinations, wherever they exist, declare the necessity of a supreme law, a written revelation from heaven; and the other, that such aberrations even of men having that written revelation in their hands, declare the necessity of a repeated revival,—the effectual teaching of the Holy Ghost. And, in summing up this part of the subject, we cannot express ourselves better than in the words of Grotius:—

"Of what we have said," so speaks that great writer, "that the Messiah has long since come into the world, even simple observation might convince the Jews. By the covenant made through Moses, God promised to them the happy possession of the land of Canaan, as long as they conformed their life to the injunction of the law; on the contrary, if they should sin grievously against that law, he threatened them with exile and other evils of that sort. But if, however, at any time oppressed with trials, and led, by penitence for their sins, they should return to obedience, He would be touched with compassion for His people, and cause them to return into their country, although scattered into the most distant parts of the world, as may be seen, both elsewhere and in the thirtieth chapter of Deuteronomy and the first of Nehemiah. But there are now a thousand years and upwards since the Jews are without country, without temple; and if at any time they wished to build a new temple, they have always been hindered, even by balls of fire bursting forth at the foundations, with the destruction of the works, as is related by Ammianus Marcellinus, who was a pagan. When, formerly, the Jewish people had polluted themselves with very grievous crimes,—sacrificing their children everywhere to Moloch, reckoning adultery as nothing, oppressing the widows and the orphans, shedding innocent blood in great profusion, with all of which the prophets charged them,—they suffered exile, but not longer than seventy years; and in the mean time, God

* "*Synagoga Judaica*," cap. xxxvi.

ceased not, by the prophets, to address and console them with the hope of a return; the time, moreover, of that return being indicated. But now, ever since they have been driven from their country, they remain exiled, despised; no prophet comes to them; there is no intimation of a future return; their rabbis, as if filled with the spirit of delusion, have fallen to wretched fables and ridiculous dogmas, with which the books of the Thalmud abound, which they dare to designate the oral law, and compare, or even prefer them, to what Moses wrote. For the things that are read in the Thalmudic treatises, concerning God's weeping because he allowed the city of Jerusalem to be overthrown, concerning his daily diligence in reading the law, concerning Behemoth and Leviathan, and many other things, are so absurd, that even to mention them is a weariness. And yet, for so long a time, the Jews have not turned aside to the worship of false gods, as formerly, nor defiled themselves with murder, nor been accused of adultery; but they strive to appease God with prayers and with fastings, and yet are not heard. Since, therefore, these things are so, we are altogether shut up to the conclusion of one of two things,—either that that covenant made through Moses is entirely nugatory, or that the whole nation of the Jews is held guilty of some grave crime, continuing now for so many centuries. What that crime may be, let them declare themselves; or, if they cannot tell, let them believe us, that that crime is the sin of a despised Messiah, who came before these evils began to befall them.”*

In the edition of 1641, the “*Synagoga Judaica*” has a disputation on Christ between a Jew and a Christian. The edition of 1604 has, in substance, the same disputation; and, immediately after it, another treatise, containing between forty or fifty pages, being a letter of Louis Carret, a Jewish convert, addressed to his own family, and in general, to the Israelitish nation. This latter treatise, originally written in Hebrew, under the title, “*Maroth Elohim*” (“Visions of God”), and rendered into Latin by Germberg, gives an account of Carret's conversion, by means of a wonderful dream, at Florence; and, whilst written with no little elegance, and wrought out with much acumen, replete with marks of tried sincerity, is pervaded with reasonings and experiences drawn from a very questionable source,—the numbers and permutations of the cabalistic art. As addressed, however, to Jews, such a line of argument may be regarded as a perfectly valid, as it is a very ingenious, *argumentum ad hominem*; and remembering that the Spirit of God “works where, when, and how He pleases,” even the Christian, when he recalls to mind the dream of John Newton of the harbour of Venice, or the vision of Colonel Gardiner immediately before his conversion, will be disposed to regard with condonation, if not with

* “Hugo Grotius de Veritate Religionis Christianæ,” Lib. v. cap. xvi.

deference, the visions or dreams of Louis Carret, once a Jewish priest, and afterwards a Christian physician, supporting himself and his children by the fruits of an honourable industry.

But to the other treatise found at the end of "*Synagoga Judaica*," a peculiar interest is attached. We mean the disputation on Christ between a Jew and a Christian. As it occurs in the edition of 1641, it comes from the hands of no less a man than John Calvin. No doubt, in the edition of 1604, it occurs in the Latin of Germberg, as professedly from the German of Buxtorf; but that German disputation must, we suspect, have been a version from the Latin of Calvin, which was published by Beza, along with Calvin's letters,* in 1576, when the elder Buxtorf could have been little more than eleven years old. The only hesitation that we have here, arises from the circumstance that Germberg should have been ignorant of the fact, and that the younger Buxtorf, in his preface to the edition of 1641, says nothing whatever on the subject. The treatise is simply appended there, not however in Germberg's Latin, but as it stands in Calvin's letters as they appeared in 1576.

Be these things as they may, we have in this treatise the queries and objections of a Jew met by the counter queries and answers of a Christian, in a style reminding us at once of the classic elegance and caustic acuteness of Calvin, and presenting a short and striking *résumé* of Jewish unbelief, on the one hand, and Christian faith on the other. Out of twenty-three pointed queries by the Jew, and as many terse replications by the Christian, we quote only the following:—"I ask," says the Jew, "if Christ is God, why He calls himself the Son of Man, when in many places of Scripture the law warns us not to make God like to a man? as, 'God is not a man, that He should lie; neither the Son of Man, that He should repent' (Numb. xxiii. 19). Besides, David says, 'Put not your trust in princes, nor in the Son of Man, in whom there is no help' (Ps. cxlvi. 3). In like manner, 'cursed be the man that trusteth in man, and maketh flesh his arm, and whose heart departeth from the LORD' (Jer. xvii. 5). But all these things were in Jesus, who is called the Son of Man." "I ask," says the Christian, "why God in the Song of Moses is called 'a man of war'? (Exod. xv. 3). Why Ezekiel, in that memorable vision, tells us that, 'upon the likeness of the throne was the likeness as the appearance of a man above upon it; this was the appearance of the likeness of the glory of the LORD' (Ezek. i. 26, 28). Why so often God ascribes to Himself nostrils, eyes,

* "*Joannis Calvini epistolarum et responsorum editio secunda.*" Lausannæ, 1576, pp. 605-619.

hands, and feet? Why does Jeremiah, speaking of the Son of David, affirm the name of Jehovah to belong to Him? (Jer. xxiii. 5, 6). Why does Isaiah call the Messiah, 'Immanuel, the mighty God, the Father of the future age'? (Isa. vii. 14, ch. ix. 6). Why, also, in the 45th Psalm (ver. 6), under the type of Solomon, is the Messiah honoured with the name of 'Elohim,' 'God'? But the solution of the query is by no means difficult. The law forbids God to be made like to man, meaning, to wit, that His majesty should not be pourtrayed under the image of man. Otherwise, He compares Himself at once to fire, and to the sun, and to a lion, and to a bear, and to a stone, which are either irrational creatures or dead elements. Moreover, in the Messiah, God was not made like to man; but, assuming human flesh, He so became man, that He remained perfect in His own eternal and immutable nature. For we do not, as the Jews dream, believe that God is changed, but made manifest in the flesh, and nevertheless like Himself. So, He was not like the common class of men, untruthful, or obnoxious to vanity; but, in respect of His deity, the truth abiding for ever: nor in Him, as in a mortal man, do we place our confidence, but because His body is the temple of the Deity, in which dwelleth the perfect glory of God; and, as He is God, He transfuses into the human nature the life-giving power of His Spirit. For certainly, in many places, God holds out to His servants the confidence of salvation, not otherwise than in the Messiah, as in the prophecy of Jacob, as given by Moses, 'unto Him shall the gathering of the people (peoples) be' (Gen. xlix. 10). Whence follows what I said, that He who is of the seed of David is at the same time the mighty God, the true Immanuel, and the Son of Man.*

Such is a specimen of this "Refutation of Jewish Doctrine;" there are, however, in the tractate, some expressions that, to a large extent, were peculiar to the age,—the hot furnace blasts emanating from the retiring gloom of the middle ages, and the darkness of the papacy; expressions such as Martin Luther hurled against Henry the VIII., and which, as they were not confined to the school of Luther, or that of the Reform, so certainly were not unemployed by the defenders of his Holiness the Pope, much less by his Holiness himself. It is painful, nevertheless, to find in the able treatise before us, such terms of reproach as "abandoned men," "dogs," "rabid dogs," "beasts," "wild beasts," "cattle," "swine," applied to the Jews. The author of the "Christian Institutes," even in his great work replete with wondrous wisdom, subtlest analysis, and deepest insight into the sacred oracles, does not hesitate

* "Doctrinæ Judaicæ Refutatio," sect. 3.

at times to brand his opponents in terms as harsh as any of those here used against the Jews. But it is remarkable that at the period of the Reformation, whilst zeal for the Word of God sprung up, blazed, and burned, there was yet the strong utterance of a spirit of bitterness, arising, perhaps, from a larger knowledge, but assuredly a narrower charity, than our own, expressed toward God's ancient people. The battle against error was so intense, the domestic war so violent, that, fighting against the Roman Antichrist, the early Protestants enjoyed little leisure to make an attack upon heathenism, or commence missions to the Jews. Even in the "*Synagoga Judaica*," where the simple exposure of traditional superstition would have done its work, there are now and then cropping up sneers and sarcasms, and the ungracious display of a self-assumed superiority, that no man of Christian sensibility can peruse without a feeling of sorrow. And Luther, notwithstanding all his generous impulses, and true German manliness, speaks of the Jews in words which we are unwilling to translate:—"Ein jüdisch Herz ist so stoch-stein-eisen-teufelhart, das mit Keiner Weise zu bewegen ist;—es sind junge Teufel zur Hölle verdammt, diese Teufelskinder zu bekehren ist unmöglich, wie etliche solchen Wahn schöpfen aus der Epistel an die Römer." It is plain from these words that the big ink bottle must have missed its mark in the castle of the Wartenburg. But we give here the more guarded, and therefore the more weighty words of Buxtorf himself, at the beginning of the "*Synagoga*":—"What God hath spoken concerning the hypocrisy, the obstinacy, and ignorance of the Jewish nation, saying, 'Forasmuch as this people draw near me with their mouth, and with their lips do honour me, but have removed their heart far from me, and their fear toward me is taught by the precept of men; therefore, behold I will proceed to do a marvellous work and a wonder: for the wisdom of their wise men shall perish, and the understanding of their prudent men shall be hid' (Isa. xxix. 13, 14). That, indeed, we have found so to be. For, in that religious service which they observe, there is nothing to be discovered but mere hypocrisy and falsehood; in their wisest and most sagacious doctors, whom they call Rabbanim, and in their scribes, there is nothing but ignorance and immense stupidity, especially as to the knowledge of God and exposition of the divine word; and, in fact, in the whole nation, there is nothing but a horrible and dreadful obstinacy and refractoriness as to all the practices and usages of life. Nevertheless, they yet wish to be regarded as the true and elect people of God; they declare and boast themselves to be so, and profess so ardent a zeal for the divine word and the knowledge of God, as if they believed in God

most perfectly, and they only in preference to all other nations cleaved to Him with a sound and true faith, as the Apostle Paul has in very deed affirmed of them this testimony: 'For I bear them record, that they have a zeal of God, but not according to knowledge' (Rom. x. 2)." Such is the key-note of the "*Synagoga Judaica*." And, as coming from such a master of Hebrew learning, we cannot forbear to add the concluding words of that work, whose name stands at the head of the present article: "Now, from all these things," says Buxtorf, "the Christian reader will sufficiently perceive and understand that the creed of the Jews, and all their religion, has its foundation, not in Moses, but in untruths and unsound and silly traditions, and the fables of the rabbis and seducers; wherefore Christians can no more say that the Jews cleave closely to the law of Moses, but with the prophet Jeremiah: 'They hold fast deceit, they refuse to return: I hearkened and heard, but they spake not aright; no man repented him of his wickedness' (Jer. viii. 5, 6); also, with Christ, 'Why do ye transgress the commandment of God by your tradition? This people draweth nigh unto me with their mouth, and honoureth me with their lips; but their heart is far from me. But in vain they do worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men' (Matt. xv. 3, 8, 9). And as His holy Apostle Paul says, 'They profess that they know God; but in works they deny Him, being abominable and disobedient, and unto every good work reprobate' (Titus i. 16). It is therefore clearer than the light of noonday, that they have incurred the judgment which Moses had threatened, namely, 'The LORD shall smite thee with madness, and blindness, and astonishment of heart; and thou shalt grope at noonday as the blind gropeth in darkness' (Deut. xxviii. 28, 29). This we find to be too true in them, whilst they so wretchedly pervert and twist the sacred Word of God, and ridiculously explain and expound it, contrary to all sense and reason, without any shame or understanding. May God in His mercy grant that we Christians, moved by this terrible example of divine wrath, may love God and His word, may receive Him with the reverence that is meet, lest His fury be kindled against us also, and unmindful of so great a blessing, we should lose altogether the light of His truth; may God grant it, I say, that our hearts daily may receive more and more the Sun of Righteousness, and that by His Holy Spirit He may lead and conduct us into all truth, Amen." Into the spirit of that prayer we desire most heartily to enter. Yet we must pray, not for ourselves only, but also for others, and among those others, for the children of Abraham, according to the flesh.

18 *The Distinctive Character of the Old Testament.*

We must not render railing for railing, but, contrariwise, blessing. A brighter day has now dawned for the evangelisation of the Gentiles, and the bringing in of the Jews; and we desire to drink in the words of Him, who is both the head of the Christian Church, and by human birth a Jew: "Other sheep I have, which are not of this *fold* (ἀυλή); them also I must bring, and there shall be *one flock* (τοῖον) and one shepherd" (John x. 16). Nor would we be unmindful of, or disobedient to, the voice of His apostles and prophets: "For Zion's sake will I not hold my peace, and for Jerusalem's sake I will not rest, until the righteousness thereof go forth as brightness, and the salvation thereof as a lamp that burneth. And the Gentiles shall see thy righteousness, and all kings thy glory: and thou shall be called by a new name, which the mouth of the LORD shall name" (Isa. lxii. 1, 2). "For, lo, I will command, and I will sift the house of Israel among all nations, like as corn is sifted in a sieve, yet shall not the least grain fall upon the earth" (Amos ix. 9). "For, if the casting away of them be the reconciling of the world, what shall the receiving of them be but life from the dead?—For I would not, brethren, that ye should be ignorant of this mystery, lest ye should be wise in your own conceits; that blindness in part is happened to Israel, until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in. And so all Israel shall be saved; as it is written, There shall come out of Zion the Deliverer, and shall turn away ungodliness from Jacob" (Rom. xi. 15, 25, 26).

ART. II.—*The Distinctive Character of Old Testament Scripture.*

Prolegomena zur Theologie des Alten Testaments, von GUS. FR. CEHLER, Dr Phil., ord. Professor der Evang. Theologie in Breslau. Stuttgart, Verlag von Samuel Gottlieb Liesching. 1845.

Prolegomena to the Theology of the Old Testament. By GUS. FR. CEHLER, Phd., Ordinary Professor of Evangelical Theology in Breslau. Stuttgart, published by Samuel Gottlieb Liesching. 1845.

THE volume which we set at the head of this article is a tractate of less than one hundred pages. It has nothing of the imposing about it, and is far from being a bulky or a verbose production. The writer has not cared to beat out his ore very finely. But the scientific accuracy of the method, the solidity of the matter, and the admirable spirit pervading the whole, give to this little treatise a weight and a value which make its

brevity only the subject for regret. The theme which it handles is one of the deepest interest to all students of Scripture at all times, and one, too, which has been brought into more than ordinary prominence by the controversies and discussions agitating the world of religious thought during these most recent years. The author, also, is a teacher whose name deserves to be much more extensively known than it yet seems to be among British scholars. At the time when this essay was published, he occupied one of the theological chairs at Breslau, and he now holds a position of far greater importance, and far larger influence, as Professor in the University of Tübingen. He labours there as a true colleague and kindred spirit with J. T. Beck, and has long ranked as one of the soundest and most accomplished exegetes in the more orthodox schools of German theology. He is not much given to committing his thoughts to the printer where he can avoid it. So far as we are acquainted with his writings, they consist chiefly of the treatise before us, another of an equally concise and careful character, bearing the title, "*Veteris Testamenti Sententia de rebus post mortem futuris*," and sundry articles of eminent worth in Herzog's "*Real-Encyclopædie*," among which may be specified those on the Messias, the Opfercultus, the Priestertum im Alten Testament, the Volk-Gottes, Weissagung, &c. He has written, therefore, less than we could well have received from his hand. But what he has written repays liberally the student's most thoughtful perusal. His special gift lies in the line of those studies with which these Prolegomena deal. Owing much himself to the lectures of Christian Friederich Schmid on the Biblical Theology of the New Testament, and having had his intellectual habits largely moulded by the teaching of that distinguished Württemberg professor, he commenced his own independent studies with the view of taking up the work so well begun by that master, and doing for the Old Testament what he had done for the New. It was as an introduction to that proposed undertaking that these Prolegomena were first published. But the projected Handbook of the Theology of the Old Testament has never been completed, and for whatever other contributions he has made to this branch of sacred learning we must be content to repair to these articles already referred to, in Herzog's "*Real-Encyclopædie*." And all who know how competent a judge on questions of Old Testament criticism Professor von Hofmann of Erlangen is, will understand that, when he pronounces Oehler to be the man best gifted for the task among all in the circle of his acquaintance, a loss of no common kind is sustained by students of Scripture through this failure to complete what has been so satisfactorily commenced.

20 *The Distinctive Character of the Old Testament.*

The more immediate object of this paper, it may be well to premise, is not to attempt any elaborate discussion of the various theories of the nature, purpose, and value of Old Testament Scripture as here surveyed and criticised, and the different principles of interpretation as here investigated. To do so would lead us into too wide a field at present. We wish rather to present some considerations of a more general description, suggested by the perusal of the book, and to deal with some outlying characteristics of the Old Testament writings which seem to be confirmatory of our belief in their divine origin and authority, in so far as they go to prove them to be possessed of features exclusively their own, and to occupy a platform on which they are marked off as a series of writings distinct in kind from the earliest religious records of any other people. First, however, we shall give a short account of the contents of this tractate, for the information of those to whom it may be new. As we have already indicated, then, it is intended to furnish us with an introduction to the study of the Biblical theology of the Old Testament. And by that study is meant the well-defined and important field of inquiry which is known in Germany by the technical name, *Die Biblische Theologie*. That constitutes, in short, the intermediate step between exegesis and dogmatic theology. Its object is to gather up the results of exegetical inquiry, and to present the contents of the books as they bear upon religious knowledge and faith, in their immediate historical connections, and in the actual measure and exact relations in which they entered as elements into the life and belief of the people to whom the records belong, without formulating them into those scientific statements of doctrine or creed which form the subject-matter of dogmatic theology. Our author starts with his definition of this Biblical theology of the Old Testament, namely, that it is the *historic-genetic presentation of that revealed religion which is contained in the canonical books of the Old Testament*. By the use of this term, *historisch-genetisch*, he points to two things which he deems essential to any adequate conception of what these writings are, and of the spirit in which their interpretation is to be approached. Of these, the first is, that we regard them as the records of a system of religion or religious truth which is of a strictly historical character, embodied in the life of a historical people, and connected and bound up with the events of their career, and the institutes of their polity, in a manner witnessed in the case of no other nation. And the second is, that we regard this system of religion or religious truth also as one of a strictly progressive character, unfolded by the guidance of God from one degree of fulness to another, and developed in the course of the divine

dealings with the people in successive ages, from the blade to the ear, until it reaches at length the full corn in the ear in that gospel of the New Testament to which the Old ever looked, and for which it was sustained as an ever-maturing preparation. To exhibit the import and bearings of these pregnant terms, and to substantiate the definition, is then the object of the treatise. With this purpose, the author discusses, first, the proper compass and extent of this study, and its relation to other Biblical studies; then the proper scientific stand-point for the study; and, finally, the method of the same, and the classification of its parts. Under the first of these three divisions, in which he lays out the treatment of his subject, the sole right of the canonical books to rank as authoritative materials for the ruling of this branch of theology, and the normative character assignable to them as distinguished from the Apocryphal books and all the products of later Jewish thought, are shortly but clearly vindicated on subjective as well as objective grounds. The theory that the only aim, which those who made up the canon of the Old Testament had in view, was a merely literary one is also refuted, and ground is shewn for the assertion that in that task they must, from the very nature of the case, have been actuated by something more than the simple desire to preserve the extant remains of Hebrew literature. And further, in defining the relations in which this study stands to other subjects of theological science, such as Archæology, Hebrew History, Old Testament Morality, Dogmatic Theology, and the like, various questions of interest are started, and, as we think, in the main satisfactorily answered. Thus the problem as to the sense and the measure in which these books are to be regarded and used by the theologian, as offering a system of doctrine, is considered. And the position taken is that, while doctrine is there, it is there in many of its elements only in the germ, and that the progressive nature of the revelation which God has given to man precludes our expecting to find on many subjects those precise and full-grown dogmas or enunciations of doctrine in the Old Testament which we look for in the New. And again the dependence of our judgments of the morality of the Old Testament on our apprehension of its theology in that historical and genetic character which is proper to it, is very forcibly exhibited. For example, we can understand how readily the critic may fix the charge of the harshest cruelty and revengefulness upon many things that meet him in the Old Testament, if he misses the full import of its doctrine of recompense and retaliation.

In discussing under the second division of his theme, the proper stand-point for the theologian in such inquiries, the author expresses it in a single phrase as the *Christian-Theolo-*

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gical. And by this he means that in order to approach the investigation and interpretation of the Old Testament, we must come to it from the position of Christianity, and with an adequate appreciation of its connection with the New. The important question as to the mutual relations of the two Testaments thus comes into view; and it is well for us to have such precise notions on that subject as are here indicated. Without firm footing and clear conceptions on this, the work of the exegete or critic can issue only in a depreciation of one or other of these two great series of writings which come to us as the records of the revelation of God. For it is quite as easy to err by an undue identification of the two, as it is by their absolute separation. These twain are joined together of God. They front each other, and look into each other's face: the Old Testament glancing forward to the New, and the New glancing backward upon the Old, the former moving steadily onward to the latter as its goal, and the latter confirming the divine right of the former. And yet though thus one, they are not the less distinct, as the preparation is distinct from the result, as the seed is from the fruit. The religion and the truth of the New Testament are not to be separated, as the Marcionites did with them, from those of the Old. Nor yet again, is the Old Testament so to be identified with the New as that we shall make little of the difference between the law and the gospel, or credit the prophet with the self-same illumination as the apostle,—a view of the nature of Old Testament Scripture which lies at the root of many of the confusions of Clement and Origen, and the Alexandrian School generally. The true position is that which holds at once by their organic connection and their individual distinction; which affirms their unity and denies their uniformity; or, as Œhler aptly puts it, which maintains their *Einheit* and disavows their *Einheitlichkeit*.

The most valuable portion of these Prolegomena is the survey which is taken, under the second head, of the different views of the Old Testament books which have been held, and the different attitudes in which their interpretation has been approached, by the great schools of thought which have been formed from age to age, within and without the church. The review carries us on from the early oriental teachers to the theologians of the Reformation, and from these to the more recent developments of inquiry in the Socinian, the Rationalistic, the Supra-naturalistic, and the Pietistic tendencies. The criticisms of different men and schools are, in general, very sharply and accurately put, though some things we desiderate, and from others we dissent. Thus, we miss all evidence of a

right estimate of the position assignable to the scholastic theologians in the history of Old Testament criticism and exegesis. And, indeed, the whole period from Augustine up to the Catholic divines immediately antecedent to the Reformation, is passed by with a leap. The judgment passed upon Cocceius, again, may be demurred to as too favourable. It is true that the vagaries of the so-called Cocceian principle, that Scripture *must* mean all that it *may* mean, are fully allowed for. But the author seems to be betrayed, by his own high estimate of the value of this principle of the genetic character proper to revelation, into the assigning of more honour than most would be inclined to give to the old Leyden Master of the federal theology as an interpreter, when he says, that the recognition of the two-fold covenant between God and man laid some foundation for the recognition of the progressive nature of the revealed religion contained in the Old Testament. Again, the supreme merit of Calvin as an exegete is fully admitted, and all justice is done to his erudition, his rare sagacity in philological matters, and his singular freedom from the vice of allegorising. But we are disposed to think that our author lays too much stress upon a few isolated expressions that meet us in those sections of the *Institutes* which handle the relations of the two Testaments to each other. And he is thus led to put an interpretation, less favourable to Calvin's firm grasp of the proper distinction between the two than is warrantable, upon his fundamental principle that the Old Testament and the New are entirely one in respect of substance and matter, and different only in respect of the *administratio*. With the criticisms passed on the old Socinian theory, that the Old Testament books are possessed only of a historic interest, and are superfluous for the proof of doctrine, on the bald, colourless objectivity of the method followed by the English opponents of Deism, such as Warburton, Shuckford, and others, and on the great advance made by Luther upon the interpretative principles current among Catholic theologians before the Reformation, most will agree. We cannot follow the author through the sketch he gives of the rise and gradual march of truer conceptions of the theology of the Old Testament, first in their cruder form, in the case of such men as Gabler and Bauer, in whom the one Testament is still too sharply sundered from the other, then in the fresh impetus given them by the efforts of men nearer the line of orthodoxy, as Herder and De Wette, and finally in the shape into which they have been gradually moulded by the hands of Steudel, Hengstenberg, Menken, Hofmann, Meyer, Stier, and others. Neither can we stay to examine the outline given of the influence exercised upon the study of the theology of the Old Testament through the prosecution of the History of Religion

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by Creuzer, Buttmann, and their compeers, who took up the task begun by Spencer, or through that of the Philosophy of Religion, as handled by Kant, Hegel, and others. It will be enough to say, that the criticisms of these many different schools of religious inquiry are as fairly as they are clearly and precisely expressed. And we may particularise, as specially worthy of attention, the review of the defects attaching to those conceptions of Old Testament Scripture and its interpretation which come nearest the truth, and yet err in an exaggerated supernaturalism, as seen in the school of Hengstenberg, or in an exclusively dogmatic attitude as in Storr, or in an undue subordination of the scientific to the practical, tending to the mystic or pietistic estimate of the records of revelation, as we can trace it not unfrequently in the expositions of Rudolf Stier. With most of what is laid down on these matters we agree, and with the result to which he comes, we are of course perfectly at one, namely, that the Old Testament Scripture as organically bound up with the New must be approached from the standpoint of a Christian theology.

Of the last of those three heads which mark the plan of these Prolegomena we need say nothing, beyond noticing that the whole field of Old Testament religion and theology is laid out in the three broad sections of Mosaism, Prophetism, and Hebraism, corresponding in a general way with the threefold division of the canon into Law, Prophets, and Hagiographa. We simply remark, that the opinions pronounced as to the exact niches which these several books seem designed to occupy in the organic whole of revelation, and the relations in which they stand to each other, and the great ideas which constitute the burden of each, will be found helpful to the attaining of more adequate and comprehensive views of the inner and divinely-wrought unity of all canonical Scripture. And having given this rapid narrative of the leading discussions and main principles with which the book deals, we should have done enough to shew its interest, and to commend it to the perusal of those versed in matters of Old Testament criticism and interpretation. We proceed now therefore to state some general considerations on the subject of Old Testament Scripture, which a survey of the history of theological opinion suggests. We have not to attempt any formal proof of the divine origin and authority of these writings. They have their signature in the New Testament, for Christ Himself sets His seal upon them. But we wish to point out certain features peculiarly characteristic of these books, which shew this at least, that they cannot be classed with the early religious records of other nations, but occupy a position entirely their own. And such considerations as seem valid for marking out a distinctive standing for these

books among the sacred writings of other peoples, will avail also to deepen our conviction of the insufficiency of a theory of their meaning and value now most current in more than one section of the world of speculation.

As even the concise outline given in this little treatise indicates, it is, then, a very devious career that the history of opinion has run on the subject of the worth and character of the Old Testament Scriptures. They appear to have been carried well-nigh across all the possible lines of divergent estimation. And sometimes in the course of speculative inquiry we see judgments meet which are more directly the opposites of each other than is the case even with the most contradictory criticisms of the New Testament. We need mention no more curious concurrence of this kind than what we light upon toward the beginning of the Christian era, when we find the Talmudists so magnifying the fictitious sanctity which they attached to these Scriptures, as to teach that they had always been in God's bosom, as they phrased it, whereas, the New Testament books were nothing better than an excrescence from them; while we mark side by side with that, the position held so strenuously by various of the Gnostic sects, that the Old Testament was the production of the Principle of Evil, and that the New could be lifted to its proper platform of elevation and purity only by the disavowal of the identity of the God of the one with the Jehovah of the other. In our own time, however, the development of German criticism, in its more unregulated action, may be said to have issued, in the main, in the formation of two great schools which present a destructive attitude toward the church's proper estimate of Old Testament Scripture. Of these, the one divests it of all strict historic credibility, and resolves it into a collection of Hebrew myths; and the other, while allowing it more or less historic value, regards it still as nothing more than the natural product of the best spirits of the most religious nation of antiquity. On the one hand, the attempt is thus made to prove it to be but a series of popular beliefs that grew up gradually around the memory of characters distinguished in the distant past of Israelitish history; and on the other, while its trustworthiness, as matter of fact, is in general terms admitted, it is pronounced to be simply the creation of the religious sentiments and the index of the religious ideas of one remarkable people. It is in the face of views like these that the Christian is called upon once more to look fairly into the question, as to the exact relation which these books bear to him and to his faith, and to test and make good anew his old convictions on their value and authority. And certainly the problems and inquiries which emerge in connection with these movements in the sphere of speculation

are not such as either the church or the educated individual can safely pass by. For in present times as in past, it is seen that the assault on the Old Testament and its character and institutions forms but the prelude to a similar attack upon the New, so that what comes to be at stake is not simply our possession of so much the more or the less of what we have been accustomed to prize as the revelation of God, but our faith in the gospel itself. Of these two schools of opinion to which we have referred, the former, though it still shews some signs of life among ourselves, may be said to be greatly on the decline. And assuredly a very cursory review of the vagaries of that style of sacred criticism will justify the assertion that if there are difficulties enough in the explanation of not a few things in the Old Testament to those who accept it as historically true, and as bearing a divine impress, these difficulties are greater to him who will explain it merely as a common religious literature, and are vastly greater still to the man who thinks to resolve it all into a cycle of myths naturally formed and gradually nurtured by the national vanity of the Jewish people. Just as on the one hand, the extremists among the learned on the side of orthodoxy are now wellnigh giving up the notion that the genesis of heathen myths can be referred at once and directly to the Jewish histories, or that the growth of the stories of Iphigenia, Idomeneus, Hercules, and the like among the Greeks can be explained on the ground that they were mere borrowings from the Old Testament narratives of Jephthah, and Samson, and the rest; so on the other hand, the extreme rationalists are now beginning to acknowledge the fact that these latter narratives, from their peculiar place in the life and character of the Hebrew nation, cannot be adequately accounted for by the easy hypothesis that they are only myths like the former. It is consequently the second of these two schools which have been mentioned that holds the pre-eminence at present. And it is not to be concealed that it is likely to exert a strong influence over certain classes for an indefinite period. For it has very special attractions to those who make culture the great end of life, through the literary refinement and the delicate intellectual appreciation which largely distinguish its inquiries. In their conception of what Old Testament Scripture is, the adherents of this school certainly fall far short of the complete truth. But while we hold fast by that, let us none the less freely acknowledge that we have much to learn from their researches and their method. Applied to the Old Testament, as the record of the national and religious life of the Jews, their erudite labours have unquestionably furnished us with much valuable material for our use, and have opened up tracts of new inquiry, which offer a

goodly fruit for the illustration of the sacred narratives. When the masters in this school speak of the Jewish history as the *sacred* history, they mean something different indeed from what we plead for and hold by. Yet they have done much real service in the elucidation of that same history. With them these books are, in their highest definition, the historic, poetic, and devotional monuments of one among the many nations of the world,—a strange Eastern people who, springing from a chief of the Arabian deserts, and “cribbed, cabined, and confined” within the narrow limits of a hilly district of Syria, have yet had the peculiar glory of maintaining, in the centre of gross surrounding polytheisms, and at a time when even the most enlightened minds in other lands had reached only a wavering abstract pantheism, the pure belief in God’s unity, personality, and spirituality,—who have also, notwithstanding almost uninterrupted national disaster, exercised such an influence upon the world as gives the key to the understanding of much of the deepest life of the nations, and who even still, in their scattered remains, with strangers in their heritage, and aliens in possession of their altars, exhibit the unique spectacle of a people endowed with an unquenchable conviction in their peculiar mission, and fired with an undying confidence in their coming restitution. This is something like the highest meed of honour these teachers will ascribe to those writings which they unite with us in designating the *sacred* history. Yet in insisting, as they have done, upon the Scripture as the product and witness of the national and religious life of the Hebrews, they have, without question, cast some light at least on the *human* aspects of revelation, and have made some important contributions to the exposition of certain significant characteristics of the history and the economy never before adequately appreciated. To such exegetes as Ewald, notwithstanding all deflections, simple justice cannot deny some tribute of gratitude. But that their theory, even taken at its highest, misses the real truth as to the value of Old Testament Scripture, and fails to satisfy the conditions of the case when it is presented as a problem in history, is shewn clearly enough by many facts that lie on the very face of the question.

For in the first place, this theory fails to account for what is most peculiar to these books in their import to the Christian. In the very circumstance that these records have attained, or rather, have asserted for themselves, so unique an importance in the Christian church, and so significant a relation to the most vital convictions of the Christian believer, there is something which, when fairly considered, is at once suggestive of a deep and holy meaning assignable to them, which cannot be claimed for any other memorials of ancient literature. An argument from

experience and history is certainly something short of demonstration, but is still valid as an argument when rightly regulated. And the history of the past, and the experience of the present, testify plainly to the fact, that for the Christian, just as a Christian, these books possess an inherent interest, and have a secret and most intimate association with his most devout experiences. They breathe a spiritual air which makes us feel as if we had passed into a different atmosphere when our minds turn to them from the study of other antique religious literatures. They carry with them a *spiritual suggestiveness* which we find only in themselves. "Thoughts rise," it has been admirably expressed,* "as we read, which haunt us like the hidden signs of the Platonic ἀνάμνησις." These stories of the Old Testament, which form the first nurture of our minds in our childhood, never lose their charm to those who preserve the free, serious spirit of early years. They have never been, even to the rarest intellects among God's saints, tales that lose their spell when youth's unquestioning fancy gives place to manhood's reflective judgment. And he who bids us believe that they are pretty fables which we shall put aside with our nursery-rhymes, or old-world narratives which may amuse or instruct us like the histories of Greece or Rome, must be prepared to meet, at the very outset, an obstacle to his success which he will be fain to overlook, but which lies, nevertheless, not in vulgar prejudice or uneducated perceptions, but in deep moral conviction, and in a personal experience of a real power with which these are invested to approve themselves to the heart of mature, no less than of boyish, age. The simplest reflection on the nature of that hold, which these records keep upon our minds in their most subdued and serious moods, shews at least that the stories of Joseph, and Moses, and Samuel, and David,—of the vision at Bethel, the passage of the Red Sea, the view from Pisgah, the capture of the Ark and such like,—have a profound moral instructiveness and power essentially different from the almost exclusively intellectual and æsthetic influences put forth by the tales even of the deeds of Hector, Ulysses, and Achilles, and "the siege of Troy divine." In speaking of some of these narratives, Paul (1 Cor. x. 6, 11) says, that they happened τυπικῶς or as τύποι, by way of figure, or model, or pattern to us. And what he meant by that description of their purpose is verified in the experience of collective Christianity. So closely bound up have they ever been with our Christian faith, and so firmly have they struck their roots in what is deepest in our Christian life, that the whole history of this ancient people has become one great τύπος

* Hannah's Bampton Lectures, p. 110.

orensample to us; and in their varied career,—in their captivities and deliverances, their rebellions and repentings, their weary sojourn in the desert, and their yet hopeful march toward the land of promise,—we read the outline of Christian experience in the church and in the individual, and the model or likeness for the guidance of our own course. Nay, so subtle is the bond of connection between these old histories and our best Christian life and thought, that those terms which we most frequently employ for the expression of our religious ideas and feelings are borrowed so silently and instinctively from them that, when we speak of our “redemption,” our “calling and election,” our “Zion,” “the house of God,” “the heavenly Jerusalem,” “the Israel of God,” and a multitude of similar phrases, we forget, indeed, that we are clothing our meaning in terms steeped in the faith and history which form the peculiar contents of the Old Testament. We have spoken only of the peculiar import of these records to the *Christian*. But may we not extend the remark to the *man*? Is there not a voice in them that makes itself heard in the heart of man as such, and calls out thence an echo to answer it? Tertullian used to speak of the soul of man as *naturally Christian*, and delighted in dilating on the *testimonia animæ naturaliter Christianæ*. And if there is an inner witness to the gospel, is there not the same to the law? If there is something in the gospels and epistles that strikes secret spiritual chords in the heart of man, is there not something that does the same in the Psalms and the Prophets? No mean apologetic for Old Testament Scripture might be reared on the power of appeal which it carries to the soul of man, and on its correspondence with some of the profoundest necessities, and most significant experiences, and most imperative postulates of our nature. To how many of the deep things of God within these minds and consciences of ours does it appeal! How instinctively do men turn to the Old Testament in certain stages of religious conviction! How often is it some word from these books that *finds us*, as Coleridge was wont to say, in certain phases of our spiritual life. How exactly does it meet, for instance, the experience, which in its own time visits us, of the inner legal spirit, the felt sense of a life within us which at once divines the severity and burden of the law and the cheerlessness of the legal mind, and breaks with the longing therewith connected after a cleansing of the heart and conscience. Luther, above most men, was familiar with this experience; and if there is one service which he, above others, has discharged toward a right appreciation of Old Testament Scripture, it is in fathoming and expounding its peculiar power to respond to such experiences. This is so well expressed by Cehler, that we shall quote a sentence or

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two. "For all," he says, "that relates in the Old Testament to that antithesis, Luther has opened the understanding as none other has done. And whosoever desires to apprehend what the Old Testament has to testify, in doctrine and history, of the severity of the law and judgment of God, of the curse of sin and the comfortlessness of a life without God, but also, at the same time, of the longing for the forgiveness of sins and the purging of the heart, and of the faith in the promises of God, has the best help for that object in Luther's writings, and especially in his exposition of the Psalms, which surpasses many more recent interpretations and expositions that partly misapprehend and partly reduce to the commonplace what is essential in Old Testament piety." And if it is true that the Old Testament, as a whole, exhibits this wondrous correspondence with the soul's wants and experiences, it is true pre-eminently of the Psalms, which have been taken up as the book of devotion for all ages, in which each man in his own day reads out the language most applicable to his own position, and in which there are notes attuned to harmonise with all the varied music of the deep heart of man, whether it sounds to hope or to fear, to the sense of sin or the joy of remission, to the terror of the law or the comforts of grace, to gladness or sorrow, to unrest or peace. And in all this is there not something which is left unaccounted for by the theory that these Old Testament writings are in nothing distinguished essentially from the religious books of other nations? In this peculiar relation borne to the man and to the Christian, in this inner and profound connection with the life that stirs most deeply within us, in this power of spiritual suggestiveness, in this capacity of appeal to the soul's most proper wants and experiences, should we not recognise considerations pointing us on to the conclusion that this, at least, was no common people, and that these are no common records?

In a similar way, the appreciation even of the more outward characteristics of these writings leads us to the same issue. We see this, for example, in various peculiarities that shew themselves in the history which is recorded. For if one reads these books with due care, and gathers up thoughtfully the outstanding features of the history there given of the people, and their beliefs, life, and institutes, he can scarce fail to acknowledge a complete difference between these and any other national literature with which he may be familiar. He will see that, whatever may be the ultimate explanation given of the fact, this cannot fairly be called a secular literature in the same sense as others. It is indeed a *history*, and it is therefore, in so far the product of the life and genius of the people, as it consists of a variety of writings composed by authors belonging to the nation, who lived at different periods, and wrote at the

call of different necessities or impulses. But if these histories of the Hebrews be compared with those, *e.g.*, of Greece and Rome, this broad distinction becomes apparent, that while the latter are completely permeated by a simply *national* spirit, by the glorification of their own people, and the magnifying of their own achievements, the former breathe a purely *religious* spirit which assigns the honour of even their grandest national triumphs, not to their own genius or prowess, but at once to the wisdom and hand of God. "The Israelite annals," it has been well remarked,* "unlike the records of any other nation, in ancient or modern times, which has thrown off the yoke of slavery, claim no merit, no victory of their own. There is no Marathon, no Regillus, no Tours, no Morgarten. All is from above, nothing from themselves." Even the accounts of their most splendid successes in arms contain no note of a merely military triumph. In the capture of Jericho, the battle of Beth-horon, the victories of Gideon, and Barak, and David, it is the right hand of the Lord that doeth valiantly. Even on that day when the waters of the Red Sea were divided before them, that day which Dean Stanley fitly designates as "the birthday of the religion, of the liberty, of the nation, of Israel," it is Jehovah that triumphed gloriously, and cast the horses and the riders of Egypt into the sea. And in the songs of Miriam and Deborah, it is Jehovah that is praised as conqueror and deliverer, and through all the dangers and conflicts of the wilderness, it is the Lord "that led His people like sheep by the hand of Moses and Aaron." Everything is looked at here in its immediate relation to God. The very land takes its name from the promise of God, its mountains are the hills of God, its streams are the rivers of God. This is a feature of their history which stands out so boldly as to arrest the attention of students of very different tendencies. Even Herder† recognises it, and acknowledges its unique nature thus: "In the history of other nations there are indications that they designated here and there a small piece of their soil as made sacred by the presence of their God; but I know no people whose poetry, like their's, has made the poverty of their country exhibit the fulness of God, and consecrated its narrow limits as a theatre for displaying the majesty of Jehovah." And so, again, side by side with this sinking of the merely national spirit in the religious, we observe also a similar overpassing of the local into the universal. For as the achievements and events recorded in this history differ from those of other nations in being all carried up directly to God's will and God's glory, so the religion

* Stanley's "Lectures on the Jewish Church," First Series, p. 117.

† "Spirit of the Hebrew Poetry," by Marsh, I. p. 236.

embodied in it differs from that of other nations in passing beyond the people and the country. The religions of other ancient nationalities are bound up with the soil, and neither they nor their records can be understood, in what is most peculiar to them, without some knowledge of those national and territorial circumstances in the midst of which they have had their growth. But the reverse is the case with the religion and religious records of the Hebrews. And this constitutes another marked difference between the two, that that very religion which is most exclusive in respect of the demands it makes for supremacy and in the hostile aspect it wears towards all other forms, is just the only one that is in the truest sense universal and independent of all mere local relations and peculiarities of soil or geographical position. And once more, with respect to the history, both national and religious, contained in these writings, we have to remember that the picture it gives of the people is the very opposite of what might naturally have been expected. On the supposition that these were either a series of myths, or a collection of the natural products of the literary genius and religious sentiments of the nation, what sort of history would we naturally look for in them? Would we not expect to find something resembling what is actually found in other nations,—a history flattering the national vanity, eulogistic of the national character, and encircling the founders and heroes of the race with a halo of dazzling marvels? And how different is the case with these Hebrew records! How simple and modest is the account given of the great progenitors of the people, Abraham and the patriarchs. The *poetic* aim which is seen glancing through the accounts of battles and victories, and travels and voyages, in other early literatures, is not seen here. Instead of that, we discover that the magnifying of God, and the reference of all the parts of their history to Him are the cords that run through and bind together the records of this nation. And how unfavourable, again, is the view given of the people themselves. It shews many things in which they might have gloried,—but it shews how in most their glory was turned to shame. It is a mirror of their shortcomings, their rebellions, their stiffness of neck, their blindness, and their sin. It is a book for their condemnation. It is a history, not flattering, but offending the national feelings, not grateful, but repugnant to mere national prejudices, and unlike the first literary products of other nations in the predominantly unfavourable representation it gives of the people to whom it belongs. And in all this again, do we not see something only very partially accounted for by that theory which we contest? And in such outlying characteristics as these, do we not find at least the presumption of a unique and divine purpose in these books and this history?

And this presumption that these writings must be something more than the product of the most religious genius among the nations of antiquity, will be strengthened by a minuter examination of their contents. For by this their distinctive character will be yet more impressively evinced. There are two things that chiefly merit our attention here. And they are those to which we have seen Cœbler refer in the choice of the term *historisch-genetisch*, to express the nature of the religious revelation contained in the Old Testament books. These two things, its *historical* and its *genetic* or *progressive* character, are perhaps the notes which, in our present point of view, most distinctly and decisively individualise it and its records, and assert for them a standing exclusively their own. Of these, therefore, we shall also make some mention, though it must necessarily be in the way of cursory indication rather than of ample discussion. Now in the closer and more penetrating examination of these writings, taken as a whole, and considered as the memorials of Hebrew life and religion, the first thing, perhaps, that strikes the student as peculiar to them, is the circumstance that, in a method unseen in other antique literatures, the whole narrative of the fortunes of the people is carried up to great divine purposes, while all the purely moral and religious truth enunciated is in like manner bound up in the most intimate way with the events, deeds, and institutions of the history. The Old Testament gives neither a simple narrative of national arrangements and occurrences, nor a precise and clearly-cut system of doctrinal teaching. The religious consciousness of the Israelite, as we decipher it here, shews itself neither in a compact body of beliefs, nor in the shape of dogmatic teaching, nor in any system of pure, speculative thought, but in and through a *history*, that is to say, in and through a series of dispensations befalling the nation, in a set of institutions peculiar to it, and in events, appointments, and deliverances, which met them from time to time in their national course, and in which they believed they could clearly trace the hand of God. We cannot separate here the history of the people, or the record of their outward career, from the facts of their religious faith, neither can we frame their religious beliefs into a didactic theology apart from the facts of their history. Indeed, so little does the Old Testament offer of the *abstract* doctrine of faith and morals, so little does it lay that before us in the form of direct and explicit enunciation, that on this very ground the philosophy of Kant denied altogether the applicability of the name of *religion* to the Mosaic system. The religious beliefs and sentiments here expressed are not presented as growing up outside, and independently of

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the national fortunes and institutions of Israel, but as determined, maintained, and developed in, and by means of, the numerous appointments of a theocratic constitution, and in and through a series of deeds and dispensations believed to bear the impress of the immediate hand of God. In perfect harmony with this are, for example, the whole contents of their poetry. Its spirit expresses itself always in terms of this fact. It is as statutes, and judgments, and testimonies, that the divine will presents itself to their spiritual perceptions; it is as the ways of God and his ordinances that they ever speak of holiness; it is as an objective law, given to Moses amid the thunderings and lightnings of Sinai, that they most habitually conceive of religious truth; it is for the peace of a historical Jerusalem and the turning again of the captivity of a Sion, that they offer their prayers and thanksgivings; it is in that great initial deliverance by which God brought them out of the house of bondage, and made the waters to stand as heaps until His people should pass to the land of liberty, that their most solemn vows, their holiest convictions, and their deepest piety are seen ever to centre; and the God of their salvation whom they worship and magnify in all, is no abstract divinity, no God of the mere fancy or speculation, no remote deity of philosophy, but the "Shepherd of Israel," that "led Joseph like a flock," and "sent a plentiful rain to confirm his inheritance when it was weary." It is of course true that to a certain extent the religious consciousness of other nations also has a real connection with their history. We cannot say that its only medium in the case of all others is found in their mythologies. It does also stand to a certain measure in a real union with their histories, in so far as great crises in the history of nations usually produce some effect upon, and leave some memorial in, the articles and institutions of their faith. But the peculiarity that distinguishes the religious consciousness which expresses itself in the Old Testament from that which shews itself in the literary monuments of other peoples, is its *exclusively* and *continuously* historical character. Israel's faith is one bound up with, and realised in, the total sum of the events of their career and the institutions of their theocracy, and neither in mere broken sections of their history nor in myths. And further, their religion, as witnessed to in these books, is of a *genetic* as well as historic nature. Those facts in which their religious consciousness and faith express themselves, and with which they are so vitally connected, present an unexampled *continuity*. They constitute such an unbroken, progressive series, as can be traced through the whole compass of the Old Testament, all the parts of which exhibit such relations to each other, that each step may be seen to stand in a real unity with the past

history, and to carry at the same time a prospective reference to a great future event which was to bring the history and the religion of Israel to their consummation, to wit, the advent of Messias and the establishment of his kingdom. To exhibit in any fulness the truth and the import of this fact, would require a larger application of the method of historic-criticism than is possible to us at present. But we may safely allege, at least, that a history of this nature, one connected and progressive in this sense, one both unified and carried on to its issue by that ever-present and ever-brightening conviction of "one far-off divine event," in which it was to reach its end, is discovered in no other national literature.

And it is the recognition of this fact that forms one of the most indispensable conditions to a right appreciation of Old Testament Scripture in its unity. It arrests the attention even of Goethe and Herder, and others who occupy their standpoint. And its relations and applications are most various. It is not a thread that runs through but one portion of the contents of these records. It pervades and unifies the whole and every part. We can trace this genetic principle, this gradual development, in all that is recorded: first, in the revelation of the divine economy of redemption itself; secondly, in the growth of the religious knowledge of the people; and, thirdly, in the deepening of their religious character. We see the divine promise gradually widening and brightening from its first enigmatic annunciation, on through the history of Abraham and the patriarchs, and Moses and David, and the prophets, until it expands into the clear proclamation of the Messias, whose coming was to be heralded by the voice of His forerunner in the wilderness. We see in like manner God made known to the people as *Elohim*, in the character of his Almighty power, and then as *Jehovah* in the further unveiling of His name: as the Self-Existent and Eternal, supplementing the revelation of the *Deity* with the deeper revelation of the *God of Redemption*, and once again in the kingly period, pre-eminently as the *Lord of Hosts*. And parallel with this, we can trace also the education of the mind of the true Israel from its first untutored type, on through the severe schooling of the law, and the higher teachings of the line of prophets, to deeper views of God's moral character, and of the spiritual import of his covenant and commandments. And this progression we can follow, not only through the historic, but also through the prophetic, books. And these latter, indeed, exhibit it most particularly in a light which brings to view the shortcoming of that school of literary criticism which we have been mainly discussing. For how does the case present itself here? We meet here a line of preachers extending over several centuries, from Joel

to Malachi, connected with very different crises in Jewish history, with the troubles antecedent to the captivity, as in the case of Joel and others, with the duration of the captivity itself, as in Ezekiel and Daniel, and with the period of the return, as in Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, and yet all teaching consistently the great lessons of the spirituality of God's law, and at the same time, adding each some distinctive line, correspondent with the nature of the emergency that occasioned his prophecy, to the great and ever harmonious image of Messianic hope. And in this, certainly, we have a phenomenon unexampled in other nations. For assuredly no other presents the spectacle of such a procession of religious teachers, gifted each with a spiritual insight deeper than that of Socrates, falling each into his own proper place in the course of a connected and progressive system of religion and religious doctrine and history, and uttering explicit predictions, and enunciating religious truths, which the known condition of the Jewish nation makes it simply impossible for us to account for as the common products of the religious intellect and genius of the people. Enough, however, has been said to shew that this historic-genetic character of the religion contained in these writings, marks them off as something unique among all the early literatures and religious records of the nations.

We must add, that the uses of this principle are most manifold. It is this conception of the historical and progressive nature of the religion of Israel, and the inner and essential connection of their faith with their history, that gives the theologian and the critic the proper standpoint for judging the contents of Old Testament Scripture in many applications. Thus, if we compare what is given in it as its theology with what is offered as such in the classic literature, for instance, this at once points us to the radical difference between the two. For the one theology is seen to stand in dependence upon a history, and the other in dependence on a mythology; the one appearing in association with the actual matters that made up the national life and career of the people, and the other in an association with matters lying mainly outside these. The recognition of this distinctive characteristic also makes plain to us how greatly those mistake the true scope of the Old Testament books who would keep the religious truth at the expense of the historic. For it shews us how impossible it is to allow value for the one without allowing the same for the other, or to regard the so-called history as the mere outer shell or poetic covering which we must strip off in order to reach the doctrine it envelopes. It is from this same point of view again that we rise to an adequate *definition* of Old Testament Scripture. For, thus recognising these books as the

records of the method in which, by special dealings, manifestations, and institutions forming a united and advancing series, God gave witness of Himself to the people chosen to stand in a special covenant relation to Him, we perceive at once that they cannot be rightly understood without a due appreciation of the peculiar position of that people,—a position, the peculiarity of which consists mainly in the fact that it was out of this nation that the Christian religion and church were to issue. Then further recognising this people as the people in whom the true education of the world was given,—that education which, in contrast with the more negative tutoring seen in heathenism, formed the positive preparation for the fullness of the times of Christ, we are led to judge of the Old Testament Scriptures as the records of that unique nation in which the counsel of God for the recovery of man was gradually brought to light and carried on to its completion in the advent of Christ. We conclude thus with Cœhler, that the theologian or critic cannot rightly approach them except from the standpoint of Christianity and the New Testament. And we see that to this extent, at least, we must supplement the definition offered by the second of these two schools to which we have been referring. It is in this way also that we shall best understand how true and how pregnant is the principle that the Old Testament is one long type of Christ,—a fact so manifest to the unprejudiced eye, that men like De Wette, who began their critical labours from a rationalistic point of view, have fully acknowledged it before their career has closed. And once more it is only this same conception of the distinctive character of Old Testament Scripture that sets in their proper light many of those circumstances which from the earliest times have been, more or less, moral and intellectual difficulties to the Christian student. For it is of essential importance to remember that these Old Testament books, though forming one organic whole, are also a collection of many diverse documents, separated from each other in date, some of them by centuries, and the first and last of them by above one thousand years, that they give the history of a nation which we see grow up from its infancy and pass on to its decline, and that the religious truth which they record is given in a development consonant with the advancing history of the people who were made the medium of its communication. Thus shall we best understand in what sense the whole Jewish religion is incomplete and preparatory, how each stage in the evolution of the economy of redemption, in the law and in the prophets, is in harmony with the then condition of the people, and how the absence of explicit presentations of the doctrine of the future life and judgment and of the duty of prayer and such matters in the law, is

to be explained. Thus, too, by looking at them in the light of their proper historic connection with the religious schooling of the people, we may best read off the true import of such narratives as those of the destruction of the Canaanites and the death of Sisera. And from the same standpoint we may come nearest a right apprehension of the intent to which the events and heroes of Old Testament story are meant to be *rota* for us, and a due appreciation of the instruction to be derived from such mixed characters as Jephtha, Samson, and Phinehas, and a proper grasp of the principles on which we are to judge such other apparent difficulties as the imprecations which meet us now and again in the midst of the deepest devotions of the Psalms.

And on the whole, while this conception of Old Testament Scripture is the only one that gives us the key to the right understanding of many of its details, it also gives us the most impressive view of the marvellous identity that marks it in the widest diversity. When perplexed with minute criticisms, and shewn here and there what is called a contradiction, it is good to fall back upon the thought of its unparalleled unity and consistency,—a unity which becomes ever the more wondrous, as by patient study we reach a fuller knowledge of the varied contents of the books and the peculiar circumstances of their respective compositions. The more accurate the comprehension we attain of the different periods to which they belong, the different styles of literature in which they are cast, and the great variety, both in character and in position, of the writers from whom they proceed,—writers taken, some of them from the courts of princes and some from the altars of priests, some from following the flocks and herds and some from the gathering of sycamore fruit, some from among the kings of Judah and some from the captives that wept by the rivers of Babylon, some of them rich in the lore of Egypt and the wisdom of the scribes, and some who were neither prophets nor prophets' sons,—and the more fully we grasp the consistency with which all these, while announcing special lessons suited to the changing crises of their nation's history, proclaim the same spiritual truths and carry out regularly and progressively the same doctrine of a Messiah to come,—the more insignificant surely will the alleged contrarieties and inconsistencies of the Old Testament appear, and the more marvellous and peculiar the grand unity in truth and purpose which pervades it from Genesis to Malachi. When we once catch the precious thread that runs through its whole extent, and grasp the clue which guides us through the difficulties of its parts, the patient survey of the parts opens to us the wider view of its organic unity. And in the truths which we see it consistently teach, and in the collective spirit which it breathes, we find the most

satisfying evidence that the mind of God has ruled its formation, so that it might be authoritative and useful for doctrine, for reproof, and for instruction to His church in all ages.

Under the somewhat indefinite title given to this paper we have not sought to deal with any of those minuter and more delicate criticisms which are at present engaging the attention of those whose studies are directed to the Old Testament. We have simply taken up certain more general facts and considerations bearing on those documents which the Christian world has been wont to venerate as one-half of the authentic revelation of God to man. These, we think, all combine to claim for the Old Testament a unique position and a distinctive character which make it impossible to regard it as but a parallel to the religious records of other nationalities. The investigation of these writings has at this time an almost unprecedented importance; on the one hand, because fields of inquiry little wrought before have been opened up in Jewish history; and on the other hand, because opinions judged by the church to be erroneous and fatal to the proper value of the Old Testament have again obtained extensive circulation among certain classes of the learned. The study of this latter fact also simply as a literary phenomenon,—as a fact in the history of the human intellect which must have had an adequate cause,—and the attempt to trace out that cause to which it owes its immediate appearance on the stage of speculative opinion, are exercises replete with warning as well as instruction. One lesson which they clearly offer us is this, that it is always unsafe for the church to rest on the simple assertion of her convictions, to the neglect of the cultivation of a liberal theological and critical learning. If the history of opinion establishes any great principle, it is this, that error commonly has its origin in the exclusive or exaggerated presentation of some special element in the truth which has been comparatively overlooked. And so the survey of the course which recent speculation on the Old Testament has run teaches us this, that to some extent at least, the ebb of religious erudition has been the cause of the flood of religious error, that the views which the church has now to combat contain kernels of truth that have not yet been sufficiently regarded, and that while she is lifeless, unless she be the salt of the earth and the light of the world in the fulfilment of her spiritual mission, she is also in a position neither secure nor worthy, if those inquiries into her documents and beliefs, which should fall within her own proper field, are left to grow up without her, and in that very circumstance to assume a hostile attitude towards her. But the review of recent speculation on the Old Testament is also fitted to impress on us this other important lesson, that the learning which the church is to prosecute and encourage should be, while in all

respects thorough, a *religious* learning in the best sense of the phrase, and that the greatest danger to be feared in all critical examinations of Scripture lies in the merely *literary* handling of the same. It holds good of the Bible above all other books, that to understand it in its parts we must understand it as a whole. And to understand it as a whole, the first requisite,—a requisite which takes precedence even of the commanding intellect and the capacious erudition,—is the sympathetic spirit. This is true indeed of all studies. Thus, in art, none will dispute that he who does not know the intuitive, subtle, spiritual power of beauty, he whose mind has not been, as it were, baptised into her ethereal essence, will be likely to form, however minute his acquaintance may be with technicalities and formal principles, an unreliable, because an inappreciative, critic. But of sacred criticism it holds good in a very special sense, that our whole conception and understanding of Scripture must be modified in the very foundation, if we approach it without the spirit proper to it. For by Scripture we mean this among other things,—a body of writings which are at once the mirror of holiness and the media by which God and Christ bear witness of themselves to the church. Consequently, in order to appreciate it we must have the experience of the inner witness of God and Christ in our own hearts; and in particular, in order to value and understand the Old Testament aright, we must be able to view it in the power of that connection in which it stands, historically with the New Testament, and experimentally with the spirit of our own Christianity. He therefore who comes to the study of the Hebrew or the Christian Scriptures as a mere *litterateur*, and pronounces upon the worth and import of these documents without regard to the personal knowledge of that faith of which they profess to be the records, enters upon his task unfurnished with that arm which, from the very nature of the case proposed, is the initial and indispensable condition to a just and adequate judgment. And how carefully in this very matter of Old Testament inquiry we ought to guard against all merely literary handling of these Scriptures, and to how extreme and melancholy an issue the prosecution of that mode of treatment alone may legitimately carry one, we may learn from the case of Ernest Renan, who, in one of his most thoughtful works, the *Etudes d' Histoire Religieuse*, while extolling the Bible, as he has studied it, simply as a literary treasure, is led openly and explicitly to deny that the general reading of the Bible among the masses is a good thing except, as he adds, so far “as it is much better to see the people read the Bible than nothing at all.”*

S. D. F. S.

* Mr Gladstone also notices this in his *Studies on Homer*, vol. II., p. 526.

ART. III.—*Life of Sir William Hamilton.*

Memoir of Sir William Hamilton, Bart., Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh. By JOHN VEITCH, M.A., Professor of Logic and Rhetoric in the University of Glasgow. William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London. 1869.

A FEW years after the death of Sir William Hamilton, in 1856, his academic Lectures on Metaphysics and Logic were published under the editorial superintendence of two friends and disciples, Professor Mansell of Oxford, now Dean of St Paul's, and Mr John Veitch, now Professor of Logic and Rhetoric in the University of Glasgow. These posthumous publications were well received by the public; and if they did not materially augment, they at least amply sustained the well-won reputation of the great Scottish master. The chief contributions of that master to Philosophy and Logical Science had been well known and keenly discussed during his life; and but little of what was original in his speculations remained to be given to the world after his death. Yet his lectures, necessarily published under various disadvantages, were found to contain much of what is admirable in philosophical thought and expression, much that illustrated and defended the profound views of their author, or exhibited the marvellous extent and depth of his learning. When it is remembered that they were written in great haste, shortly before their delivery in the class-room, and were never revised by the writer for publication, it must be admitted that they are extraordinary productions, such as could have emanated only from a most powerful and highly cultivated philosophical mind. They have, accordingly, taken a permanent place in the philosophical literature of the age. What are the great doctrines they expound, or what valuable contributions they have made to the philosophy of the human mind, we do not here undertake to inform our readers. In this Journal have already appeared various elaborate estimates of Sir William Hamilton's philosophy and of his powers as an original thinker. We do not care, at present, either to add to or to modify these estimates. But in conformity with what we have already said, or are committed to, we may declare that we still consider Sir William Hamilton the greatest philosopher of the Scottish school, and a man who has powerfully attempted to define the just limits of philosophical speculation. We regard his "Philosophy of the Conditioned" as a profound exposition and defence of the "common sense" doctrines of Reid, and, though it has its dangerous side, a real bulwark against scepticism. That philosophy,

conceived in a spirit of wisdom and modesty, was expounded with astonishing acuteness and learning. The author's contributions to the science of logic we also think of great value. We shall not here attempt to expound his famous "Quantification of the Predicate," or to enumerate his simplifications and improvements of the laws of syllogism. It will be enough for the present to say that as a critic and master of logic he has not been equalled in modern times, and that he has cleared the ground for future students and reformers of that much abused but genuine and valuable science.

It was to be expected that in these biographical days we should not long be without a *Life of Sir William Hamilton*. Accordingly, soon after the publication of the *Lectures*, it was announced, or at least understood, that the *Life* of their author was to be written by Mr Veitch. And certainly it was felt by the public that a man like Hamilton deserved a good biographer; that his life and character could not be too completely and faithfully portrayed. Why the demanded and expected biography has been so long in making its appearance is not explained. It is possible, however, that the professional duties of the biographer, and the difficulty experienced in collecting the requisite materials, may account at once for the tardy appearance of the book, and for some of its more remarkable defects. That the book has fulfilled all expectations, or given us all that we could reasonably desire to know of Hamilton, is what cannot be truly affirmed; but, as we hope to shew, it gives, on the whole, a fair representation of a philosopher, who, though gifted with intellectual force of the highest order, never attempted to make any figure in public life, but was satisfied with the pursuits and enjoyments of the family man and the scholar.

William Hamilton was born in an academic atmosphere, and from his infancy was surrounded with all the influences of academic life. His father, Dr William, and his grandfather, Dr Thomas Hamilton, occupied in succession the chair of Anatomy and Botany in the University of Glasgow. He was born in his father's official or college residence, on the 8th March, 1788. His mother, Elizabeth Stirling, was a gentlewoman of good family, and of no ordinary powers of mind. It appears that his ancestors, on the father's side, were all distinguished by their superior abilities or force of character. Many of them had been closely connected with the Glasgow University, and had specially contributed to its efficiency. They were of an ancient and honoured stock, sprung from the ducal house of Hamilton, but distinguished also by its own achievements. The redoubtable Sir Robert Hamilton, who led the Covenanters at Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge, was a

member of the family, and bore in his time that baronetcy to which the great philosopher was afterwards served heir, and which is now adorned with a new lustre.

Young Hamilton lost his father when only two years of age ; and, along with his younger brother, Thomas, he was educated entirely under the eye, or according to the judgment, of his mother. He was early destined for the medical profession, to which he seemed bound by hereditary ties ; and his mother spared no pains or expense to give him the best preparatory education. Many stories are told of the studies and sports of his boyish years, all highly characteristic of the remarkable physical and mental energy with which he was endowed. Decision of character and independence of spirit, which naturally spring from high intellectual power, were early manifested in the schoolboy ; but they seem never to have interfered with his affectionate reverence for his mother. He was early sent to a preparatory Grammar School in Glasgow, taught by a Mr Angus ; and when he was only twelve years of age, he attended the junior Latin and Greek classes in the University. But his mother, as if determined that he should be well grounded in the learned languages before his college life should seriously begin, afterwards sent him to school in England. He and his brother Thomas were first placed in a seminary at Cheswick, kept by the Rev. Dr Horne. In a short time the brothers were separated, Thomas being sent to a school at Hounslow, and William to another at Bromley. At the latter place, under the care of the Rev. Dr Dean, the elder brother remained for nearly three years, and made considerable progress in his classical studies, though disliking England and pining for his native country. At midsummer, 1803, he and his brother were once more united in their studies and sports. They were removed from England, and placed under the care of the Rev. Dr Sommers, of Midcalder, a man of some accomplishments, who did ample justice to his pupils. Here the brothers, while not neglecting their studies, seem to have enjoyed themselves highly.

"The younger brother," says Mr Veitch, "was of a highly volatile temperament, and abounded in fun and mischief. William, however, was not without his dash of genuine boyishness. He is remembered by some who knew him at the manse, 'as a wild boy, and fond of sport,' quick-tempered, yet warmly affectionate. His spirits were extremely buoyant, his love of outdoor pastimes unbounded ; and speedily the lead among the boys of the manse was spontaneously and cheerfully accorded to him, on account of the generous inspiration which he threw into all the sports of the place, as well as of his indisputable superiority in all feats of physical strength and dexterity, whether running, leaping, swimming in the Calder, or

daringly diving into the linn pool of a woodland burn, 'the glory of headers.'"

We here get a glimpse into the energetic character of Hamilton, who, in his youthful days, was as remarkable for his physical strength, beauty, and courage, as for his vigorous intellect, strong will, and unflagging perseverance.

The two brothers were sent to the University of Glasgow at the commencement of the session 1803-4. The younger brother, Thomas, destined for a commercial life, prosecuted his college studies during three sessions; but after reluctantly going into a merchant's office in Liverpool, he soon gave up all thoughts of commerce, and indulged his original bent by entering the army. After seeing considerable service in Spain and America, he retired from the army in 1818, and devoted his talents to literature. He was a handsome, brave, and accomplished man, who will, perhaps, continue to be best known as the author of "*Cyril Thornton*." But William, who was expected to study medicine, and to emulate, if possible, the fame of his father and grandfather, gave himself up more entirely than his somewhat volatile and versatile brother to strictly academical pursuits. Most of the professors whose classes he attended were men of mark in their day. Richardson, the professor of Latin, was an accomplished humanitarian, full of literary enthusiasm; Young, the professor of Greek, had a still higher reputation as a scholar and teacher; in the Logic chair Jardine was almost unrivalled for his skill in drawing out and training the powers of the youthful mind; in the chair of Moral Philosophy Mylne, the immediate successor of the illustrious Reid, taught his cold sensational philosophy with acknowledged clearness and force of intellect. By the lessons of these eminent instructors Hamilton greatly profited. To Young and Jardine, especially, he frequently, in after life, acknowledged his great obligations.

At Glasgow he also attended classes of chemistry, anatomy, and botany, as part of a regular course of medical study. But the love of literature and philosophy had by this time given a special direction to his habits and pursuits. He had begun to collect books, chiefly of a historical and philosophical character, and to lay the foundation of that admirable library in which he afterwards gloried, and which he turned to such a noble use. Though known as one of the most distinguished students at the University of Glasgow, and as a chief prizeman in most of his classes, he went in 1806 to prosecute his studies in Edinburgh, attracted, probably, by the high reputation of the metropolitan medical school. But by this time his anxious and far-seeing mother wished him to proceed to the University of Oxford, where his high talents might receive their best

development, and find the noblest field. Accordingly, in 1807, he went to Balliol College, Oxford, as a "Snell Exhibitioner," an advantage to which he was well entitled by his high academic distinction at Glasgow. During his residence at Oxford he read enormously, especially in Greek. The works of Aristotle, at once voluminous and difficult, he so read and mastered, that by some of his friends he was pleasantly called *ὁ Ἀριστοτελικότατος*. But while he was known to be one of the most resolute reading-men in the university, giving rich promise of ripe and deep scholarship, he shewed all the Oxford love of social enjoyments and manly exercises. His muscular energy and bodily activity were in harmony with his strength of will and vigour of intellect. He seems to have become the centre of a promising band of young men who felt and owned his intellectual ascendancy. Among his younger friends was Mr John Gibson Lockhart, who afterwards made such a figure in literature. He acted the part of an elder brother to Lockhart, and Lockhart repaid his kindness with real gratitude. The unhappy quarrel that some ten years afterwards separated for ever these remarkable friends must always be deplored by the admirers of both.

In his letters to his mother from Oxford, all written in his usual independent style, though perfectly respectful, Hamilton speaks of his Greek studies, and also of his attendance at medical classes. But it is pretty clear that Greek and philosophy possess his chief affections, while medicine is only thought of as a necessary profession. He had now fairly begun that course of deep and accurate reading, as well as that habit of independent and vigorous thinking which led eventually to splendid results. Mr Veitch has been enabled to furnish several very spirited sketches of the man as he appeared at Oxford, drawn by surviving contemporaries. These represent him as at once a student of immense promise, and one of the most kindly and generous of men; plunged deep in books, yet the delight of his friends; educating himself without any real help from tutors, yet never unsocial or pedantic, but indulging freely in the innocent pleasures of college life. "The few men now surviving who knew him at Oxford," says Mr Veitch, "all concur in testifying to the warm feelings of admiration and love which he excited at once by the manly beauty of his person, his courteous and agreeable manners, the kindness and gentleness of his demeanour, the force of his intellect, and the extraordinary character of his attainments." It must also be added, that, by all accounts, he was entirely free from those vices and excesses which were too common in the Oxford of his time, and maintained throughout an elevation of character, and a purity of life, that shed fresh lustre on his noble intellectual powers.

It is well known with what high honours Hamilton took his degree at Oxford. Perhaps no man of his time made such a figure as a profound philosophic scholar, who had not only read much but had thoroughly mastered his reading. His name appears in the first-class list for the Michaelmas term in 1810. In mathematics and physics he seems to have made no remarkable figure. It is possible that even at that period he had formed that inadequate estimate of the importance of purely mathematical studies to which he unfortunately adhered in after life. His examination in Greek and philosophy filled the examiners with admiration, and gave him a renown in the University which few had ever reached before him. He stood alone in the great branch of study he had specially marked out for himself, and which he lived to make peculiarly his own. How a man of such vast attainments and such an exalted character did not obtain a fellowship in his college Mr Veitch cannot undertake to explain; but he significantly quotes the words that Lockhart once appended to an advertisement of a Balliol fellowship,—“No Scotchman need apply.”

On leaving Oxford, Mr Hamilton abandoned all thoughts of the medical profession, and resolved to go to the Scotch bar. Accordingly, after taking the necessary steps, he passed advocate in July, 1813, and took up his residence in Edinburgh. While attending law classes, and otherwise prosecuting his legal studies, he hunted out in the Register House and other repositories of ancient records the evidence necessary to establish his claim to the baronetcy of Preston. Assisted by legal and literary friends, he finally succeeded in procuring the materials that, on a regular investigation before the sheriff, convinced an Edinburgh jury of the justice of his claim. In his antiquarian and genealogical investigations he had made many interesting discoveries bearing upon the history of his family. The Hamiltons from whom he sprung were indeed an energetic and patriotic race, who mingled freely in the great struggles of their times, and were generally found fighting on the side of liberty. Professor Veitch gives a rapid and spirited account of the chief members of the family, and, finding many of their best qualities met in their descendant, he makes the following striking remarks:—“sprung from such a stock, and the heir of so many notable names, it is no mere prompting of fancy which leads us to recognise in the last distinguished representative of the house of Preston a certain summing up of many of the greatest qualities of his ancestors. The courageous, high-souled men who manifested a life-long resistance to courtly aggression, who risked their lives and stood unblenched in most of the great battle-fields of Scottish history, found a worthy successor in the ardent speculator of the nineteenth century,

who, though spending his strength in a sphere of activity unlike theirs, had yet as manly a soul as any of them, a spirit as independent, courage, energy, and devotion to high and ennobling pursuits as great, who, it may be added, in his unsparing polemical dialectic, dealt as heavy a home-thrust as any cavalier or revolutionary Whig, and shewed as keen a blade as the sword that gleamed at Langside, Worcester, or Drumclog."

At the bar, Sir William never made a great figure, though at one time his practice was not inconsiderable. He excelled in drawing up a certain kind of law papers; and, on the whole, shewed himself more fitted to be an eminent chamber counsel than a fluent or eloquent pleader. But his tastes were never really those of a lawyer. It was soon found that he preferred exploring the vast but ill-assorted treasures of the Advocates' Library to pacing the boards of the Parliament House. He had early cherished a passion for books, and now he had opportunities of gratifying it which were of no common kind. The stores of the largest and best library in Scotland were thrown open to him, and he soon began to study the theory and practice of bibliography as few had done before him. But his researches in the library, and the efforts he made to improve the arrangement of its contents, did little for him professionally, while his Whig politics cut him off from the favour of the ruling party of the day. He continued all his life a staunch liberal; but, as we shall see, the great party of which he was an ornament did almost nothing for him, while conferring favours on far inferior men.

Professor Veitch gives a very interesting account of the literary society of Edinburgh during the first quarter of the present century, when Sir William Hamilton first figured as an advocate and a man of acquirements in philosophy. The position and influence of Sir Walter Scott, Francis Jeffrey, and Dr Thomas Brown are very accurately and fairly estimated. Wilson, Lockhart, and De Quincey, and other lights of a younger generation, are also well touched off. With all these men, and the more eminent of their contemporaries, Sir William was acquainted; but it seems that he was not greatly influenced, intellectually, by any of them. He was not an active politician, a well-employed lawyer, or the author of any books, or even Review articles. He had, consequently, little reputation out of certain learned circles in Oxford and in Edinburgh. But he was all the while deeply exercising his faculties on philosophical subjects of the profoundest kind, and silently maturing those speculations which were, in due time, to proclaim him a master in the realms of abstract thought. His biographer has not been able to give a very full or clear account of what may be called the formative period of his life.

Little light is flung on those far-reaching studies and profound processes of thought by which the laborious and successful Oxford student was developed into the intellectual giant, who, by one comparatively easy effort, at last suddenly took his place in the very front ranks of philosophy. The truth is, that Sir William Hamilton, before he made his first great appearance in the *Edinburgh Review*, had written little and published less. He had been too busy reading and thinking to rush into print. Thus the development of his extraordinary powers was less noticed by his friends, or suspected by the world, than it would have been had he been early ambitious of the honours of an author or a reviewer.

In 1817, Sir William, accompanied by his friend Lockhart, and Mr John Hyndman, visited Germany, for the purpose of examining a large library at Leipsic which was for sale, and which he had recommended his brother advocates to purchase. He was by this time a diligent student of German literature, though not able to speak the German language with any freedom. Little is recorded of the results of this journey, but these could not fail to deepen his interest in the literature and philosophy of Germany. Soon after his return, he and Lockhart had that quarrel which terminated their intercourse for ever. The real cause of it is not exactly known; but we believe Professor Veitch is right in conjecturing that it was something connected with *Blackwood's Magazine* to which Lockhart at that time largely contributed. The virulence of *Blackwood* was unprecedented, and few of the leading Edinburgh Whigs escaped its insufferable personalities. We have reason to believe that Lockhart was the offender, but that, regretting his conduct, he made advances to his friend which were sternly repelled. It is commonly the case, that when two proud men quarrel, the apology of him who is in the wrong has to be very complete before it can be accepted. Lockhart, we believe, thought he had made apology sufficient, but his friend probably looked upon it as only adding to his original offence. It is reported that Sir William, in the sternness of his indignation, refused to accept Lockhart's proffered hand.

Another visit to Germany, made in 1820, enabled Sir William Hamilton to examine the great libraries of Berlin and Dresden. He made himself acquainted, as far as possible, with the contents of these vast national collections, and also with the principles of their arrangement. The right management of a library was with him a favourite subject of study, and through his efforts the Advocates' Library was arranged in such a way as to make it much more useful in every respect. He had a high idea of the character and functions of a librarian. According to him, a librarian should be, not only

a conservator and distributor of the books committed to his charge, but a man of learning, and able to minister to the wants of scholars and philosophers. He published his views on this subject in a letter addressed to the advocates, which was characterised alike by just thought and forcible expression.

At this period occurred the famous contest for the Moral Philosophy Chair in Edinburgh between Sir William Hamilton and John Wilson. That chair had been rendered vacant by the premature death of Dr Thomas Brown, the successor of Dugald Stewart. It is now universally allowed that Sir William was by far the fittest candidate, and had the highest claims. Wilson was known to be a man of great genius and remarkable literary powers; but he had no special aptitude for philosophical pursuits, and could not pretend to rival Sir William in erudition. Yet he was supported by the whole strength of the Tory party. Government influence, almost irresistible in those days, was brought to bear upon the Town Council, with whom the appointment lay; and never before were such efforts made by the Edinburgh Tories to carry the election of a candidate. Sir William Hamilton's testimonials were overwhelmingly strong, and the public voice, both in Great Britain and on the Continent, proclaimed him to be the man most worthy to succeed Stewart and Brown. But the self-elected, unreformed Town Council yielded to political pressure, and by a majority of twenty-one to eleven, elected Wilson. It would appear that, in the course of the contest, it was announced to Sir William from a very influential quarter, that if he would only allow it to be said that he was not a Whig, or not an opponent of the Government, no official influence would be used against him. But he was not the man thus to sacrifice his political convictions for the sake of any personal advantage, and, accordingly, he took a course which he knew would lose him the election. Another thing in connection with this memorable struggle, that called forth so much bitter party feeling, must be mentioned to the credit of both the candidates. Sir William and Mr Wilson, who had been friends before the election, never ceased to be on excellent terms with each other as long as they lived together in the same city.

Professor Veitch thus speculates regarding the way in which Sir William would have dealt with Moral Philosophy had he been elected to the chair:—

“So far as the interests of the chair were concerned, there can be no doubt that Hamilton would have supplied certain of the deficiencies in the treatment of Moral Philosophy in the Scottish universities. He would have given to the science a more definite sphere than had been assigned to it in our teaching and literature, and would thus

have checked the diffuseness of treatment which has greatly enfeebled its growth. Above all, he would have looked at ethical questions in the light of their history, linked on to the past of ancient Greece and Rome the isolated and exclusive efforts of Scottish inquirers, and given them scientific completeness and vitality, by setting both questions and solutions in the light of modern continental speculation."

In the following year, the chair of Civil History in Edinburgh became vacant by the death of Mr Fraser Tytler, who had filled it with some distinction. The Faculty of Advocates, with whom the appointment virtually lay, hastened to confer it on Sir William Hamilton, as if anxious to do what they could to alleviate his unmerited disappointment. The chair brought with it small emolument, for attendance on Civil History was not a necessary part of any curriculum of study. But the new professor instantly commenced the preparation of a complete course of lectures, that embraced civil history, properly so called, and also such subjects as the political economy of the ancients, Aristotle's analysis of the forms of government, the political institutions of the ancient Germans, the feudal system, and the papal supremacy. According to the testimony of many that heard them, these lectures were singularly fresh and powerful, full of profound research, and instinct with the spirit of true philosophy. "The most distinguished students of the University," said Professor Wilson, "spoke with enthusiasm of the sagacity, learning, eloquence, and philosophic spirit of Sir William's lectures." The Civil History class never numbered more than fifty, but it always contained not a few young men who were truly worthy to sit at the feet of such a professor.

About this period, the claims of Phrenology to the rank of a science were vehemently discussed in this country, and especially in Edinburgh, where Mr George Combe laboured as the great apostle of its doctrines. Sir William, from the very first, disputed the truth of these doctrines, not merely on philosophical but also on anatomical and physiological grounds. He saw that phrenology could be refuted, not by abstract reasonings, or metaphysical arguments, but only by carefully conducted experiments bearing upon the size, distribution, and functions of the brain, and by a candid examination of the alleged facts on which the reputed science was based. With prodigious labour and pains he addressed himself to the task of thus meeting phrenology on its own ground; and the result of his enterprise was a series of observations and conclusions that proved entirely adverse to the doctrines of Gall, Spurzheim, and Combe. In papers read before the Royal Society, and in lectures delivered in the largest class-room of the University, he communicated to the public the inferences he had drawn from his elaborate and exhaustive experiments. The substance

of these expositions he afterwards gave to his students from the logic chair. The phrenologists never met with a more formidable and persevering foe than Sir William ; and it is believed that to his powerful attacks is largely due the disfavour into which their science has fallen.

Professor Veitch is fortunate in having procured from a variety of sources descriptions and recollections of Sir William Hamilton as he appeared and acted at different periods of his life. Early friends and academic pupils contribute interesting sketches to this biography. One of the most characteristic of these sketches is furnished by Thomas Carlyle. Mr Carlyle has but little to record, but that little is given in his most kindly and genial style. We can only quote the following from the fresh pen-and-ink portrait he has happily dashed off :—

“ On solid, realistic points, he was abundantly luminous ; promptitude, solid sense, free-flowing intelligibility always the characteristics. The tones of his voice were themselves attractive, physiognomic of the man ; a strong, carelessly melodious, tenor voice, the sound of it betokening seriousness and cheerfulness ; occasionally something of slightly remonstrative was in the under tones, indicating, well in the background, possibilities of virtuous wrath and fire ; seldom anything of laughter, of levity never anything ; thoroughly a serious, cheerful, sincere, and kindly voice, with looks corresponding. In dialogue, face to face, with one he trusted, his speech, both voice and words, was still more engaging ; lucid, free, persuasive, with a bell-like harmony, and from time to time in the bright eyes, a beaming smile, which was the crown and seal of all to you.”

Professor Veitch is right in thinking that something higher and deeper than German studies and love of literary work drew such men as Hamilton and Carlyle together. He thus speaks of these distinguished friends : “ amid certain outward differences of form, there may be traced a real unity in the characters and life-aims of Hamilton and Carlyle. Both stand out in the history of these past years conspicuous for fervour, simplicity of purpose, noble-heartedness, and a resolute adherence to their respective self-chosen, somewhat isolated tracts of thought and conviction, sustained alike by the unwavering belief that whatever the world around them might think, the best thing for it was the sense of the absolute worth, the absolute inconvertibility with any other earthly good, of a love of truth, as truth, in thought and action.”

Early in 1827, Hamilton lost his admirable mother, with whom he had lived during the entire period of his residence in Edinburgh. She had been to him during his whole life not merely a loving parent, but a wise friend and counsellor ; and never was mother more loved and trusted by a son. His grief for her loss was overwhelming. For a considerable time he

seems to have been quite prostrated by the blow and almost unfitted for intellectual exertion. But two years after he fortunately took a step which proved to be of incalculable benefit to him during the remainder of his days. He married his cousin, Miss Marshall, who had for years been an inmate of his mother's house, and with whose character he was of course intimately acquainted. Never was philosopher more happily married. Lady Hamilton had every quality of head and heart fitted to engage the affections and command the respect of her husband. As the head of his house and the mother of his children, as sympathising with his studies, and nobly helpful to him in much hard literary work, she proved herself most worthy of all the praise that can be cared for by a virtuous and pure-minded woman. She still survives to cherish her husband's memory, and be a witness of the high place he holds among the masters of modern thought.

In 1829, the *Edinburgh Review*, edited from its commencement by Francis Jeffrey, passed into the hands of Mr Macvey Napier, a man who had always taken an intelligent interest in speculative philosophy. Mr Napier immediately applied to his friend Hamilton to write for the first number of the periodical that was to appear under his editorship a review of Cousin's *Cours de Philosophie*. Sir William, for various reasons, was averse to undertake such a task. For one thing, he had a great admiration for the genius and character of M. Cousin, but should be obliged to reject the chief doctrines of his book. He was also afraid that few readers in Great Britain at that time would be able to follow the argument upon which he should be compelled to enter. But as Mr Napier would take no denial, the solicited review was written, and made its appearance at the time appointed. We are informed that it was written in considerable haste, and that in passing through the press it was necessarily, and not advantageously, abridged. Yet the impression it made first on Continental, and afterwards on British thinkers, was profound and permanent. It contained the first formal development of that "Philosophy of the Conditioned," which has made the name of the author so famous, and was, to use the language of Professor Veitch, "the first of a series of contributions to the *Edinburgh Review*, which, for force and keenness of dialectic, depth of thought, and extent of learning, have not in this century been surpassed, if equalled, by any writings on the subjects to which they refer." M. Cousin himself was among the first to recognise the extraordinary merit of this review article. With a generosity worthy of his high name he extolled in the highest terms his formidable critic, and sought to number him among his friends. These distinguished men soon entered into corre-

spondence with each other, and became friends for life, though they never personally met on either side of the Channel.

For a period of seven years after this, Sir William contributed regularly to the *Edinburgh Review*. Most of his articles as they appeared made a perfect sensation in the philosophical world. In October, 1830, was published his great article on the "Philosophy of Perception," being professedly a review of M. Jouffroy's French edition of the works of Reid. This was regarded by its author as the proper logical sequel of his "Philosophy of the Conditioned." In his first great essay he endeavoured to ascertain and fix the limits of human knowledge, to trace the proper circumscription of the realm of philosophy, and, consequently, to explode that transcendentalism which, in Germany especially, had possessed and deluded some of the highest minds. The results of his magnificent criticism had therefore been mainly negative or destructive. He had cleared the ground for something of a positive and constructive kind. This something he abundantly supplied in his *Essay on Perception*, a performance which, on its appearance, was instantly hailed as a perfect miracle of learning and metaphysical genius. Only profound students and real masters of philosophy were able at first to appreciate the transcendent merits of that marvellous effort. But now, when its doctrines have been well discussed and are widely known, the general public can better judge of the great service it rendered to philosophy. It formed, in its substance, a masterly defence and expansion of the philosophy of Reid, that philosophy of Common Sense propounded and advocated by the great masters of the Scottish School. Its author shewed, with consummate skill and power, that we necessarily and immediately perceive the external world, and that the phenomena of consciousness, definitely tested and analysed, furnish all the requisite materials for the construction of a true philosophic system. He thus cut up by the roots that false and dangerous idealism which leads to the non-recognition or denial of the existence of an external world. The grand question of Perception, the turning point, as it may be called, of every system of philosophy, had never in this century been so thoroughly discussed; and the doctrines laid down by the essayist have not up to this day been successfully assailed. In his *Dissertations* appended to his edition of Reid's works, Sir William subsequently further elaborated these doctrines, and they are now generally regarded as constituting no small portion of his claim to philosophic honours of the highest order.

The next important article contributed to the *Review* by this newly revealed giant in philosophy was upon Logic, consisting of a review of "Recent Oxford publications on

Logical Science." In this production Sir William vindicated the right of Formal Logic to a high place in the circle of the philosophical sciences, and drew in bold outline another great portion of his own philosophical system. He did justice to Whately's well-known and useful work, but shewed its great defects, and pointed to something higher and more truly scientific as a necessity of the age. This article, though necessarily incomplete, contained the germs or elements of all Sir William's subsequent logical speculations and improvements. Along with its two predecessors, it formed a splendid contribution to our philosophical literature. Speaking of the three essays that have acquired such celebrity, Professor Veitch finely remarks: "impressive as is the suggestion which they give of power and learning, it is melancholy to think that those accomplishments appeared so late in the lifetime of their possessor, appeared, too, almost by accident; and that even after they were revealed, they were kept by him in a reserve, which stayed his hand from completing the edifice designed, one so rare in conception, so grand in its ideal proportions, that even the tracings of its first lines stir the soul which ponders them with emotions akin to those inspired by the fragments of the stateliest architecture, or by the partly-shrouded form of a far-reaching, undefined, mountain height."

Sir William, from the course of his studies, and his philosophic interest in the higher education of the country, had early been led to examine with a critical eye the constitution and working of the British universities, more especially the universities of England. It was but natural, therefore, that, when he had ready access to a powerful organ of opinion like the *Edinburgh Review*, he should pour out, in his own vigorous and trenchant style, his long meditated views on University Reform. In a series of articles published between 1831 and 1835, he attacked especially the abuses that prevailed in the University of Oxford, vindicated the right of dissenters to participate in university privileges, and discussed the difficult question of University Patronage. The language employed in these remarkable essays was uncommonly severe, and the criticism in some places truly tremendous. But they told powerfully upon the public mind, and are universally acknowledged to have greatly contributed to the progress of sound University Reform both in England and in Scotland. He confessed on one occasion, that he hit Oxford very hard because she was the most formidable foe and could best stand severe treatment. But the impetuosity of his truly Scotch temperament, which all his philosophy never entirely regulated and restrained, hurried him into expressions and reflections which cannot be justified. Some of his attacks on

Oxford, which were almost ferocious, were repelled at the time by a number of champions of that University. But in his article "On the right of dissenters to admission to the Universities," he made a strange and unwarrantable attack on Luther, which was not sufficiently met till twelve years after its appearance, when Archdeacon Hare, in his Notes to his work on "The Mission of the Comforter," replied to it at length, and with great effect. Had Sir William been arguing on the Roman Catholic side of a question involving the moral character of Luther, he could not, perhaps would not, have spoken so harshly of the great Reformer.

In meeting the argument for University Tests in this country which was derived from the condition of the universities of Germany, where no such tests are enforced, he observed that certain rationalist and infidel tendencies complained of are to be regarded as the result of "a vigorous and unimpeded Protestantism," and that Luther himself, though no Rationalist, had yet, by much of his language, given "a warrant to the most audacious of Rationalist assaults." Alluding also to Luther's well-known sinful assent to the Landgrave of Hesse's marriage of a second wife in the lifetime of the first, he used language of unwarrantable severity, and accused the Reformer of defending the principle of polygamy. These and similar attacks, now proved to be most wanton and gratuitous, it is difficult to account for completely. Sir William, as his biographer shews, was a great admirer of Luther, and in his latter years amassed a vast quantity of valuable materials for a work on the character and life of the Reformer which he proposed to write. A fragment of the projected work, apparently intended to be a sort of preface or introduction, is published by Professor Veitch; and judging from its highly eulogistic terms, we should say that its author was one of Luther's most ardent admirers. But, as even his biographer suggests, Sir William Hamilton was not the man to pourtray Luther's real character and to make due allowance for certain words and deeds that flowed from his peculiar temperament. To apply a severely logical standard to the writings or public conduct of the great German Reformer is not the way to gain an accurate knowledge of the man or his work. But while Sir William was in some measure intellectually disqualified for properly judging Luther, in spite of his vast knowledge of the Reformer and his times, it must be admitted that the statements in the review article which kindled the indignation of Archdeacon Hare, the late Principal Cunningham, and many other competent judges, were in the main unwarranted, and indicated a spirit not only unjust but virulent. These statements were never publicly vindicated by their author; but

though he was too proud formally to withdraw them, he seems to have finally contemplated them with little satisfaction. Luther appears to have risen in his estimation the more he studied his character and life; and he came to speak and write of the Reformer as if he would allow no man to say anything against him but himself.

In 1836, Sir William at last attained the legitimate object of his ambition, the Logic Chair in the University of Edinburgh. On the resignation of that chair by Dr David Ritchie, the man who was regarded as the most learned and profound metaphysician in Great Britain was universally looked to as a candidate. After a pretty sharp contest, Sir William was appointed by the patrons, the Town Council of Edinburgh, his chief competitor being Mr Isaac Taylor, the celebrated author of the "*Natural History of Enthusiasm*." Sir William himself did not stoop to a personal canvass of the electors; but his friends were not the less active in promoting his interests. His appointment was generally regarded as the just reward of his extraordinary talents and services. At the same time, it was felt by many that it would have been much better for himself and for philosophy had he been appointed to the Logic or Moral Philosophy chair in Edinburgh ten or fifteen years sooner. Yet if his youthful ardour was somewhat diminished, he was in the full maturity of his powers, and nobly equipped in every way for his important professorial duties.

The writer of this article remembers being present at the delivery of Sir William's inaugural lecture as Professor of Logic at the commencement of session 1836-7. The lecture fulfilled the high expectations of the crowded and excited audience. For lofty thoughts and true philosophy, expressed in pure and powerful language, it has seldom been equalled by any academic discourse. Speaking of it, his biographer well says, "then were revealed the peculiarities of the thinker and the man; the play of the most orderly logical power and of the finest acumen; a style of rare lucidity; a deep, grave eloquence, abounding in wonderfully felicitous turns of expression." The leading subject of the lecturer was the Use of intellectual philosophy, and on that he descanted with characteristic earnestness and intellectual power, while he strongly protested against the utilitarian spirit of the times. He startled not a few of his audience by proclaiming the superiority of the pursuit of truth to the attainment of it. But this apparent paradox, rightly understood, involves a principle of the highest importance in philosophy.

His first course of lectures was on Psychology or Metaphysics, the course on Logic being reserved for the following session. He had prepared for his lectures much in the way

of reading and thinking, but little in the way of writing. He had, therefore, to write most of them immediately before delivery, sitting up frequently to five or six o'clock in the morning at the laborious work of composition. He wrote, and corrected what he had written, with great labour, so close and consecutive was his thinking, so fastidious his literary taste. In the prodigious labours of this session, and others that followed it, he was singularly assisted by Lady Hamilton. While the husband sat in his study like a giant toiling at his work, the wife kept watch in an adjoining room, and wrote out, in a fair feminine hand, sheet after sheet, from the blotted and interlined manuscript, as it reached her desk. "On some occasions," says Mr Veitch, "the subject of the lecture would prove less easily managed than on others, and then Sir William would be found writing so late as nine o'clock of a morning, while his faithful but wearied amanuensis had fallen asleep on a sofa. Sometimes the finishing touch to the lecture was left to be given just before the class hour, one o'clock.

Sir William Hamilton's lectures on Metaphysics and Logic created a new intellectual era in the history of the University of Edinburgh. Their wonderful freshness, originality, and power, their marvellous acuteness and unparalleled erudition, strongly attracted and impressed all superior young minds that were found in the crowded class-room. The result was, that a set of pupils soon appeared who were not unworthy of the master. Of these admiring disciples Dr Cairns of Berwick is an excellent type and specimen. Professor Fraser, Sir William's successor in his chair, and Professor Veitch, his biographer, largely owe their distinction to his inspiring instructions, while they sustain the high reputation of that Scottish school of which Hamilton is now universally accepted as by far the greatest representative. Yet it must be confessed that some who attended the lectures of the great philosopher, and are counted among his disciples, have not so honourably signalized themselves in their different careers, but have been more remarkable for intellectual pride and self-conceit than for any true philosophic spirit or real strength of mind. To be able to talk in abstract terms, or speak familiarly of abstruse metaphysical doctrines, is not necessarily any proof of superior philosophical powers or attainments. We would earnestly advise certain young Scottish metaphysicians, who talk, at least, the language of Hamilton, to remember that one of the first and best qualities of the philosopher, as of the Christian, is humility; and that they need not assume any airs of superiority over other men who may be abler than themselves, but cannot, or will not, use their somewhat pedantic nomenclature.

During his first session as Professor of Logic, Sir William

began to prepare a new edition of Reid's works. This editorial task, which he had somewhat accidentally undertaken, he entered upon with great zeal and diligence; but it involved finally far more labour, thought, and research, than he had originally contemplated. The Notes and Dissertations added to the text are numerous, extensive, and valuable, furnishing, in an authentic and elaborate form, expositions of many of the leading points of his philosophy. This great and masterly edition of Reid, owing to various unexpected delays, was not completed till 1846. It is a lasting monument of the editor's peculiar powers and attainments.

Professor Veitch describes, with an eye to Mr Mill's representations, the gradual development of Sir William's philosophy, and shews where his doctrines are to be found in their latest and most authentic shape. On such subjects he writes with special authority and effect; and he is also not less happy in speaking of his great master's spirit, style, and influence as a teacher, of the philosophical enthusiasm with which he inspired the higher order of his pupils, and of the lofty tone he has given to modern philosophy. On these and kindred subjects the biographer writes eloquently and worthily, with the affectionate admiration of a friend, yet not without the manly candour of an independent thinker. He has also been fortunate in procuring from Dr Cairns several most interesting communications, embodying many exquisite reminiscences and descriptions of the great philosopher. These, with a similar contribution from Mr Spencer Baynes, a distinguished pupil of Sir William, and now Professor of Logic at St Andrews, greatly enrich this biography.

We do not enter into the subject of Sir William's disputes with the Town Council, as patrons of the University, on the subjects of his class fees, and of his teaching and deriving fees from two classes instead of one. The philosopher was substantially right, but on some points at least, technically wrong; and the plain burghers actually got the better of him. But it was no new thing for the Town Council of Edinburgh to vanquish in law, if not in argument, distinguished Professors, and even the whole *Senatus Academicus*. Professor Veitch allows that Sir William, in these and similar controversies, used his giant strength somewhat unworthily, and exerted his enormous controversial power to but little purpose. In his written communications with the Council, "he was throughout caustic, elaborate, even scornful; stimulated, but not overmastered, by a certain white heat of passion, which shone through a dialectic far too fine and keen for the occasion." His truly Scotch *perfervidum ingenium* gave a character to all his controversies which was not exactly con-

sistent with that constitutional composure which a great philosopher is expected to possess. As years advanced, Sir William unfortunately did not become less pugnacious, or less given to severity of language. But the dogmatism of which he was accused was not of the vulgar kind. It was rather the result of strength of conviction and consciousness of power, fortified by learning to which other men had no pretensions. Yet his best friends sincerely regret most of the passages at arms between him and his various opponents, whether citizens or philosophers. Not that they think he was generally wrong in principle, or weak in argument, but that, in his keenness of temper and logical precision of thought, he made too small allowance for modern or accidental circumstances which go so far in the practical settlement of mixed or complicated questions. Even in controversies purely philosophical he was sometimes hurried away by a most unphilosophical vehemence.

Sir William, an eminent contributor to the *Edinburgh Review*, and a staunch supporter of Liberal principles, had certainly claims upon the consideration of the Whig party which could not honourably be overlooked. A man of his high powers and European reputation would have been considered an ornament by any party; and, certainly, on many grounds he merited some substantial mark of favour. Yet, though his income was always scanty, and never fully adequate to meet the just claims of his family, and of his philosophical pursuits, he never received from his party anything better than an inferior office connected with the Court of Tienda. On several occasions he applied to the heads of the Whig Government for appointments to which he had an excellent claim, and for which he was admirably qualified; but he was always disappointed. Dull mediocrity or partizan services carried the day against transcendent talents and high achievements in literature and philosophy. Professor Veitch gives a letter addressed by Sir William in 1840 to Lord Melbourne, the Prime Minister, in which he applies for a principal clerkship of the Court of Session, then expected to be vacant. The dignified yet earnest manner in which the high-minded philosopher presents his claims, and condescends, on account of his family, to entreat a favour which he felt to be justly his due, is impressive, and almost pathetic; and a feeling of indignation is naturally excited by the information that such powerful pleading was all in vain. On a subsequent occasion, when suffering from paralysis and broken in health, he applied to Lord John Russell for an adequate pension or retiring allowance, and was offered the paltry sum of £100 a year. This almost insulting offer was at once refused, and so ended Sir William's expectations from a party to which he lent the lustre

of his name. It is remarkable that the same minister who offered Hamilton a pension of £100 a year, soon after gave a pension of £300 a year to Professor John Wilson, who had all his life violently opposed the Whig party, and heaped unsparing ridicule on the Whig name. Nobody grudged Wilson his pension, as he was a man of high genius, and, from his popular gifts, a general favourite; but how the surpassing claims of Sir William Hamilton came to be so miserably overlooked by the Whig dispensers of royal favour we cannot even conjecture with any certainty. Many of Sir William's Tory friends were greatly scandalized at his treatment, and were loud in their expressions of sympathy and affection.

But we must now more concisely sum up the remaining leading events of Sir William Hamilton's life. In 1840, he was, on the motion of his distinguished friend, M. Cousin, elected corresponding member of the Institute of France, in the department of Philosophy. This merited distinction was unanimously conferred, and was gratefully acknowledged. The other academic and literary distinctions he received were very numerous, and need not be enumerated. But it must be mentioned that he actually received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the University of Leyden, and thus, as he jocularly observed, was perhaps the only layman in Europe who could claim the title of reverend. In the winter of 1842, Sir William's only brother died at Pisa, whither he had gone for the benefit of his health. This bereavement was very keenly felt, as the two brothers, though differing very much in tastes and opinions, had always been deeply attached to each other. Captain Hamilton was buried at Florence, where some years before he had committed his first wife to the grave.

When the famous Non-Intrusion controversy raged in Scotland, and especially as it approached its crisis, Sir William, who was intimate with Dr Welsh and Dr Chalmers, and had always taken an interest in theological questions, began to study a subject which threatened to rend asunder the Church of which he was a member. With characteristic ardour he set himself to examine the principle of Non-Intrusion historically, and to discover, if possible, whether it ever had been recognised and acted on by any of the Reformed Churches. At length, after elaborate investigations, and the collection of a great mass of materials, he determined, on the eve of the memorable Disruption, to publish a pamphlet which might avert or mitigate the impending catastrophe. He had come to the conclusion that the Non-Intrusionists were wrong in regard to their principle, and were going to sacrifice themselves through their own error. But even if he had been right in his views, he came too late into the controversial field to utter his voice of warning with

any effect. His pamphlet, with the emphatic title, "Be not Schismatics; be not Martyrs by Mistake," did not appear till fully a week after the Disruption had taken place; and it only discussed the less important part of the subject, the practice in regard to the settlement of ministers in the Reformed Churches of the Continent. He attempted to prove historically that the practice of the Church of Geneva, and the opinions of Calvin and Beza were quite adverse to the views so strenuously held by the Non-Intrusion party in the Church of Scotland. But Sir William had much better have let this matter alone. The late Principal Cunningham, a master of Church history, and a powerful logician, replied to his pamphlet in a very effective style, and, in the opinion of most competent judges, had the best of the argument. We ourselves believe that Dr Cunningham understood the subject in all its bearings better than his great antagonist, and that the quoted opinions of Calvin and Beza, though by some considered vague or dubious, are certainly anything but conclusive against the position taken up by the Scottish Non-Intrusionists. Certain we are that Calvin and Beza, with other great reformers of their school, never advocated the right of intruding, in any circumstances, pastors upon reclaiming and resisting congregations.

But Sir William was suddenly and sadly arrested in the midst of his inquiries into this and other controverted subjects. In July, 1844, he was, without any warning, struck down by a severe attack of paralysis. His incessant intellectual labours, often protracted through the night, had doubtless prepared his robust frame for this sudden prostration. But the attack, though severe, never deprived him of consciousness, or in the least affected his intellectual powers. Under judicious medical treatment he soon began steadily to recover from his serious illness. His bodily powers, however, were permanently impaired, and his temper, naturally somewhat quick and vehement, was not improved by the effects of the disease. Yet though much broken down henceforth in health and vigour, his marvellous memory remained, his intellect was as vigorous as ever, and his power of speech was in a great measure recovered. He made a noble, even a heroic struggle against the effects of a fell and insidious disease. With the exception of the first session after his attack, he personally superintended most of the business of his class year by year, reading part of his lectures, and only partially availing himself of the help of an assistant. Never did any public teacher make a greater effort to discharge his duty under difficulties that would have quite broken the spirits of ordinary men. At this sad yet most interesting period of his life, Sir William Hamilton, morally speaking, was a greater man than ever. A sense of

public duty, regard for the claims of his family, love of intellectual work, and sheer strength of will, all combined to sustain him for twelve long years, as he toiled in his study and his class-room with a vigour that, in the circumstances, was quite marvellous. The country, through the government of the day, might gracefully have enabled him to retire with comfort and dignity into private life; but all applications on his behalf failed, or met with a very inadequate response. Judged by any ordinary standard, his claims to a first-class pension, or retiring allowance, were of the highest order; but to the great regret of a large portion of the community, these claims were never publicly or practically acknowledged.

Mr Ferrier, afterwards Professor of Moral Philosophy at St Andrews, conducted Sir William's class in the session of 1844-5. A friendship highly creditable to them both, knit together these philosophers, though on many speculative points they greatly differed. None was more acutely afflicted by Sir William's illness than Ferrier, or shewed his sorrow in a more affecting way; as none afterwards more deeply lamented his death, or more justly appreciated the real greatness of his character. But in all the succeeding sessions during the remainder of his life, Sir William personally performed many of his professorial duties. During several years he wonderfully rallied, and did as much intellectual work as most men could have done in perfect health. He not only wrought at his elaborate edition of Reid, but latterly he undertook the editorship of the complete works of Dugald Stewart, and the interesting task of writing the Life of that philosopher. The work of the editor he lived to accomplish; but that of the biographer was never begun. The lectures of Stewart on Political Economy were published for the first time in this edition; and we happen to know that many of them were found to be in the handwriting of Henry John Temple, afterwards Lord Palmerston, who, when a young man attending the University of Edinburgh, lived as a boarder in the house of the great Liberal professor. Mr Temple, who was as obliging as he was clever, frequently acted as amanuensis to his venerated preceptor, and took an intelligent interest in the doctrines of that Political Science which was then almost wholly new to the British public. We have heard the daughter of Dugald Stewart say, that of all the able young men whom her father had received under his roof Mr Temple appeared to him the most promising.

Professor Veitch gives some interesting and delightful sketches of Sir William's studies and domestic life during his last years. As a husband and the father of a family the great philosopher was tender and affectionate in an extraordinary degree. No man ever more heartily enjoyed the simple, unbought pleasures

of family life, or was more unostentatious in his habit and manner of living. He relished society of the right sort, and was always accessible to those who had any claim upon his friendship or hospitality. He could be greatly amused with certain kinds of books of fiction, and was no stranger to the "light literature" of the day. But history and philosophy always retained his highest affection, and never ceased to be the great themes of his study and conversation. Unlike many men of his peculiar cast of mind, he had a mechanical turn, and filled his library, his study, and his class-room with original and remarkable devices for facilitating research, abridging labour, and rousing youth to honourable ambition. He possessed a marvellous common-place book, almost the labour of a life time; and destined yet, perhaps, to add to the amount, or improve the arrangement of human knowledge. This curious production of intellectual labour and mechanical skill Professor Veitch has fully described. It is a folio of twelve hundred pages, of which about eight hundred are devoted to psychological and metaphysical topics, and four hundred to logical. The numerous divisions and subdivisions are all planned on principles of exact logical order. The book was arranged and bound up in black leather by the author's own hands.

Sir William usually spent the summer in some provincial town or rural retreat, where he might enjoy needed recreation, and pure, bracing air. But he did not always, even in the country, escape accidents, or fresh accessions of disease. When at Largo, in Fife, in the autumn of 1853, he fell on the staircase of the house, and broke his arm. He was skilfully treated by the local surgeon; but though his limb was well set, he never altogether recovered the shock given to his system. Yet even this serious accident did not incapacitate him for his public duties, though it was foreseen by anxious friends that the term of his usefulness and life could not be greatly prolonged. But for three more sessions he appeared frequently in his class-room, and directed its business. He dismissed his students at the close of session 1855-6 with a more than usually emphatic "God bless you all!" In a few weeks after he was seized with his last illness, congestion of the brain. After falling into a state of unconsciousness, that was lighted up with intervals of sense and reason, he at last calmly expired on the morning of the 6th May. Shortly before the final moment he was heard to breathe forth the sublime words that have sustained so many souls in the valley of the shadow of death, "Thy rod and Thy staff, they comfort me." He was buried in one of the vaults of St John's Chapel, Edinburgh, and on his tombstone were inscribed, after his name and office, and the usual dates, these noble words: "His aim was, by a

pure philosophy, to teach that now we see through a glass darkly, now we know in part: his hope that, in the life to come, he should see face to face, and know even as also he is known." It is comforting to learn such things of this gifted man; and we have peculiar satisfaction in stating that we have heard on good authority that he died humbly and firmly trusting in the merits of his Redeemer.

Professor Veitch quotes the following striking tribute paid by Mr Ferrier to his departed friend:—"A simpler and a grander nature never arose out of darkness into human life; a truer and a manlier character God never made. How plain and yet how polished was his life in all its ways! how refined, and yet how robust and broad his intelligence in all its workings! His contributions to philosophy have been great; but the man himself was greater far." This is strong language, but it expresses not much more than the truth. "No one could come into contact with Hamilton," says Mr Veitch, "without feeling that in him simplicity was blended with the truest manliness. The ground of his nature was simplicity; its strength was sustained and nourished from this root. All through life there was a singleness of aim, a purity, devotion, and unworldliness of purpose, and a childlike freshness of feeling, which accompanied, guided, and, in a great measure constituted, his intellectual greatness. To the vulgar ambitions of the world he was indifferent as a child; in his soul he scorned the common artifices and measures of compromise by which they are frequently sought and secured. To be a master of thought and learning he had an ambition; in this sphere he naturally and spontaneously found the outlet for his powers. But this craving, passionate as it was, never did harm to the moral nature of the man. The increase of years, the growth of learning and fame, took nothing away from the simplicity of his aim, his devotion to its pursuit, or his freshness of heart." The partiality of a friend and biographer may possibly have coloured these warm expressions; but they who knew Hamilton best will acknowledge their substantial accuracy.

Mr Veitch, who was first a favourite pupil of Sir William, and afterwards a valued friend and class assistant, favours the public with no personal reminiscences. He writes, indeed, like a man who had little or no acquaintance with the subject of his biography, so studiously does he keep himself in the background. No doubt he gives us, in a condensed and sententious style, his estimate of Sir William Hamilton as a man and a philosopher; but we expect one who knew Sir William so well, and saw him so often, to take us now and then behind the scenes, and reveal those little traits of character, and relate those memorable sayings and doings, which are only known to the personal friend.

Not that we wish he had acted the part of a Boswell, a part which never can be very honourable ; but we can hardly help regretting that he has not given, in a more direct and familiar form, some of the results of the enviable intimacy with which he was favoured. We do not know of any biographer who has been so reticent as Mr Veitch, so persistently abstinent, so unwittingly ready to make himself conspicuous by his absence. He is content to make the full blaze of his lantern fall on Sir William's head, while he himself, modestly or capriciously, remains in the dark. But while we wonder a little at this, we must not withhold our hearty commendation from his work, which is really one of the best biographies of modern times. Those who intelligently read it may understand the man, Sir William Hamilton, nearly as well as any great man can be understood by his contemporaries.

The biography concludes with a chapter devoted to miscellaneous matters connected with the library, the reading, the literary contrivances, and intellectual habits of the illustrious deceased. It is full of most interesting details, succinctly given, and well arranged. But we shall extract a passage of a somewhat elaborate character, and a very good specimen of Mr Veitch's analytic power. After remarking that the continental philosopher of the last two centuries, who, in respect of learning, can be most fittingly placed along side of Hamilton is Leibnitz, he thus proceeds :—

“ Between Leibnitz and Hamilton, amid essential differences in their views of what is within the compass of legitimate speculation, there are several points of resemblance. The predominating interest of each lay in the pursuit of purely intellectual ideals, and wide-reaching general laws, especially in the highest departments of metaphysics. Both were distinguished by rare acuteness, logical consecution, deductive habit of mind, and love of system. They were greater thinkers than observers ; more at home among abstract conceptions than concrete realities. Both had a deep interest in the important intellectual and moral questions that open on the vision of thoughtful men in the highest practical sphere of all, the border-land of metaphysics and theology ; both had the truest sympathy with the moral side of speculation. In each there was a firm conviction that our thoughts and feelings about the reality and nature of Deity, and His relation to the world, human personality, freedom, responsibility, man's relation to the Divine, were to be vitalised, to receive a meaning and impulse, only from reflection on the ultimate nature and reach of human thought.”

The time is not come for fully estimating the value of Sir William Hamilton's contributions to philosophy. That these are most valuable and important is not and cannot be reasonably doubted ; but the place they are finally to hold in

philosophical literature cannot yet be ascertained. That he was a great man and a great philosopher the world will now admit more readily than ever ; that he was the greatest philosopher of modern times may not be so generally acknowledged. But in philosophy, as distinguished from science, no name in Britain since Locke's time can be placed above his ; and, perhaps, none can fairly be placed beside it. Berkeley, Hume, and Reid were men of the highest philosophical genius, and have a reputation in philosophy which time increases rather than diminishes. But they served only to prepare the way for a genius like Hamilton. Berkeley and Hume reasoned splendidly from false premises, and achieved a marvellous fame by the misdirection of their extraordinary metaphysical powers. Reid detected their errors, and brought philosophy back to its true ground, the direct testimony of human consciousness to the existence of an external world. But it was reserved for the master mind of Hamilton to analyse and expose with exhaustive completeness the fallacious systems of which Berkeley and Hume were the exponents ; to expand, correct, and fortify the philosophy of Reid ; and to lay broad and deep the foundation of a system which should be the true development and best exposition of the doctrines of the Scottish school. The gigantic task which this great philosopher imposed upon himself he performed with wonderful energy. He ransacked and mastered all past philosophies. Aristotle, and the other great masters of Greek thought, the schoolmen of Europe, even the metaphysicians of Africa and Asia, the great philosophical thinkers of modern times, English, Scotch, German and French, were all profoundly studied by him in his search for the strong and solid foundation of a broad and comprehensive system. The result of his vast and varied labours, of his profound reflection and subtle analyses, has been a new and noble edition of the Scottish philosophy. In his hands that philosophy alike explodes the inflated balloons of German transcendentalism, and the smaller bubbles of modern scepticism ; vindicates the nobility of mind, and affirms the existence of matter ; describes the vast yet limited bounds of human knowledge, and shews that true and lofty speculation is altogether independent of an inconceivable Infinite and Absolute. It required a master of Greek, of German, and of Scottish thought to do what Hamilton has done ; and we are persuaded that no man living, not certainly Mr Mill, will be able to overturn his work, or undermine its foundations. Mr Mill has assailed Sir William Hamilton with great vehemence, but, as Professor Veitch and others have shewn, he has failed to apprehend aright many leading doctrines which he attempts to overthrow. We confess we are tired of hearing that gentleman spoken of as the leading " thinker " of

the day. Whatever he may be as a political economist, he is not a philosopher in the high sense of the term; and his attack on Hamilton has only recoiled upon his own reputation.

In the roll of great men who have adorned the University of Edinburgh, Sir William Hamilton must ever hold a foremost place. He is sure of a proud position in the temple of fame so long as "divine Philosophy" is cultivated and taught among men; and assuredly he needs no material memorial to keep his memory alive among his own countrymen. But we are not the less glad to learn that a "Hamilton Philosophical Fellowship" has been instituted in the University of Edinburgh, and that a fine bust of the philosopher now adorns the University Senate Hall.

J. D.

ART. IV.—*Laics in Theology.—I. Matthew Arnold.*

MR MATTHEW ARNOLD has not dealt quite fairly by M. Renan. In selecting for the text of his brilliant theological deliverance, which appeared in the October and November numbers of the *Cornhill Magazine* (surely a very fitting vehicle, too, for the promulgation of the latest gospel, where the new St Simon Reade and St Collins bear their efficient testimony); in selecting, we say, a sentence torn from its context in that writer's "St Paul," Mr Arnold has turned a worthy fellow-labourer in heart and purpose into a lever to lift himself up, we presume, into the "full stream of modern ideas;" and then, having so elevated himself, he turns round and taunts the lever, which, in the spring, he has *tilted* backward, with having at one end stuck in the mud. If the inevitable result of being thrown into the stream of modern ideas is to develop this kind of ingenuous action and generous backward-look, none the better is it with the stream of modern ideas; but when we find the airy, kid-gloved preacher of culture becoming a "man of action" in any direction, the phenomenon may be regarded as significant, if not hopeful. At all events, Mr Matthew Arnold's "consciousness has played freely" at once over St Paul and M. Renan, and we should not be ungrateful that the "facts have been once for all seen as they really are." Now, there are two main orders of fact with which Mr Arnold, because of his starting-point, has to deal:—(1.) The facts of St Paul's life and character, as they really were; and (2.), the facts brought into view by the play of M. Renan's consciousness over them; for

according to Mr Arnold, M. Renan's consciousness, in its free play, has produced a fancy picture or fiction ; and our greatest poet has well sung recently, "Fancy with fact is just one fact the more." Of course it is somewhat unfortunate for Mr Arnold's theory to the effect that "free play of consciousness" is the one availing medium by which truth and progress are ensured to humanity, that, while he gives M. Renan all credit for a "free play of consciousness," he should still be under the necessity of telling him that he has blundered so frightfully. But let us for the moment follow Mr Arnold's own method, and inquire what are the facts as seen by M. Renan, so as to scientifically test them as far as we can, in order that we may proceed nearer to St Paul, to supply the scientific test immediately to him and his doctrines, and gauge Mr Arnold's own relation to St Paul in the return. The first portion of the task is by no means difficult ; the second is by no means easy. We shall try, at all events, to be clear and precise.

What, then, are M. Renan's facts ? On what ground does he venture on the tremendous assumption, for which he is so smartly criticised ? In one word, it is this—that Paul was a man of *action*, and not a man of *culture* ; that, while a bigot, he was a man of practical detail and diplomatic accommodations, and not a dweller in the ideal realm. M. Renan finds him to be not only an "ugly little Jew," but a man of such jealousy and such intensity of character, that his rugged impetuosity brings something like disgust to a refined taste, while he had little or nothing of that "free play of consciousness" which is the source and the soul of "real culture." He was "all things to all men," says M. Renan in effect, but not that he might take the good out of the mingled subtlety and languid refinement of the Greek, and the mixed credulity, superstition, and daring ardour of the Roman. He was all things to all men that he *might save some*, by awakening in them an ardent, almost Jewish, hatred of all that pertained to the calm beauty and prevailing glory of the heathen world. That which Paul preached was, in its first outgo, a fiery and intolerable individualism, which set the established order of things at defiance, and which sought to upturn the social and æsthetic structure, without putting anything tantamount in its place. Paul brought into heathen civilisation a mighty rugged energy, which has troubled the world with a sublime restlessness ever since ; which, in place of repose and completeness of outward symbol, has cast a sublime discontent over all art and noble effort ; and which, though it assumes to have something ineffable and self-sustaining within it, is yet unequal to realise itself in sensuous form. This, in different words, is the way in which M. Renan sums up the result of his work, and the conclusion which he draws from it. But we

quote his own words in free, yet faithful translation, that our readers may be well assured of our ground as we proceed:—

“ Paul cannot be called a saint. The predominating trait in his character is not goodness. He was proud, haughty, and severe. He was quick to defend himself, to assert himself (as we have it now-a-days); he used hard words. He believed he had absolute right (*absolument raison*) on his side; he kept to his own opinions, and was in contention with many persons. He was not a *savant*; it may even be said that he did injury to science by his unreasonable contempt for reason (*mépris paradoxal de la raison*), by his eulogium of what seemed folly, his worship of the transcendental-absurd (*l'absurd transcendental*). Neither was he any more a poet. His writings, although works of rare originality, want charm; in form they are rough, and almost wholly without grace. What was he then?

“ *He was pre-eminently a man of action, a robust, enthusiastic, vehement soul; a fighter, a propagandist, a missionary—all the more fiery that he had displayed his fanaticism in another and opposite cause. Now, the man of action, even though noble, when he works for a noble end, is less near to God than he who has lived in the pure love of the true, the good, and the beautiful.* The contact with reality always soils a little. The first places in the kingdom of heaven are reserved for those who . . . adore the ideal alone. . . . Paul is strong in action by his defects; he is feeble by his qualities. I persist, then, that in the creation of Christianity, the part of Paul ought to be regarded as much inferior to that of Jesus. We must even, as I think, place Paul below Francis of Assisi, and the author of “The Imitation,” who both saw Jesus much nearer. The Son of God is unique. To appear for a moment, to throw round about Him a soft and tender radiance, to die young, that is the life of a God. *After having been for three hundred years the Christian doctor, par excellence, thanks to orthodox Protestantism, Paul in our days sees the end of his reign; but Jesus, on the contrary, is more living than ever. It is no longer the Epistle to the Romans that is the resumé of Christianity, but the Sermon on the Mount. The true Christianity, which is to endure eternally, springs from the Gospels, not from the Epistles of Paul. Paul's writings have been a danger and a quicksand, the cause of the principal defects of Christian theology. He is the father of the subtle Augustine, of the severe Thomas Aquinas, of the sombre Calvinist. . . . Jesus is the father of all those who seek in the dreams of the ideal the repose of their souls. What makes Christianity live is the little that we know of the work and person of Jesus. The Man of the ideal, the Divine poet, the Great Artist alone defies time and revolutions. He alone is seated at the right hand of the Father for all eternity.*”

Now, there is something naively ingenuous, if not innocent, in Mr Matthew Arnold seizing on the expression about Paul having now come to the end of his reign, and giving us no hint whatever of the grounds on which M. Renan reached this conclusion. Had Mr Arnold done this, those who read Matthew Arnold, and who do not read M. Renan, would then have been

in a fair position to draw their own conclusion. But how the "free play of consciousness," lightening over the same facts, could, in two persons allied so closely in sympathy, in effort, and in object, reveal such a diametrically different result is somewhat puzzling, and could scarcely be urged as an argument in favour of that reform which, so far as we can make out, it is Mr Arnold's aim to bring about. The "free play of consciousness" round the facts before us, is that which is to lead us to right reason or the will of God; and here two writers, who idolise this kind of process as likely to prove the regenerating influence for humanity, flatly contradict each other; and, one of them at least, helps himself out of the difficulty by a very left-handed "free play of consciousness" around the fact. Philistines and Puritans do not assume to be led by "free play of consciousness" to the will of God, and therefore a little latitude may be allowed them when they differ; but when serene seraphic doctors of the new evangel cannot get two steps together in agreement, we suppose, since consciousness has been in such free play, that it is the will of God they should disagree. Well and good; only this does look rather like a relapse into the darkness and perversities of Philistinism, from which we were to be so delightfully delivered.

But what of the facts about St Paul? If M. Renan is right in his conception of the matter—if the man of the ideal life, and not the man of action, even when struggling for noble ends, is he who stands first in the vanguard of spiritual humanity, and if it be proved that Paul was certainly not a man of culture, or, in other words, was not a man of the ideal, following after the beautiful and the reposeful significance of secluded individual development, what can follow save M. Renan's deduction? But, perhaps Mr Arnold makes out that Paul was a man of culture; that his whole sympathies flowed out freely towards all forms of life and thought that could say a word for themselves in midst of the seething, bewildering confusion of the times, when all in the religious systems that was positive, and directly charged the practical aims of men, had dried up, and disappeared like a stream in deserts of sand. Mr Arnold, however, does not *strictly and plainly* say so; he challenges M. Renan's conclusion, but not his facts; and proceeds ingeniously to build up a very airy fabric without laying a true foundation. And since Mr Matthew Arnold is so determinate in his attempt to overthrow and make ridiculous the scientific and formal systems which, as he deploras, have been wrought mistakenly upon the writings of St Paul, surely it became him, in the first instance, to lay a clear, scientific ground-work for himself. This, however, he has not done. Instead of any attempt to start from premises agreed upon by all, he does by Paul in precisely the

same way as he has already done by Renan ; and the "free play of consciousness" is only too truly its own reward ! Mr Arnold's mode of seizing special points and affixing dainty labels to them, and then setting these adrift as though they enclosed and exhausted the whole significance of that which they are made to stand for, he has found of immense service in the freer field of general literature and social philosophy ; but the attempt to carry this method into the spiritual sphere, looks only too like to profane trifling. Mr Arnold, as we shall see, has put an Arnoldian placard or label upon Paul, having, in fact, educed an apostle of the Gentiles out of his own consciousness—a St Paul that will fall sweetly into the ranks of those who have witnessed for culture, and denounced Puritanic Philistinism. Mr Arnold is a dexterous master of the foil, but he is strangely awkward at handling the sword ; and he is about the very last man who should rush forth to do battle in right earnest. His destiny is to go his warfares on his own charges. His complete, ineffable satisfaction and serene self-gratulation, the smirk of which is all too visible through the cut crystal of his style, is adverse to his ever entering the higher ground of interpretation. He may get glimpses from a kind of distant Pisgah ; but, being content therewith, his contentment becomes his doom, and complete vision is not allowed him. Now, with regard to St Paul, one thing is undoubted : whoever will do battle for him, in his spirit, must be a fighter, breathing out, if not "threatenings and slaughter," then certainly, great and quickening incitements and warnings. However far wrong M. Renan may be as to the conclusion he draws from the facts, he is surely right when he says that St Paul was a "missionary." Even before his conversion this character emphatically revealed itself, and his conversion did not change this active tendency of his nature ; it only turned it into new channels of development, and set higher and purer motives and feelings behind it. Renan says that he was "jealous, haughty, and severe; by nature a dogmatist, and without sympathy." And this is to a great extent true of the Saul who persecuted the Christians—of the Saul, who, "a Pharisee of the Pharisees," held the clothes of Stephen, consenting unto his death. But it seems to us, that neither M. Renan nor Mr Arnold is in a position to judge Paul, save merely as the natural man ; and this simply, because both decline to admit the existence of that supernatural element which, according to St Paul's own most solemn testimony, made a new man of him. While M. Renan, in face of the accredited facts of history, declines to see in Paul any other than he who went from city to city to seize the Christians, and bring them bound into Jerusalem, Mr Arnold declines to see in his later life anything but the legitimate development of that *desire of*

righteousness, the germ of which lay in Judaism, and, which brought timeously into contact with the softer, more mellowing influences that then mingled in the overcharged Gentile atmosphere, burst into fresher and fuller flower. But how inadequate, on both sides, is this account of Paul, as we have it even from independent testimonies. Certainly he was a man of intense convictions—that lies on the surface of history. It was necessary to his very being that he should be possessed by some idea that, right or wrong, might lift him up above the sheltered level of mere dead conformity to any creed, and give to his activity a severe moral directness and tensivity calculated to relieve a peculiar dissatisfaction and impatience of himself. This he found in Christianity, as he had found it before in Judaism. Both supplied a severe standard of rectitude, and gave him a ground of vicarious action. As a Jew, he strove to keep intact and sacred the temples and the shrines of his fathers—a man of vast force and capability of self-denial, yet always with as awful capabilities of recoil. And this we find in him to the end; but it is strangely modified by elements which never, in the remotest degree, appeared before. Now he is placable, patient—when smitten on the one cheek inclines to turn the other to the smiter; is full of a tender sympathy and solicitous concern for others—for the welfare of a poor slave, Onesimus, as well as for the conversion of the facile, wavering king Agrippa; and, instead of making his efforts on behalf of others a cause of self-glorification, he now despises and contemns himself. Nay, his activity, which before had been fruitful mainly in subduing the inward, secret sense of dissatisfaction, now becomes the germinating seed of a new humility. Like the banyan tree, instead of throwing his branches skyward, to be seen of men, they strive to hide themselves in the ground; and, rooting anew, the tree unconsciously grows greater alike for shelter and for sustenance. Paul now is himself nothing, and something else is everything. He would glory even in being “accursed” if this something should but completely and fully realise itself. M. Renan ignores this fact, and to get some show of consistency in his character, eliminates from its history many of the most remarkable phenomena. Mr Arnold, again, declines to see that Paul was ever Saul, and fixes his starting-point in the midway of Paul’s mortal life, studying it as the life of an extraordinary man truly, but only that of a man of culture. Just let the reader carefully weigh this passage, until he has found its *rationale* and intention:—

“Every attentive regarader of the character of Paul, *not only as he was before his conversion*, but as he appears to us till the end, must have been struck with two things: one, the earnest insistence with which he recommends ‘bowels of mercies,’ as he calls them, meek-

ness, humbleness of mind, gentleness, unwearying forbearance, crowned all of them with that emotion of charity 'which is the bond of perfectness;' the other, the force with which he dwells on the *solidarity* (to use the modern phrase) of man—the joint interest, that is, which binds humanity together, the duty of respecting every one's part in it, and of doing justice to his efforts to fulfil that part. . . . Never surely did a worker, who took with such energy his own line, and who was so born to preponderate and predominate in whatever line he took, insist so often and so admirably that the lines of other workers were just as good as his own! At no time, perhaps, did Paul arrive at practising quite perfectly what he thus preached; but this only sets in stronger light the thorough love of righteousness which made him seek out, and put so prominently forward, and so strive to make himself and others fulfil, parts of righteousness which do not force themselves on the common conscience like the duties of soberness, temperance, and activity, and which were somewhat alien, certainly, to his own particular nature. *Therefore we cannot but believe that into this spirit, so possessed with the hunger and thirst for righteousness, and precisely because it was so possessed by it, the characteristic doctrines of Christ, which brought a new aliment to feed this hunger and thirst of Christ, whom he had never seen, but who was in every one's words and thoughts—the Teacher who was meek and lowly in heart; who said men were brothers, and must love one another; that the last should often be first; that the exercise of dominion and lordship had nothing in them desirable; and that we must become as little children—sank down and worked there, even before Paul ceased to persecute, and had no small part in getting him ready for the crisis of his conversion.*"

Now, what could be more simple, more ingenuous than this is on the surface? It is nevertheless nothing but a trap to catch the unwary reader, and to make him stumble past the real and essential fact of Paul's spiritual history. Notice how, as in a dissolving view, the two great epochs of St Paul's life, which he himself holds to be separated from each other by a wide and eternal chasm, are here cunningly absorbed into each other, and a sentimental glow spread over the whole picture. That which Paul held to be a sudden spiritual revelation and enlightenment, is here, in the final sentence, reduced to a gradual and natural process, with nothing in the least extraordinary or unaccountable about it.* Paul, the Pharisee, *as he was before his conversion*, is mild, gentle, considerate, and recognises the lines of other workers as being as good as his own; and, while he is quietly and unconsciously drinking in the spirit of Him, "who was in every one's words and thoughts," he is "breathing threatenings and slaughter," and making journeys from city to city. Mr Matthew Arnold is dexterous, but he is surely

* We are quite well aware, of course, that the tendency of a certain school of theologians is to countenance the idea that Paul's conversion was gradual, taking date from the stoning of Stephen; but this is pure theory—a wholly subjective assumption, directed to discredit the idea of spiritual conversion. And certainly it has no basis in Scripture.

presuming as well. To us it seems almost folly to expose such writing. No boy or girl at a Scotch parish school but would smile at this mixture, which either betrays ignorance, or something worse! Mr Arnold finds that Paul sometimes *Judaïses*, and sometimes *allegorises*, and on that account needs to be *translated*. Mr Arnold, if he does not Judaïse, certainly allegorises a little; but we fear it would not be quite so well for him to be *translated* just yet! His language on the face of it, gives a different version from that of Paul as to what he was; and in plain terms makes St Paul a self-deceiver and a liar, which is rather a swift translation, really! Did we not say with truth that Mr Arnold had put a label upon St Paul, and that he had done by the apostle very much as he had already done by M. Renan?

It is curious how, from their opposing attitudes or points of approach, these two critics yet manage to come together. It is as though they had climbed up from different sides a steep ridge, keeping in view a figure on the height exposed to them in profile, and that though both got a certain likeness, yet neither seemed to sort truly with the full face. If M. Renan's account and Mr Matthew Arnold's were put together, and, to connect them, a proper demonstration introduced to shew how some new element was absolutely necessary to transform the man Saul into the saint Paul, then we should have something approaching to a scientific criticism of the inner life of Paul in its relation to Christianity, and all which that touches or involves.

In a word, these two men are of one spirit and one mind in the desire to get rid of the supernatural and spiritual element, which played such a mighty part in the life of Paul, and without the recognition of which the contradictions in it admit of no adequate explanation. The one advances from the early side of his life, the other from the later side, and the two properly deal with different men. On no merely naturalistic or rationalistic principles can the life of such a man be satisfactorily dealt with. If that which is most mysterious could be facily explained away as mere myth, the difficulties would still be powerful as ever; for the question remains, How came the cruel, jealous, implacable persecutor Saul to be the meek, forgiving, forbearing preacher of righteousness Paul? Your Unitarian or Rationalist may say, that the light brighter than that of the sun which surrounded Paul in his journey to Damascus, was merely a flash of lightning. Still, suppose this was admitted, it is evident that Paul's mind must have been *immediately* charged with altogether new spiritual influences, to have enabled him from that moment to turn round and pursue, with intent enthusiasm, with never-faltering energy, and in spite of a peculiar tendency to self-depreciation and abase-

ment, a course so completely opposed and repugnant to all the associations and traditions of his former life.

But, looked at from the scientific ground, M. Renan is the more consistent of the two critics. He endeavours to draw off, and to reduce to a minimum, all that pertains to purely supernatural and spiritual influences, and to form a naturally consistent, coherent picture of the apostle; whereas Mr Arnold, while ignoring the spiritual element, yet draws upon its results the better to enable him to make effective his attacks upon Protestantism and Puritanism. The most spiritual elements in St Paul,—those elements for the alienating of which from their true direction and tendency, St Paul would have looked on any man with supreme scorn,—are by Mr Arnold used as mere vehicles for aiding in effectively preaching a tacit denial of the very doctrines for which he lived and fought. Mr Arnold piques himself, it would seem, upon his dialectic; he has handled St Paul cleverly, with the intent of making him wound his professed followers; what if Mr Arnold, in handling weapons of so fine a temper, has simply, in sight of the world, cut his own delicate fingers? This, we think, is capable of proof; and we now enter on the detailed argument.

Mr Arnold's pretensions are, that his strictures are rigidly scientific; and his pretensions, therefore, call on us to deal more severely with him than we are willing to do. Now, the essence of a scientific criticism is this—that it takes cognisance of all the elements vitally involved in the subject matter, or, at least, does not wilfully exclude or shut its eye to any one of these. True, it is quite allowable for the scientific critic to proceed by a series of experiments—trying this and then trying that, to ascertain whether or not a lower order of causes will account for and exhaust the phenomena presented; and if he finds a law governing the whole, which he can generalise into an axiom that wilfully excludes nothing, and blinks nothing, then we have a scientific result. But when Mr Huxley demonstrates that we are, each one of us, nothing but a set of protoplasms, and, at the same time, needs to assert that he is no materialist, he simply confesses that his scientific scrutiny has not exhausted, or even recognised some element which, as common instinct can lay clear hold upon it, crouched, *perdu*, within the limits of his chief term—life.* And so it is with Mr Matthew Arnold. He examines the writings of Paul, and professes to arrive at certain con-

* In this respect the critical philosophy of Kant is in its very essence *scientific*; and this, both in the rigorous exactness of its logical form, and the open recognition which it gives to that which yet it is compelled to relegate to a sphere beyond that of knowledge; whose reality, however, is vouched in the indubitable facts of human nature, which spontaneously seek and settle upon it.

clusions about them, all the while ignoring what, on the testimony of St Paul himself, is the key of the whole, and without which his consciousness were a mere delusion—his miraculous conversion, and the inspiration which gave him authority to teach and to write what he did write.

Now, even in face of St Paul's assertion, it was quite legitimate for Mr Arnold to try and account for Paul and his writings merely upon natural grounds, if he found that their whole significance or content was thereby exhausted. But Mr Arnold has not done this. He has raised St Paul to the highest pinnacle of uninspired greatness; but he has raised him up thus, not by the lever of criticism, but by the air-pump of fancy. The result is, that St Paul is left standing alone, a little above the vast crowd of men of genius, but he is still of them; and in spite of the claim of miraculous power and inspiration, a cloud overshadows him, shutting out the spiritual world. Mr Arnold does not consider Paul's writings scientifically, though it suits his purpose to pretend this. His relation to Paul is not critical or scientific, but rather lyrical and subjective. He brings a likeness of Paul with him, to which all the writings must be made to conform. In the reactionary sympathy with which he has found it necessary to approach the theme with any hope of success, he confesses to the truth of our statement; and he further corroborates it in the very fact of seeking implicitly, from the outset, to awaken the sympathies of the reader towards certain forms of religious conception, while it is desired to excite moral repugnance towards certain other forms of doctrine. If, therefore, Mr Arnold does not enter on what he calls the sphere of religious *edification* proper, as he repeatedly asserts, he comes very close to the border of it; so close, indeed, that he can scarcely be allowed to ride off with the protest that the mark of his footsteps, carefully traced, do not, at several points, lead us thither. Mr Arnold has isolated a single trait of the apostle with which he has fallen in love, and has sought to build up a complete individuality out of it; but when this is carefully examined, it is found to be loose, vague, and unsatisfactory in the extreme. "Human beings do not admit of being constructed out of a single feature, *nor is imagination able to supply details which are really wanting.*" This is an exact statement of the cause of Mr Arnold's failure; how it is so we shall try to shew, and to exhibit also the unintelligible chaos which he would make alike of St Paul and of his writings.

We have said, that Mr Arnold has fallen in love with a single feature in St Paul's character. So it is. Perhaps this is the reason why he has so much to say of natural love in illustrating the love by which he conceives that the followers of Christ are

upborne, and enlightened, and made partakers of spiritual bliss. In order to have got the full force of the illustration, and to have been consistent in exhibiting the fresh strength, and charm, and motive, and power of action that comes with love, Mr Arnold should have supposed the object of love to have been dead. Then, how could the love have had a sphere for its exercise without the belief in immortality, and in personal existence and intercourse? There was not much joy in M. Auguste Comte's mourning for Clotilde de Vaux, so far as we can learn, though even he idea of worshipping humanity under her form implies something like a vague belief in immortality. Death and separation threw the pale cast of thought and melancholy over the notions, not only of the Greek, but even of the Jew; and what the something was which Christianity, through Paul, brought to the consciousness both of the Jew and the Gentile is not accounted for at all by Mr Arnold's facile illustrations from natural passion and attachment. But we forget! Mr Matthew Arnold's love of Paul, which will anew suffice to permanently interpret him, is conclusive against us! But then, is Mr Arnold's love of the Paul of his own consciousness quite consistent with pure scientific treatment? We fear not. Only Mr Arnold might have been more careful not to mislead at the very outset. The contradiction between experience and the needs of the heart which is involved in Mr Arnold's illustration from the passion of love—a contradiction which George Eliot aptly seizes when she makes Nancy Lam-meter say to her husband, "nothing is no good as we fancied it would be"—so invalidates the illustration, that it can conclude no truth based upon it. We are simply referred back to something more consistent with spiritual instinct.

With a delicate discrimination quite characteristic of him, Mr Arnold finds that much of the truest spirit of the apostle deposits itself in single mystical terms, rich in all the complex cross-lights of emotion and select experience. Yet he fails to see how in his case, just as much as in the case of any of the Calvinistic commentators, he turns these over and empties them of their rarest implied significance by the very attempt to fix them in logical definitions. Here, indeed, is the vice of the whole school to which Mr Arnold belongs. "The very arbitrariness of relations of thought, when applied to divine things, is, of itself, a limit in the explanation of certain passages which, as far as we can analyse them, *appear to unite two thoughts.*" The very charge which Mr Arnold brings against Calvinism could be, with still more force, brought against him, inasmuch as in attempting to get rid of some of the apparent contradiction that must lie in all propositions dealing with religious experience, he introduces a host of new and still more disturb-

ing contradictions, and this simply by eliminating from them everything *but one thought*.

Mr Arnold, for instance, resolves the true idea of the Christian life, as preached by Paul, into *dying with Christ and rising with him*, while, at the same time, he finds grave fault with the Calvinistic theology for tending to make good works without grace ineffectual. But what would he say of good works without this *dying to Christ*? It seems to us he has merely shifted the terms of the problem, and like a clever thimbligger, thinks he has succeeded because he has deceived those already predisposed to be his dupes, precisely as he himself came predisposed to find certain of his own fancies reflected in Paul, even in direct violation of fact. If the dying to Christ is an *essential* element in the true Christian life, works can never be anything save subordinate and superficial unless brought into relation with this supreme act of faith. But, then, faith with Mr Arnold is reduced to mere *fidelity*—mere constancy of attachment. Very good! the love and the faith, according to the *Cornhill*, are now a proper pair! only they are certainly not what Paul witnesses to, if we take plain terms in their plain meaning.

But this contradiction, arising from the sheer inadequacy of language, is not peculiar to Paul, or to Calvinistic theology. The centre of the difficulty lies in the necessary emergence of a mystical element, upborne like a keystone by two opposing pillars or piers; fluent lines converging towards which traverse the most scientific statement of natural truth wherever the generalising, subjective sense intervenes to get unity. We see it as much in Novalis's expression—"All life is a burning or a ceaseless dying,"—as we do in Mr Huxley's as yet unresolved difficulty of having reduced us all to protoplasm, he in the meantime maintaining that we are yet something more, and that he himself is not a materialist. You cannot absolutely disentangle the subjective sense, or, in other words, the passionate desire of rest in unity, from the common instincts of the heart; and therefore all true philosophy, and natural science as well as theology, seeks to reconcile separate and opposing facts in the unity of a mystical and subjective medium, whose essence is, that it becomes more or less untrue whenever it is fixed in language; but science, although not carrying its instruments into the sphere of this subtler reality, should yet recognise it, and justify it, by confessing its own impotency within that other sphere. But, while Mr Arnold's interpretations pass beyond and absorb the historical meaning, he fails to regard and make scientifically significant the verbal and logical contradictions that lay at the root of Paul's conception of things, and on which his Christian scheme was based; which contradictions in Paul are the directest

testimony to his continual and unfailing contact with this mystic sphere, in which all emotion, love, and faith have their source.

As yet, however, we have only been criticising the means used to lead up, legitimately or illegitimately, to a more definite starting-point. We are now advancing to more certain ground; inasmuch as here the veil of critical purpose drops away, and we come directly face to face with the real front of Mr Arnold's intention.

The attempt to gain countenance from Paul for an optimistic Christianity by the endeavour to trace in him a true and essential growth and elevation from a sort of semi-false dogmatism to a purer and more emotional religion, is nothing less than self-stultifying. While confusing the real meaning and inner purport of the apostle's teaching, it gets rid of no real difficulty whatsoever. Now this is what Mr Arnold essays to do—carrying forward and closing-in a little, though by studied flank movements, the lines and positions of Jowett. Admitting for the moment the chronology of the later epistles, which is assumed to favour this idea, we shall see how sorely both writers, but especially Mr Arnold, are put to it to isolate and make fixed centres of certain of those mystical terms in which, according to Mr Arnold himself, the divine light of Paul's teaching most effectually deposits itself, and which, therefore, are least capable of intellectual analysis and explication. The passage in Professor Jowett's *Epistles* [i. 283] which may be regarded as the starting-point of Mr Arnold's theory, is this:—

“There is a time at which the Apostle [Paul] is looking for the immediate coming of Christ, which is represented by the first epistle to the Thessalonians; there is a time when ‘the day of the Lord is not yet,’ but that other events must come first; as he says in the second epistle, there is a time when ‘he has a desire to depart’ (Phil. i. 28), though willing also to stay. There is a time at which the disputes between the Jewish and Gentile Christians are lost in the greater difference between Jew and Gentile (1 Thess. ii. 14–17); there is a time at which the fanaticism of the Jewish Christians is violently aroused, and every church is divided between Jew and Gentile, circumcision and uncircumcision; there is a time at which the strife no more crosses the path of the apostle, or perhaps is temporarily silenced by his retirement from the scene. There is a time in which St Paul is in the vigour and fire of youth, ‘speaking boldly and disputing against the Grecians;’ there is a time at which he is worn by years and imprisonment, ‘being such a one as Paul the aged.’ There is a time at which he says, ‘If any man preach any other gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be accursed’ (Gal. i. 9); there is a time when some preach Christ of envy and strife. What then? Notwithstanding every way, whether in pretence or in truth, Christ is preached, and he therein rejoices, ‘yea, and will rejoice’ (Phil. i. 15–18).”

Now, if we are to apply true and exhaustive tests to inspired writings, should not this one have very prominent place and verge given to it?—that the logical or dogmatic form of such writings will vary according to the circumstances of those who are addressed; that in this respect, as in others, an apostle may be “all things to all men that he may save some;” while yet, if we postulate (as in this case we are surely bound, out of mere respect for Paul’s veracity, to do), a fixed centre in those capital truths vitally apprehended by him in the moment of his conversion, we shall find throughout a basis or substratum of self-consistent character and revelation. It is the same vital force in the plant which throws up stem, and bud, and flower, shaping itself into form and hue consistent with the season and the circumstances in which it is placed; even as some eastern plants are said, when brought to northern latitudes, to make an effort to flower underground at the root. Now, we hold, and a wider and more thorough examination of the documents attests it, that the growth which is professedly discovered in St Paul, results more from the surer grasp of more varied instruments and methods than from any essential change whatever in his inward or subjective attitude towards the fundamental spiritual truths which he proclaimed. And this epistle to the Philippians, which is seized upon and set in such sharp contrast with Thessalonians, will itself bear this out. But let us, before looking into that, interpolate one word as to the falseness of Professor Jowett’s climactic, but empty rhetorical contrast. What real inconsistency or opposition is there between the two statements there? Let the reader look back to the last two sentences of our quotation. He will find that the one has reference to the preachers of another, presumably of course, a false gospel, whereas in the other case it is the true gospel that is preached, only without the preachers’ having risen to the true spirit—to the depth and height of the doctrine; having probably allowed themselves arrogantly to assume a special commission to the exclusion of others—precisely as Mr Arnold does by the followers of Calvin, who, in spite of all his defections, laid down most liberal and inclusive rules of Christian practice within a limit not wholly opposed to that which looks through the most spiritual epistle of St Paul. One instance is, when he prescribes the practical rule, that where there is a plain and pure preaching of the simple gospel, and an essential agreement about the sacraments, and the right administration of them, Christians should not separate from each other or from the church because of faults and defects in minor points of doctrine (“Inst.” book iv. chap. i. secs. 12, 13). But that a certain basis of agreement is required for true Christian unity, lies confessed in the

conduct of our Lord himself with regard to certain sects of his own time.

But what does Paul really tell the Philippians? It is a beautiful illustration of the indiscriminate "respect he felt for others' lines of work," that in this epistle he calls a certain party of Judaisers, "dogs," and tells the Philippians to "shun" them; that the firm, faithful attitude of the believing Philippians should be "an evident token of perdition to their adversaries"; and that he should thus write: "Brethren, be followers together of me, and mark them which walk so, as ye have us for an ensample. (For many walk, of whom I have told you often, and now tell you even weeping, that they are the enemies of the cross of Christ: who are doomed to perdition; whose god is their belly [their appetites]; and whose glory is their shame, who mind earthly things)."

If Paul's impatient dogmatism of this kind, and his intolerance towards certain forms of belief and practice are to be held to unspiritualise his teaching in the measure that they appear therein, it seems to us that his epistles would have to be re-arranged in a manner that certainly would not suit Mr Arnold's theory of the apostle's character and influence; and that this epistle to the Philippians would have to be put in another place. For mark the circumstances under which Paul is writing. After years of imprisonment and trial, during which the mellowing influence of solitude should have formed in him more and more of that patience that worketh hope, in addressing a church which has nothing in its circumstances to specially call forth warning and anathema (as was so much the case, for instance, with the Galatians), he yet deems it necessary, while presenting the gospel in its purest form, to deal out, in parenthesis, some of the salient sentences we have referred to, shewing surely a most cultured and Arnoldish "respect for others' lines of work as well as his own"!*

Looking at the thing from a certain point of view, there is, in truth, more here than in any of the earliest epistles to justify such a view of Paul as that taken by M. Renan. If we are to view the apostle merely as the subject of a development, to be

* To the scanty numbers and feeble influence of the Jews, we may, perhaps, in some degree, ascribe the unswerving allegiance of this church to the person of the apostle, and to the true principles of the gospel. In one passage, indeed, his grateful acknowledgment of the love and faith of his Philippian converts is suddenly interrupted by a stern denunciation of Judaism (Phil. iii. 2). But we may well believe that in his warning he was thinking of Rome more than of Philippi; and that his indignation was aroused rather by the vexatious antagonism which there thwarted him, than by any actual errors already undermining the faith of his distant converts (Lightfoot's *Philippians*, p. 52).

accounted for on natural principles, there is enough here to plunge us into confusion. "Paul the aged" still shews much of the fervour of his youth, and is still as ready to gird himself for battle with the aliens. Instead of having learned to trust to his own faith,—in the might of the inward testimony yielded by men's consciousness to that righteousness which he preached, he is as impatient, impetuous, and strong-headed as ever, writing to the Philippians what was calculated, though more from the beautiful medium in which it was embedded than on its own account, to unsettle them and make them doubtful of their own position.

And yet, once admit frankly the supernatural element—the miraculous conversion, and the direct inspiration which the apostle claimed—and this epistle to the Philippians comes out as the crowning, because the most unconscious, testimony to the reality of the apostle's convictions and the genuineness of his writing. And what a consistent character it sets before us! Having in his conversion grasped the great facts of man's inefficiency and inability to save himself, and the all-prevailing power of Christ's life and of his death, a lower deep in his nature is broken open which never flowed before—a spring of blessed possibilities throws up, through all the more conscious and intellectual elements of his life, a tidal volume of energy which sways him now to this side and now to that—for being, as M. Renan persists, a man of action, a man of action to the end he remains—only now all his action is guided, spiritualised, sanctified by the self-sacrifice which is involved in it. And the intellectual motion, too, is the same, and the prevailing note is unmistakeable. It is Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles, who speaks, and his most *individual* mark is found in the very touches and expressions which Mr Matthew Arnold would have us to close our eyes to. But we prefer the Paul of the Epistles to the bodiless, nerveless phantom—neither man nor angel—educated out of Mr Arnold's consciousness. Figure Paul in prison at Rome writing to his faithful church at Philippi, and how true it is to the whole character of the man (notwithstanding that the Spirit of God spoke through it), that he should seek to elicit the sympathy of his devoted friends there, without appearing to care for or to reckon on the sympathy thus evoked—for it was he who, while claiming from the church of its temporal things in return for his spiritual things, wrought for his maintenance with his own hands; that he should deal in no detail, but suggest the undercurrent of painful experiences and obstacles with which his inner life was kept active, by the use of sudden breaks, and parentheses, and exclamations thrown into the rising stream of his joy over them, and his gladness and gratitude for their faithfulness, like broken sprays

of holiday wreaths cast on the stream in the glow of sunset. For this is the secret of Paul's life, that his joy is in effort, in unflinching endeavour, so that ever in his pauseful moments of meditation there rises up a note of sadness and self-distrust even in midst of a kind of boasting and self-conscious reckoning up of what he has done. The expression, "Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling; for it is God that worketh in you," when viewed in connection with the apostle's inmost tendency, has a deeper and more vital point of contact than might be supposed with this other expression, which M. Renan would doubtless quote as a proof of Paul's proclivity to assert himself: "Brethren, *be followers of me*, and mark them which walk so, as ye have me for an ensample; . . . for our conversation is in heaven; from whence also we look for our Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body, according to the working whereby he is able even to subdue all things unto himself."*

Were these characteristic touches taken from the epistle, it would almost cease to have Paul's unmistakeable mark upon it. But we prefer to have a picture of a *man*, with ever-recurring traces of his most individual and characteristic features—the mould into which the fire of his spiritual life ran fluently—than a mere adumbration of the fancy of a clever *litterateur*.

It may seem to some that in speaking thus, and in rejecting *in toto* as being wholly untrue Mr Matthew Arnold's picture of St Paul, we fail to make due reserve respecting the *finer* elements which Mr Arnold finds in him. But we must not forget to say that, in our opinion, a rendering of Paul, stripped of what is most pervasive and most characteristic of him, cannot be so influential as a faithful and correct likeness. Here, as in other departments, truth alone can prevail. And it should not be forgotten how easy it is to make a pretty picture, with all the characteristic lines smoothed down, and all the warts and wrinkles done away. Not that we lay any value upon these on their own account; only they, too, can become mediums for expressing what is most spiritual and significant. Wanting them it is very often as though all the salient landmarks were removed from a familiar landscape, which had not for a while been seen, and the sight of which throws one into a confused and wondering dream of other—it may be far distant—places.

With respect to the Calvinism, or the Puritanic Protestant-

* Let it be observed also, that neither here nor in the fifth verse of the fourth chapter does it seem that Paul has as yet thrown aside the idea of the second advent, or what Mr Arnold calls the literal resurrection. Lightfoot's remark upon *ἐλθὲς ἵππη* is, "The nearness of the Lord's advent is assigned as a reward for patient forbearance."

ism from which Mr Arnold fancies he has succeeding in finally detaching St Paul, there were much to be written which it is impossible for us to say here. This, however, we must set down. It is evident, from what we have already said, that the groundwork of doctrine in St Paul, upon which Puritanism chiefly founds, is not yet so completely invalidated, that Calvinists need to be in much fear. A theory which, in order to set itself forward respectably, needs daringly to ignore the most ordinary matters of fact, as we have seen that Mr Arnold has done, cannot be expected to achieve much in the way of solving, on its own account, that great problem which has vexed the hearts of men from earliest ages—how to harmonise the idea of human freedom and responsibility with that supreme sense of God's sovereignty which possesses the heart of man. Mr Arnold need not be treated altogether scornfully. The walls of Jericho fell at the blast of trumpets; and he has sounded his to advantage, though it is only a sixpenny silver one. His note was sweet—oh! piercing sweet—but the sound was more like that of Apollo's lyre, at which a tower once rose spontaneously splendid on the sacred hill, than like the blare of those of the Jewish warriors of old. He is useful, too, though there need be no terror within the walls.

Calvinists and Puritans may take comfort. It is a fact of human nature, verifiable by a historical survey of the religious systems that have been most powerful in operating a true change in the heart, that the first turning-point is a deep conviction of the helplessness of human nature to raise itself upwards. There have been uncouth caricatures of the Calvinistic idea which, like the lean kine of Pharaoh, seemed to eat up all practical, productive thought in an abject fatalism; but the Calvinistic system, as truly represented by its founder, recognises and faithfully includes the two terms of the problem—God's sovereignty, and man's freedom—and its true motto, which is the quintessence of all Paul's teaching, is this: "Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling; for it is God which worketh in you both to will and to do of His good pleasure."

"It is impossible," writes Mr Arnold, "to be in presence of this Pauline conception of faith without remarking on the incomparable power of edification which it contains. It is indeed a crowning evidence of that practical religious sense which we have attributed to Paul. *It is at once mystical and rational; and it enlists in its service the best forces of both worlds—the world of reason and morals, and the world of sympathy and emotion.* Paul takes from both worlds what can help him, and leaves what cannot. The elemental power of sympathy and emotion in us, a power which extends beyond the limits of our own will and conscious activity, which we cannot measure and control, and which in each of us differs immensely in face, volume, and mode

of manifestation, he calls into full play, and sets it to work with all its strength, and in all its variety."

But Mr Arnold, like the Oxford carrier's horse, can draw a distinction, and, while he is not thinking of forcing Paul into proving a set thesis, will admit that there are Puritans and Puritans. Some years ago, unluckily, he wrote thus :—

"English Protestantism has the outside appearance of an intellectual system, and the inside reality of an emotional system ; this gives it its tenacity and force, for what is held with the ardent attachment of feeling, is believed to have, at the same time, the scientific proof of reason. The English Puritan, therefore (and Puritanism is the characteristic form of English Protestantism), stands between the German Protestant and the Celtic Methodist. . . . for his is not the controversial, rationalistic, intellectual side of Protestantism, like that of the Germans, but the devout, emotional, religious side."

So, with this defence of English Puritans, written some years ago, before its author reached the spiritual second-sight, we leave Mr Arnold with his own words pressed home against himself, as being the most effective way of closing a flippant egotist's mouth. Our present article professes to be a criticism of Mr Arnold, and not a constructive justification of Calvinism, else much more might have been said as to the hiatus created by Mr Arnold's attempted disentanglement of St Paul from that scheme of theology.

ART. V.—"*As Regards Protoplasm.*"

As Regards Protoplasm, in Relation to Professor Huxley's Essay on the Physical Basis of Life. By JAMES HUTCHISON STIRLING, F.R.C.S., LL.D. Edinburgh : William Blackwood & Sons. 1869.

L AICS, to our regret, from the systematic study of the fertile and fascinating science of Physiology, we nevertheless claim a right to form and express some estimate of Mr HUXLEY'S essay on "The Physical Basis of Life ;" more particularly now that we can do so under the guidance of so competent a Physiologist, and so distinguished a Metaphysician, as HUTCHISON STIRLING.

Mr Huxley's Essay was originally delivered on a Sabbath evening to a public audience in Edinburgh ; and he has, towards the close of it, obligingly told us his "purpose" when he "first undertook to deliver the present discourse." "I

proposed," he says, "to lead you through the territory of vital phenomena to the materialistic slough in which you find yourselves now plunged, and then to point out to you the sole path by which, in my judgment, extrication is possible."

While we give Mr Huxley much credit for honesty in this revelation of his "purpose," we take serious exception to it on the score both of wisdom and kindness. It is not that we object at present to the accomplishment of this "purpose" on a Sabbath evening; but that we cannot consider exploits of this kind as ranking even with "such employments and recreations as are lawful on other days of the week." For Mr Huxley to come to Edinburgh for the purpose of "plunging" people into a "slough," even though this were to be followed by his complete "extrication" of them, is surely to subject himself to the hard question, *Cui bono?* as well as to lay himself open to a pretty vigorous demand, on the part of the unhappy "plunged," that he should not only extricate them, but see to their being cleansed, and clothed, and put into their right mind again, not to say their temper. But to plunge them into the bog, and *not* extricate them, but merely "point out" a path "by which, in his judgment, extrication is possible," seems to us to set all considerations of common compassion and common sense at defiance. The wondrous wise man of Wolverton, who, by one leap into a quick-set hedge, "scratched out both his eyes," succeeded, in his second experiment, in completely "scratching them in again." Had he first totally eliminated his eyesight, and then been able to scratch back only a "possibility" of vision, his reputation for wondrous wisdom, we presume, would not have stood so high as confessedly it does! Even as it is, his wisdom has been more admired than imitated: he has never founded a school: "his soul was like a star, and dwelt alone:" perhaps because people wonder what better he was of his dual jumpings. Nevertheless, *he* could say—what *we* could not say, were we to follow Mr Huxley's "lead through the territory of vital phenomena into the materialistic slough"—that he *wasn't any worse*. In the present instance, as we are merely to have a "possible extrication pointed out," we absolutely refuse to take the "plunge." By and by we may "point out" to Mr Huxley that the "extrication" hinted at is *not* "possible." Meantime, we think it right to shew how a philosopher, whose system quarrels with the idea of purpose or "design," is unwise in confessing a "purpose" of his own, when the purpose itself is so unwise.

Before introducing our readers to the admirable and exhaustive redargument of Mr Stirling, there are some matters on which we must reckon with Mr Huxley on our own account, and in our own plain, non-professional way. We read his

essay before our author's critique of it came to hand ; and our copy lies before us, marginally decorated with pencillings—indicative alternately of concurrence, contradiction, query, amusement, and amazement—abundant enough, were we now to expound and expand them, to detain us in Mr Huxley's company longer than we or our readers can afford. Of course the greater part of these hieroglyphics are now antiquated by the luminous statements and reasonings of one who is only among his peers when in the highest ranges of physiology, and who has scarcely a peer in metaphysics. Some of them, however, survive ; and as Mr Huxley appeals to the laity on Sabbath evening, we must, on one or two points, let him see what the laity think about it on Monday.

1. We take exception to Mr Huxley's conduct of his theme from the very outset. We object to his title. His opening sentence is as follows : "In order to make the title of this discourse generally intelligible, I have translated the word 'protoplasm,' which is the scientific name of the substance of which I am about to speak, by the words, 'the physical basis of life.'" Now we object to this translation, because we think that, instead of rendering the term "protoplasm" more intelligible, it renders it a great deal less so. More particularly, such a phrase as "physical basis of life" demands *definition*, which "protoplasm" does not. Concerning "protoplasm," we ask and expect a physiologist to proceed and give *description*; and on his offer to do so, we promise him, especially when he is so competent a physiologist as Mr Huxley, our respectful attention and our gratitude. In such a case we claim no more right to interrupt him with demand for definition at the outset, than if he had said, Let x be the unknown quantity. Indeed, an arbitrary symbol, like the x 's and y 's of the algebraist,—whose "blunders," Mr Huxley strangely says, "are of no practical consequence,"—would, in some respects, be preferable, considering the exigencies of Materialism, to a definite word like "protoplasm." It would denote less, no doubt; but it would have the advantage also of connoting less. It would give Materialism less difficulty on the side of Grammar, for instance,—a foe whose terrible and all-surrounding pressure Materialism should always evade when evasion is possible. Grammar, according to Sir John Stoddart, is "the science of the relations of language considered as significant." Now, beyond question, the word "protoplasm" is significant,—not as the positive content, yet by immediate suggestion,—of the 'ο Πρωτόπλασμων. In the order of nature, active verbs and nominative cases take precedence of passives and objectives. When told, for instance, that thought is a "product" of matter, we reply, that we cannot imagine the *quod productum est*,

without immediately inferring a prior *producing*: as grammarians we cannot,—to say nothing of philosophy or theology: and we can no more, yea, much less, subordinate the world of mind to that of matter, than we can find the roots of verbs in their passive voices, or the origin of all nouns in the objective case. But letting that pass; we admit that it would be impertinent to bar Mr Huxley's entrance on his theme by tarrying to confer on the word “protoplasm.” Not so when he translates it by the phrase, “physical basis of life.” We have not merely now a linguistic symbol, the thing signified by which is about to be described to us. We have a linguistic vehicle of *theory*. The phrase is an abbreviated or muffled *proposition*. So the lecturer admits, when he immediately follows up his first utterance of it with the sentence: “I suppose that to many the idea that *there is a physical basis of life* may be novel.” He calls it an “idea:” we doubt Mr Huxley's right to use the word “idea” at all: but we deal with him concerning it considered as *proposition*. “Protoplasm” involves no immediate proposition; and, therefore, the way is open for description. But when Mr Huxley substitutes his new phrase, he shuffles in a proposition, and mere physiological description cannot be his aim now. He is committing himself to the establishment of his proposition; and we cannot possibly permit him to pass on to that, without *definition* of the terms which enter into the enunciation of the proposition. Every word of it imperatively demands definition.

What does he mean by Life? Surely this is a fair question; and we are compelled to ask it, not only at the outset, but all throughout the essay. For when he describes nettle-protoplasm and blood-protoplasm, the most striking word he employs is “activity:” “The substance which is thus *active* is a mass of protoplasm, and its *activity*,” &c. Is this “activity” identical with “Life”? If so, what is it? Is it motion? If so, is it fortuitous motion, or motion regulated by design? If the latter—if Life is motion regulated by design—does *force* interpose between the design and the motion, or does it not? If force does interpose, does Life mean design, force, and motion related towards one another into this “activity”? If so, we have here a very complicated idea; for we have at least a multiplicity integrated into a unity. Is it the protoplasm itself that has achieved this integration? If so, we have discovered in it a more profound “activity” than that which the microscope has disclosed; and if “activity” is Life, we would not hesitate to say, that it must be *this* activity and not the former. Concerning *this* activity, however, our queries recur; and it is obvious that they must thus recur in endless series. Again: what does Mr Huxley mean by “physical”? The question is much in point when addressed to one who scorns *metaphysics*.

Does he think any man imagines a non-physical ? Does he himself fancy a pre-physical ? Did he ever hear of any man who averred a metaphysical basis of life ? If he identify "physical" with "material," does not his proposition involve a *petitio* ? And if "physical" is wider than "material," does not his proposition fail to express his meaning ? And yet again : what is meant by "basis" in the expression "basis of life" ? Is the basis inclusive of the life, or exclusive ? *The whole gist of the discussion turns on that* ; and we legitimately refuse to advance a single step with him towards his "slough," till we get satisfaction on that very definite question. "Basis" suggests the word "foundation." Is protoplasm, then, the basis of life, as the rock on which a house is built is the foundation of the house ? or is it the basis of life as the first-laid stone, or row of stones, of the house is the foundation ? The distinction *there* is plain enough ; and yet it is as nothing to the distinction between matter and life. The rock and the stones may not differ at all in nature : they differ in conception, as foundation and house ; but matter and life differ more vastly still. We must be told whether "basis of life" is matter *with* the life, or only matter *for* the life, though still *without* it. This question is all the more thoroughly in point, because "basis of life" is used interchangeably with "protoplasm," and because Mr Huxley, in the most unconscious jauntiness, speaks of "protoplasm *living or dead*." Sometimes the "basis" is the rock on which the house is built ; sometimes it is the "unit" foundation stone of the house (we admit the inadequacy of the illustration—the worse for Mr Huxley). It is nothing more than protoplasm when living : it is nothing less than protoplasm when dead : and, "living or dead," it is the basis of life : in both cases it is protoplasm alike ! Might not Mr Huxley's reference to "a crystal of calc-spar" be very useful here ? The crystal of calc-spar "may be resolved into carbonic acid and quicklime : if you pass the same carbonic acid over the very quicklime thus obtained, you will obtain carbonate of lime again ; but it will not be calc-spar, nor anything like it." No, it is not a crystal, for it is not crystallised. Is that to be called protoplasm which has not been protoplasted ?

2. As we thus bar Mr Huxley's commencement,—and not on either of the counts which he anticipates, its being "novel" and "shocking to common sense," but on the ground of its being slovenly, and such as to render discussion unworkable,—we may here also protest against his close. He closes by "pointing out" his alleged "possible extrication." We happen to think that it is no extrication at all, except after the fashion of the vulgar adage, "out of the frying-pan into the fire:" in this case, out of the "slough" into the sea—the abyss of total

scepticism. Anticipating the objection that the materialistic scheme which he has sketched—though he denies being a materialist himself—excludes the possibility of spirit, spontaneity, volition, morality, &c., and binds us helplessly in chains of necessity and "iron" law, he says:—

"And what is the dire necessity and 'iron' law under which men groan? Truly, most gratuitously invented bugbears. I suppose if there be an 'iron' law, it is that of gravitation; and if there be a physical necessity, it is that a stone, unsupported, must fall to the ground. But what is all we really know and can know about the latter phenomenon? Simply, that, in all human experience, stones have fallen to the ground under these conditions; that we have not the smallest reason for believing that any stone so circumstanced will not fall to the ground; and that we have, on the contrary, every reason to believe that it will so fall. It is very convenient to indicate that all the conditions of belief have been fulfilled in this case, by calling the statement that unsupported stones will fall to the ground, 'a law of nature.' But when, as commonly happens, we change *will* into *must*, we introduce an idea of necessity which most assuredly does not lie in the observed facts, and has no warranty that I can discover elsewhere. For my part, I utterly repudiate and anathematise the intruder. Fact I know; and Law I know; but what is this Necessity, save an empty shadow of my own mind's throwing?"

Here Mr Huxley figures in the perturbing and unphilosophical mental attitude of cursing. He "anathematises" that wretched intruder "*must*." Taking a leaf out of the book of "certain of the vagabond Jews, exorcists,"—the seven sons of Sceva, to wit,—he "calls over" the word "*must*" as if it had an evil spirit. And in order to be more effective and thoroughly impartial, he personates the man that had the evil spirit too, and fills up with a new reading the formula or schedule of scorn by which that unhappy person prefaced his vigorous exercise of "leaping on his exorcists and overcoming them, and prevailing against them, so that they fled out of the house naked and wounded,"—a performance which, to make the thing complete, as Mr Huxley personates all the parties concerned, he must be supposed to accomplish upon himself; and, in point of fact, that is exactly what, as it seems to us, he has argumentatively done: he has, in more ways than one, committed *felo de se*. No man should curse, except on plea of necessity; but Mr Huxley curses necessity itself. No man can be allowed to curse simply if he *will*; it can only be because he *must*. But "*must*" is what our friend curses: he curses the only justification of cursing! Besides, if he curse "*must*," does he not see that he will have to go on cursing *can*, and *could*, and *cannot*, and *cannot but*? And if besides the categories, every case occurring under them must have a turn

too, Mr Huxley will be *in* for his work, and have a most unenviable time of it. We must be pardoned this sally ; more particularly if we have the self-denial to refrain from saying, that if Mr Huxley justifies himself in cursing the justification of cursing, that must entail the necessity of another curse, and to justify that brings on another still, and so on without end : a “necessity which assuredly does not lie in any observed facts, and has no warranty that I can discover elsewhere:”—this last being a quotation from Mr Huxley himself,—evidently the suicidal shout with which the evil spirit which he personates leaps upon him, and overcomes him, and prevails against him !

But what evil does this word “must” do, that it should be treated in this fashion ? And why treat it so differently from the word “will” ? Tell us what will be the mean longitudes respectively of the first and second of Jupiter’s satellites, say at midnight on the 1st of January, and we will tell not only what *will* be, but what *must* be, the mean longitude of the third satellite. For concerning these mean longitudes, La Place, in his *Mechanique Celeste* (Book II. chap. viii. 66), proves this formula :—

$$l_1 - 3l_2 + 2l_3 = \epsilon$$

that is ; The mean longitude of the first satellite, *minus* three times the mean longitude of the second, *plus* twice the mean longitude of the third is exactly and invariably equal to two right angles. And a similar formula holds good concerning the mean motions as concerning the mean longitudes, namely :—

$$m_1 - 3m_2 + 2m_3 = 0$$

The transcendent beauty of these formulæ, representative as they are of astronomical facts, will be perceived by every one not hopelessly plunged in the “materialistic slough” ; and as the formulæ *do* represent facts, we can afford to sit loose to Mr Huxley’s silly sneer, that “the blunders of the mathematician are of no practical consequence.” Now these formulæ are the inevitable results of prior formulæ, expressive of the force of gravitation, and of the geometrical circumstances of the Jovial system ; and the facts they express are the inevitable result of the facts presupposed. Geometrically placed as Jupiter’s satellites are, and the central force of gravitation being as it is, the mean longitudes of his first three satellites simply *must* be related to each other as the above amazingly simple and beautiful equation exhibits. And, given the mean longitudes of any two of these three satellites at any given date, we can tell what the mean longitude of the third *will* be, only because we know what it *must* be. Far “from changing *will* into *must*,” as Mr Huxley ignorantly avers, we

change *must* into *will*. Farther, it follows from those two formulæ—or, rather, it is simply a more complete reading of their import—that these three satellites *cannot* be eclipsed at the same time, neither can they, when viewed from Jupiter, be seen at the same time all in conjunction with the sun. These eventualities, therefore, we say, *will* not take place; but we say so, only because we know that they *cannot* take place. And "*cannot*" is as liable, neither more nor less, to Mr Huxley's anathema as "*must*."

As we are, for the moment, in an astronomical vein, and not so completely laic here as in physiology, we may pass on from Jupiter to his neighbour Saturn. Having seen how with his silver-gleaming tiny balls the brilliant grand old juggler-planet playeth unerringly, let us inquire into the magnificent necromancy of his brother's splendid revolving rings. In his Book III., on Planetary Forms,—a subject on which La Place is more original by far than in his discussion of the theory of Planetary Motions,—he has proved that if the rings of Saturn are regular geometrical figures of homogeneous substance, the attraction of the centre of gravity of the planet on the common centre of gravity of the rings, is expressed by a *negative* quantity; that is to say, the supposed attraction turns out (on the supposition) to be a real repulsion. The curve described by the centre of gravity of the rings in undergoing this repulsion, would be convex towards the planet; the rings, therefore, would be brought into contact with the body of the planet, and the equilibrium which we see actually obtains would be impossible. The conclusion is obvious: Saturn's rings are not geometrical figures of homogeneous substance. We speak scientific truth when we say they *are* not. But we say they *are* not, only because we know they *cannot* be. They "*must*" have a *bias*. That is the secret of the equilibrium. And here again, therefore, Mr Huxley must "*anathematise*" as before. In fact, to be consistent, Mr Huxley must go on to curse all the planets and satellites of the solar system—and the meteors too, as soon as we get them brought a little more fully under the powers of mathematical computation. We have given him in the meantime the rings of Saturn to digest, and the longitudes of Jupiter's moons, because the truths concerned are singularly beautiful, though not generally known; and the rehearsal of them may tend to sustain the interest of our readers in a theme too abstract to be very inviting.

Why should Mr Huxley denounce "*necessity*," and yet talk of "*force*"? He is continually using the phrase, "*molecular forces*." His lecture, indeed, gives no evidence of his being acquainted with the modern doctrine of Energy, and of the indestructibility of Energy, amidst its multiform transformations;

and this, we think, is scarcely creditable to him ; for he is bound to co-ordinate the results of physiology with those of other established sciences, or at least to indicate his appreciation of that problem, if not to contribute to its solution. But apart from this : he scruples not to use the word "force;" and yet he would proscribe the word "necessity." Does he not know that in physics the word "necessity" is used—and the same may be said of *Law*, and *must*, and *cannot*, and *cannot but*—because the idea it expresses is bound up with, and is in fact identical with, the idea of "force." Certain definite results—static or dynamical, as the case may be—are *inevitable* on the pre-supposition of "force," and of the circumstances in which it is assumed to act. No cursing of a word, or of a whole vocabulary of words, can take Mr Huxley out of the "iron" vice which he has prepared for himself by affirming that "all vital action"—"even those manifestations of intellect, of feeling, and of will, which we rightly name the higher faculties,"—are "the result of the molecular forces of the protoplasm which displays it." If there be not a world of thought, of will, of spirit, spontaneity and freedom, higher than, and dominant over, the world of matter ; if there be no energy higher than unconscious energy ; if there be no self-consciousness that can direct, and wield, and govern force, by interposing new conditions, and varying the circumstances in which force acts, then the whole universe is grinding on under what Mr Huxley expects his objector to call "dire necessity and iron law," whether that phrase is to be used or not. In that case, it is conceivable that its entire present state should be written down in a formula which should contain, and, when rightly manipulated, should express, its future inevitable history, even unto eternity. Of that there cannot be a moment's doubt. Mr Huxley may curse the word, and bless the thing. But it is not by a dexterous juggle of that nature that men, respectful enough towards physiology, but not destitute of all knowledge in other directions, are to suffer themselves to be trundled into a universal treadmill, thankful merely if they get their protoplasm with them. For the juggle is just this: Mr Huxley curses hypothetical necessity in order tacitly to bless and make room for absolute necessity. Meantime, hypothetical or absolute, there's the word: it has, we presume, some meaning—a bad meaning, he must think, before he "anathematizes" it. There's the word, "Necessity." Will Mr Huxley be so good as account for its existence, and for the idea conveyed by it which he hates? "The idea of necessity," he says, "most assuredly does not lie in the observed facts." Protoplasm, then—an observed fact—did not give birth to it. Where, then, did it come from, if "all vital action,"—including "the thoughts to which I am now

giving utterance, and your thoughts regarding them,"—be "the result of the molecular forces of the protoplasm which displays it?" Will Mr Huxley answer that question before he comes to Edinburgh with a second Sabbath evening lecture?

To explicate briefly this *embroglio* about Necessity. Here am I, a self-conscious being, seated in what, to me, is practically the centre of a world of matter. I am capable of looking out upon and recognising it, as is evident from the fact that we are contemplating protoplasm. I so look out upon it, and I say,—uttering a great word,—"*It is.*" Moreover, it is such,—in the indestructible but transformable matter of which it is composed, and in the transformable but indestructible force operating in it,—that, hypothetical on its not being acted on from above or from without, its present state inevitably determines, unto absolute exactness, every transformation which it will undergo even to eternity; and the same power which now perceives that "*It is,*" has only to be conceived of as indefinitely exalted, to be able to read in what *it is*, all that it ever *will be*. This is our hypothetical physical necessity. And, supposing the hypothesis realized, the necessity becomes absolute—becomes, in short, fatalism. But I find that I can not only look without, I can look within. And when I do so, I find that I can utter another word, greater far than "*It is.*" I can say, "*I am.*" But, for anything I could see in looking out, the "*It is*" which I there read might be an eternal, necessary "*It is*": and with conceivable sufficiently-exalted power, such as that by which I might read in its present state its endless future, I might read back also all its past.* In looking *in*, it is different. The same self-consciousness which says "*I am,*" tells me that I am not an eternal and necessary "*I am.*" I am contingent, dependent, and of a very brief past. My "*I am*" must have an origin and cause. The cause of self-consciousness must be self-conscious too. As a first cause, it must be an eternal and necessary "*I AM.*" My dependent "*I am*" is the seat of power, of volition. The first "*I AM*" must be a self-consciousness of absolute power and of will unlimited. I can interpose in the world of matter, and change its sequences. So can the unlimited "*I AM,*" whose name is "*I AM THAT I AM.*" His occasional interposition *may* be Miracle: His perpetual superintendence and directing power is Providence.—This, at least, we place before Mr Huxley as our scheme of thought. It conserves the hypo-

* This is a concession, for argument's sake, or rather for brevity's sake. A past, for the material world, without interpositions of precisely such a kind as theologians indicate by the word "*miracle,*" is thoroughly out of the question. The modern doctrine of Energy, and the mathematical Theory of Heat, have set that at rest for ever by irrefragable demonstration—as we should like to take an early opportunity of setting before our readers.—There are no such sectarian bigots going as a certain noisy sect of naturalists.

thetical physical necessity which physical science teaches; and it saves from "dire" absolute necessity, and from the "materialistic slough" from which he offers to "point out what, in his judgment, is the only possible extrication."

3. At the risk of appearing to transgress the proportions and necessities of the case, we must still dwell a little longer in preliminaries. The fact is, that to meet the requirements of the logic of this discussion, preliminaries are perfectly sufficient,—as in the case of an enemy that must fall before the skirmishers, unable to claim the honours of a formal assault. What more, for instance, can be necessary to overthrow Mr Huxley's position than simply to point attention to the absurdly extravagant expectations which he asks us to cherish from the study of material phenomena? "It connects thought," he says, "with the other phenomena of the universe, and suggests inquiry into the nature of those physical conditions, or concomitants of thought, which are more or less accessible to us, and a knowledge of which may, in future, help us to exercise the same kind of control over the world of thought as we already possess in respect of the material world." Undoubtedly if "thought is the result of the molecular forces," or, as he says again, "the expression of the molecular changes," of the protoplasm, this expectation is warrantable. But there are certain difficulties. The relation of protoplasm to the particular kind of thought called wit, for instance, comes immediately to be a question. It is generally believed that wit attains its climax by our witty friend uttering his *facetiae* "without moving a muscle." That is to say, this species of thought becomes physically perfect by the protoplasm contributing just nothing to it! But this is trifling, and we proceed. For once Mr Huxley has stumbled on correct expressions when he speaks of "physical conditions and concomitants of thought." He thus escapes, for the moment, from the great leading category of confusion which, from first to last, nullifies all his reasonings—that, namely, which confounds the distinction between a *causa sine qua non* and a *causa efficiens*. Physical conditions and concomitants of thought may well be admitted: they cannot be dispensed with, considering the correlation presently subsisting between mind and matter in the present constitution of man. In that direction Mr Huxley may exhort and prophesy to his heart's content, for anything any interest of ours is concerned; nor are we likely to object to his speculations certainly on the ground of "novelty." All that he can have to say in that kind is in the category of the dyspeptic disadvantages of eating shell-fish for supper, or "turning lobster into man," as he elsewhere signalises it. The "conditions and concomitants" of the *mens sana in corpore sano* scarcely constitutes a "novel" topic

of inquiry. Food, baths, exercise, temperance, ventilation, &c., are well enough known and admitted to have important relations with man's powers of thought; and there is no hesitation anywhere, as Mr Huxley must know, in regarding them as in the category of the *causa sine qua non* of efficient thinking. But it is a hugely different thing to substitute the protoplasm as the *causa efficiens* of thought, and then speculate on the "control over the world of thought," which, in future, the knowledge of it is to give. We shall briefly test this bizarre idea, making all admissions to our physiological friends which the utmost admiration of their science can demand. We shall admit that the protoplasm is an absolutely perfect register of every thought that passes through our minds: also, we shall suppose their powers of reading its molecular changes in its living condition to be absolutely perfect too: and now we shall think a little bit of thinking. We shall think as follows:—A is greater than B, and B is greater than C, therefore A is greater than C. This is correct thinking; and we shall concede, that during the currency of it, the protoplasm has undergone progressive changes exactly corresponding to the progress of it; and we shall admit also, that without our thinking aloud, a glance at our protoplasm would enable a profound physiologist to see exactly what we have thought. And now we shall think again:—A is greater than B, and B is greater than C, therefore C is greater than A. This is precisely the same thinking as before, with the exception that, in the closing inference, A and C have been interchanged. And we shall concede, as before, that the protoplasm represents that interchange; that its action now is an exact repetition of its former action, except so much as is necessary to represent that we have, in the conclusion, interchanged the letters. The protoplasm represents *that*. Does it represent that that interchange is a change of truth into falsehood? Does its action indicate, concerning these two bits of thinking severally, that the one is valid thinking, and the other is illegitimate and false? Most manifestly it ought to do so, if protoplasm, or rather our knowledge of protoplasm, is to give us "control over the world of thought." Abnormal thinking should, in that case, have as its "concomitant," abnormal action of the protoplasm. Illogical conclusions should indicate disease in the cellular tissue. When we think in defiance of logic, it should be understood we are thinking in defiance of protoplasm *pari passu*. Is it so? Does the protoplasm act under protest in furnishing its conditions and concomitants to false reasoning? Does it ring an alarm bell? Does it hint the fault, or even hesitate dislike? Does it complacently accord its aid to Euclid, and grudge and growl over several passages of Mr Huxley on the Physical Basis

of Life? Far from it. Protoplasm, if responsible, is responsible for a very scandalous "indiscriminate endowment of truth and error"! Precisely as the electric telegraph transmits lying messages and messages of fact indiscriminately, irresponsibly serving both alike, so with protoplasm,—unless pretensions yet unheard of are to be vamped up on its behalf. Are we to be told, say, that logical thought is the result of molecular forces of attraction, and illogical thought the result of molecular forces of repulsion? We ought to be told something at least equivalent, if protoplasm is to give us a command over the world of thought such as we already possess in respect of the material world. That seems to Mr Huxley a consummation devoutly to be longed for. 'Tis the silliest *desiderium* surely to which educated man ever gave expression. Thank God, with all our illogical conclusions, and all our mournful failures, our control of the world of thought is higher, grander, more valuable far, than "what we possess in respect of the world of matter." Imagination, bodying forth the forms of things *unseen*, turns them to shape, and gives to airy *nothing* a local habitation and a name. "I think my thoughts in God," said Kepler. And God is not protoplasm, nor protoplasm God.

Let us listen to Mr Huxley's description of protoplasm :—

"You are doubtless aware that the common nettle owes its stinging property to the innumerable stiff and needle-like, though exquisitely delicate, hairs which cover its surface. Each stinging-needle tapers from a broad base to a slender summit, which, though rounded at the end, is of such microscopic fineness that it readily penetrates, and breaks off in, the skin. The whole hair consists of a very delicate outer case of wood, closely applied to the inner surface of which is a layer of semi-fluid matter, full of innumerable granules of extreme minuteness. This semi-fluid lining is protoplasm, which thus constitutes a kind of bag, full of a limpid liquid, and roughly corresponding in form with the interior of the hair which it fills. When viewed with a sufficiently high magnifying power, the protoplasmic layer of the nettle hair is seen to be in a condition of unceasing activity."

And again :—

"If a drop of blood be drawn by pricking one's finger, and viewed with proper precautions and under a sufficiently high microscopic power, there will be seen, among the innumerable multitude of little, circular, discoidal bodies, or corpuscles, which float in it and give it its colour, a comparatively small number of colourless corpuscles, of somewhat larger size and very irregular shape. If the drop of blood be kept at the temperature of the body, these colourless corpuscles will be seen to exhibit a marvellous activity, changing their forms with great rapidity, drawing in and thrusting out prolongations of their substance, and creeping about as if they were independent organisms. The substance which is thus active is a mass of protoplasm, and its

activity differs in detail, rather than in principle, from that of the protoplasm of the nettle."

And this he follows up by saying :—

"Thus a nucleated mass of protoplasm turns out to be what may be termed the structural unit of the human body. As a matter of fact, the body, in its earliest state, is a mere multiple of such units ; and, in its perfect condition, it is a multiple of such units, variously modified." "Variously modified"! And Mr Huxley expects us to accept this as *science*! When he himself—not contented with the function for which he is competent, and in which we willingly yield him our respect and gratitude—enters on a field of inquiry in which we are compelled at the outset to ask for the *reason* of variety and for the differentiating *cause*, he puts us off with the indeterminate and slipshod expression, "variously modified"! And yet he counts himself entitled to call the "dogmas of theology baseless," and the "blunders of the mathematician of no practical consequence." Protoplasm is henceforth to account for everything ; but the "structural" design and force—the "multiplying" power or principle—the "nucleating" susceptibility, and the "nucleating" energy—and the "modifying" principle, whether in its nature, its origin, its action, its conditions,—all these are to go by the run—unexplained and unaccounted for! And this is Science! And we are to accept a *theory*, discussed by Mr Huxley in a style of such shocking slovenliness as this, with the same respect as we listen to his description of the observations of legitimate physiology! *Ne auctor ultra crepidam.*

Identifying nettle-protoplasm and blood-protoplasm—and all others, "variously modified," we presume—Mr Huxley proceeds to affirm and illustrate the two following doctrines :—*First*, "A unity of power or faculty, a unity of form, and a unity of substantial composition pervade the whole living world ;" and, *Secondly*, "All the multifarious and complicated activities of man," including "even those manifestations of intellect, of feeling, and of will, which we rightly name the higher faculties," are the activities of protoplasm, results of the changes of the molecular forces of protoplasm, and are comprehensible under the three categories of contractility, alimentation, and reproduction. These are his two dogmas ; and he intimates that he expects for them jointly the pleasing cognomen of "gross and brutal materialism." We shall see Dr Stirling grappling with him on issues which he can less easily afford to despise, and revealing that his physiological thesis is "baseless," and his inferences false even though it were well founded.

I. As to the dogma of a "unity of power, of form, and of substance pervading the whole living world," founded on the

(assumed) unit nucleated mass of protoplasm, we should like before introducing Dr Stirling's dissipation of it, to say a word or two. What right has Materialism or Positivism to talk of “unity”? “Unit” and “unity” are dangerous words to call our attention to in such a reference. (1.) As to “unit.” You cannot frame a material world of units without calling in duality. To adapt a happy phrase of Dr Stirling's: Whoso dogs the unit, duality dogs him. The atomic theory demands polarity, as well as the material unit, else it is inexpressible. The atom is a machine with two poles; and even one such machine implies design; how much more the concerted action of millions of them! Four-and-twenty years have not effaced the impression we received from perusing the following sentences of Sir John Herschel in his “Discourse on the Study of Natural Philosophy”:—“Now when we see a great number of things precisely alike, we do not believe this similarity to have originated except from a common principle independent of them; and that we recognise this likeness chiefly by the identity of their deportment under similar circumstances, strengthens rather than weakens the conclusion. A line of spinning-jennies, or a regiment of soldiers, dressed exactly alike, and going through precisely the same evolutions, gives us no idea of independent existence; we must see them act out of concert before we can believe them to have independent wills and properties, not impressed on them from without. And this conclusion, which would be strong even were there only two individuals, precisely alike in *all* respects, and *for ever*, acquires irresistible force when their number is multiplied beyond the power of imagination to conceive. If we mistake not, then, the discoveries alluded to in reference to the atomic theory, effectually destroy the idea of an *eternal, self-existent matter*, by giving to each of its atoms the essential characters, at once, of a *manufactured article*, and a *subordinate agent*.” These are some of the difficulties Mr Huxley has to face in dealing with units even of inorganic matter. It is absolute infatuation for him to introduce the idea of the “unit” in dealing with matter organised. (2.) But it is even still more so for him to ask our attention to the idea of “unity.” A unit, even under the atomic theory, is not indivisible in conception. We can quite legitimately imagine the atomic unit dividing itself into two—like the cilia as seen under the microscope—or like the nucleus of the cell in physiology, as each portion gathers round it a portion of the cell, and so two complete cells are formed of one. So may we conceive of the atom as divided off in two, each half acquiring in the disruption the new pole necessary to its complete equipment for atomic action as before. We cannot evade the possibility of this con-

ception, unless we replace the idea of the atom by that of a mathematical point as a centre of force, thus taking refuge in the theory of Bosovich—a theory far too refined and subtle, far too closely allied with the world of "spirit," and, in that sense, in every light far too good, to find favour with our materialists. In their worship of matter, they must take with them the hypothetical, indefinite divisibility of matter, and they must admit its applicability in conception even to the final atoms in which matter may be proved or supposed to exist. But though the "unit" may be divided, "unity" cannot. And if protoplasm accounts for all, how is divisibility to beget indivisibility? A spherical surface, for instance, may be divided indefinitely, but you cannot divide *sphericity*. The idea of a hemisphere is not a half of the idea of sphericity. Sphericity is a true unity. It is as true and indivisible a unity, in my mind, as a divisible unit cell, *qua* cell, is a unit in nature. And supposing it possible that *some* thoughts could result from the molecular forces of protoplasm, Mr Huxley will be eternally baffled in accounting for *this* thought. And yet he jauntily talks of unity!—unity of form, unity of power, unity of substance. And he attributes them all to protoplasm!

But passing from the metaphysics to the physiology of the question, let us see if these various unities are borne out by scientific examination.

1. As to unity of *substance*. We have seldom read anything more complete and overwhelming than the following redargument of Dr Stirling's on this point:—

"We may say, in the *first place*, towards a proof of difference which will only cumulate, I hope, that, even should we grant in all protoplasm an identity of chemical ingredients, what is called *Allotropy* may still have introduced no inconsiderable variety. Ozone is not antozone, nor is oxygen either, though in chemical constitution all are alike. In the *second place*, again, we may say that, with *varying proportions*, the same component parts produce very various results. By way of illustration, it will suffice to refer to such different things as the proteids, gluten, albumen, fibrin, gelatine, &c., compared with the urinary products, urea and uric acid; or with the biliary products, glyocol, glyocolic acid, bili-rubin, bili-verdin, &c.: and yet all these substances, varying so much the one from the other, are, as protoplasm is, compounds of carbon, hydrogen, oxygen, and nitrogen. But, in the *third place*, we are not limited to a *may say*; we can assert the fact that all protoplasm is not chemically identical. All the tissues of the organism are called protoplasm by Mr Huxley; but can we predicate chemical identity of muscle and bone, for example? In such cases, Mr Huxley, it is true, may bring the word 'modified' into use; but the objection of modification we shall examine later. In the meantime, we are justified by Mr Huxley's very argument, in regarding all organised tissues whatever as protoplasm; for if these

tissues are not to be identified in protoplasm, we must suppose denied what it was his one business to affirm. And it is against that affirmation that we point to the fact of much chemical difference obtaining among the tissues, not only in the *proportions* of their fundamental elements, but also in the *addition* (and proportions as well) of such others as chlorine, sulphur, phosphorus, potass, soda, lime, magnesia, iron, &c. Vast differences vitally must be legitimately assumed for tissues that are so different chemically. But, in the *fourth place*, we have the authority of the Germans for asserting that the cells themselves—and they now, to the most advanced, are only protoplasm—do differ chemically, some being found to contain glycogen, some cholesterine, some protagon, some myosin. Now such substances, let the chemical analogy be what it may, must still be allowed to introduce chemical difference. In the *last place*, Mr Huxley's analysis is an analysis of *dead* protoplasm, and indecisive, consequently, for that which lives. Mr Huxley betrays sensitiveness in advance to this objection; for he seeks to rise above the sensitiveness and the objection at once by styling the latter 'frivolous.' Nevertheless the Germans say pointedly that it is unknown whether the same elements are to be referred to the cells after as before death. Kühne does not consider it proved that living muscle contains syntonin; yet Mr Huxley tells us in his *Physiology*, that 'syntonin is the chief constituent of muscle and flesh.' In general, we may say, according to Stricker, that all weight is put now on the examination of living tissue, and that the difference is fully allowed between that and dead tissue."

2. As to unity of *form*. Dr Stirling shews that Mr Huxley's dogma on this point, is as baseless as on the former:—

"By form, Mr Huxley will be found to mean the general appearance and structure; and by faculty or power, the action exhibited. Now it will be very easy to prove that, in neither respect, do all specimens of protoplasm agree. Mr Huxley's representative protoplasm, it appears, is that of the nettle-sting; and he describes it as a granulated, semi-fluid body, contractile in mass, and contractile also in detail to the development of a species of circulation. Stricker, again, speaks of it as a homogeneous substance, in which any granules that may appear, must be considered of foreign importation, and in which there are no evidences of circulation. Further, according to Stricker, protoplasm varies almost infinitely in consistence, in shape, in structure, and in function. In consistence it is sometimes so fluid as to be capable of forming in drops; sometimes semi-fluid and gelatinous; sometimes of considerable resistance. In shape—for to Stricker the cells are now protoplasm—we have club-shaped protoplasm, globe-shaped protoplasm, cup-shaped protoplasm, bottle-shaped protoplasm, spindle-shaped protoplasm, branched, threaded, ciliated protoplasm, circle-headed protoplasm, flat, conical, cylindrical, longitudinal, prismatic, polyhedral, and palisade-like protoplasm. In structure, again, it is sometimes uniform and sometimes reticulated into interspaces that contain fluid. In function, lastly—and here we

have entered on the consideration of faculty or power—some protoplasm is vagrant (so to translate *wandering*), and of unknown use, like the colourless blood corpuscles."

3. As to unity of *function*. Matters are not any better here:—

"Some again produces pepsine, and some fat. Some at least contains pigment. Then there is nerve-protoplasm, brain-protoplasm, bone-protoplasm, muscle-protoplasm, and protoplasm of all the other tissues, no one of which but produces only its own kind, and is uninterchangeable with the rest. Lastly, on this head, we have to point to the overwhelming fact that there is the infinitely different protoplasm of the various infinitely different plants and animals, in each of which its own protoplasm, as in the case of that of the various tissues, but produces its own kind, and is uninterchangeable with that of the rest. It may be objected, indeed, that these latter are examples of modified protoplasm. The objection of modification, as said, we have to see by itself later; but, in the meantime, it may be asked, Where are we to begin *not* to have modified protoplasm? We have the example of Mr Huxley himself, who, in the nettle-sting, begins already with modified protoplasm; and we have the authority of Rindfleisch for asserting that 'in every different tissue we must look for a different initial term of the productive series.' These considerations on function all concern faculty or power; but we have to notice now that the characteristic and fundamental form of power is to Mr Huxley *contractility*. He even quotes Goethe in proof of contractility being the main power or faculty of *Man*! Nevertheless it is to be said at once that, while there are differences in what protoplasm is contractile, all protoplasm is not contractile, nor dependent on contractility for its functions. In the former respect, for example, muscle, while it is the contractile tissue special, is also to Mr Huxley protoplasm; yet Stricker asserts the inner construction of the contractile substance, of which muscle-fibre virtually consists, to be essentially different from contractile protoplasm. Here, then, we have the contractile *substance* proper 'essentially different' from the contractile *source* proper. In the latter respect, again, we shall not call in the *uncontractile* substances, which Mr Huxley himself denominates protoplasm—bread, namely, roast mutton, and boiled lobster; but we may ask where—even in the case of a living body—is the contractility of white of egg? In this reference, too, we may remark that Kühne, who divides the protoplasm of the epidermis into three classes, has been unable to distinguish contractility in his own third class. Lastly, where, in relation to the protoplasm of the nervous system, is there evidence of its contractility? Has any one pretended that thought is but the contraction of the brain; or is it by contraction that the very nerves operate contraction—the nerves that supply muscles, namely? Mr Huxley himself, in his *Physiology*, describes nervous action very differently. There *conduction* is spoken of without a hint of contraction. Of the higher faculties of man I have to speak again; but let us just ask where, in the case of any pure sensation—smell, taste, touch, sound, colour—is there proof of any contraction? Are we to suppose that between the physical cause of heat without, and the

mental sensation of heat within, contraction is anywhere interpolated? Generally, in conclusion here, while reminding of Virchow's testimony to the inherent inequalities of cell-capacity, let us but, on the question of faculty, contrast the kidney and the brain, even as these organs are viewed by Mr Huxley. To him the one is but a sieve for the extrusion of refuse: the other thinks Newton's 'Principia' and Iliads of Homer."

From specimens like these, our readers will probably be disposed to agree with us that, considered simply as an essay on the physiology of the question—and that is by far the least important aspect of it—Dr Stirling's "As regards Protoplasm," ranks far above Mr Huxley's "Physical basis of Life." The multitude of physiological labours and labourers that he passes under review is amazing. Condensation and lucidity are united in a degree that any writer may well envy. The entire history of the subject, "since John Hunter wrote his celebrated work on the nature of the blood," passes before us; and the result is an amount of information concerning protoplasm which we seek for in vain in the slap-dash and slovenly essay of Mr Huxley. We learn, also, from Dr Stirling to appreciate the still undetermined questions concerning the *cell*, the *nucleus*, and the matter called *protoplasm*; and we confess our delighted concurrence with him in desiring to see the *nucleus* legitimately elevated to a rank and an importance such that it shall dominate over the others most clearly. We do so, because—without "spiriting" matter away altogether, like Boscovich—we think his theory of centres of force a very fascinating* and highly intellectual one. The service which it more immediately behoves a valid metaphysical philosophy at the present day to render, seems to us to lie in the direction of examining the relations between Energy† and Will. There seems to be a meeting point here between the worlds of matter and of mind, closer and more intimate to the great questions concerned, than any other that has engaged attention. The *nucleus*, as the centre of organising power or principle, for that reason secured our interest immediately. It had not occurred to us to consider it as directly the "analogue of the subject," mind, as Dr Stirling in the following passage does—though our thought was evidently running very much in the same direction: the greater was our delight in finding it

* It is extremely interesting to see, from Tyndal's Memoir of Faraday, what a fascination the theory of Boscovich had for such a mind as that of the great electrician. Without subscribing to it, he was continually pursuing lines of thought suggested by it: and, very singularly, he was frequently led in this way to undoubted and valuable discovery. May not the explanation be, that the fine idealism (not subjective, be it observed) implied in the theory of mathematical points as centres of force, quadrates so closely with the recognition of will and design and the "objective idea,"—the "analogue of the subject," as it were, as Stirling so finely calls the *nucleus*.

† We use the word Energy in the technical meaning of modern science.

brought out in connection with a passage, in the purest style and finest order of intellectual eloquence, which, we are sure, it will gratify our readers that we now produce:—

"In this reference, we may allude to the weighty opinion of the late Professor Goodsir, who anticipated in so remarkable a manner certain of the determinations of Virchow. Goodsir, in that anticipation, wonderfully rich and ingenious as he is everywhere, is perhaps nowhere more interesting and successful than in what concerns the nucleus. Of the whole cell, the nucleus is to him, as it was to Schleiden, Schwann, and others, the most important element. And this is the view to which I, who have little business to speak, wish success. This universe is not an accidental cavity, in which an accidental dust has been accidentally swept into heaps for the accidental evolution of the majestic spectacle of organic and inorganic life. That majestic spectacle is a spectacle as plainly for the eye of reason as any diagram of the mathematician. That majestic spectacle could have been constructed, was constructed, only in reason, for reason, and by reason. From beyond Orion and the Pleiades, across the green hem of earth, up to the imperial personality of man, all, the furthest, the dearest, the dustiest, is for fusion in the invisible point of the single Ego—*which alone glorifies it*. For the subject, and on the model of the subject, all is made. Therefore it is that I cannot help believing that this nucleus itself, as analogue of the subject, will yet be proved the most important and indispensable of all the normal cell-elements."

Euge, euge: Io triumphe! "In reason, for reason, and by reason." One little step more, and it is inevitable: "Of Him, and through Him, and to Him, are all things: to whom be glory for ever." And as our warrant for this one little step, we will protest in jubilant shout, until the welkin ring and the angels listen: "So God created man in His own image; in the image of God created He him."

II. Thus, and so crushingly, is Mr Huxley's physiological thesis disposed of. We advance now to the metaphysics, into which his materialism necessarily drags us. And here, of course, Dr Stirling is entitled to protest that all his farther dealing with Mr Huxley's essay is argument *ex abundante*. The premises having been disposed of as pure gratuitous assumption, the validity of the conclusion need not be examined at all except *ex gratia*. But in case physiology should ever make any better progress towards establishing anything in the line of Mr Huxley's now destroyed "basis," it is good to be prepared beforehand with the proof, that even still the conclusion is untenable. Hence our reason for gratitude to Dr Stirling for having "granted *pro hac vice*" that there is a physical basis of life, and then proceeded to examine its alleged materiality.

How Mr Huxley can disclaim being a materialist, passes all

out comprehension. He claims a perfect analogy between water and protoplasm—protoplasm organised and living, as well as dead. The admitted analogy, chemically and physically, between water and dead protoplasm cannot serve him, unless he allege identity between dead protoplasm and living protoplasm. That identity, however, underlies all his argument; and by this, the very burlesque of logic, he parades materialism the rankest. Hydrogen and oxygen, under the electric spark, become water. Four elements instead of two,—carbon, hydrogen, oxygen, and nitrogen,—under the action of pre-existing protoplasm become protoplasm. There you have the water; and you don't talk about "aquosity" as a property of water. Here you have the protoplasm: Are you to talk of "vitality" as a property of it? You have the chemical constituents of water, and the spark turns them into water. You have the chemical constituents of protoplasm, and the already-living protoplasm turns them into protoplasm. This last, by the way, seems to us equivalent to saying, that the value of the unknown quantity x , will help us to find the value of x . Certainly his analogy should readjust itself to the effect of making pre-existent water, and not an electric spark, turn oxygen and hydrogen into water. That is the fair analogy. Water should feed itself, as protoplasm does. It would at least be something like what we are in search of, though the mighty difference between organic and inorganic would still subsist.

1. As to this difference,—of which Mr Huxley, like the scoffers of the last days anent another difference, "willingly is ignorant,"—let us hear our author:—

"To begin with chemical combination, it is not unjust to demand that the analogy which must be admitted to exist in that, and a general physical respect, should not be strained beyond its legitimate limits. Protoplasm cannot be denied to be a chemical substance; protoplasm cannot be denied to be a physical substance. As a compound of carbon, hydrogen, oxygen, and nitrogen, it comports itself chemically—at least in ultimate instance—in a manner not essentially different from that in which water, as a compound of hydrogen and oxygen, comports itself chemically. In mere physical aspect, again, it may count quality for quality with water in the same aspect. In short, so far as it is on chemical and physical structure that the possession of distinctive properties in any case depends, both bodies may be allowed to be pretty well on a par. The analogy must be allowed to hold so far: so far but no farther. One step farther and we shall see not only that protoplasm has, like water, a chemical and physical structure, but that, unlike water, it has also an organised or organic structure. Now this, on the part of protoplasm, is a possession in excess; and with relation to that excess there can be no grounds for analogy. This, perhaps, is what Mr Huxley has omitted to consider. When

insisting on attributing to protoplasm the qualities it possessed, because of its chemical and physical structure, if it was for chemical and physical structure that we attributed to water *its* qualities, he has simply forgotten the addition to protoplasm of a third structure that can only be named organic. 'If the phenomena exhibited by water are its properties, so are those presented by protoplasm, living or dead, its properties.' When Mr Huxley speaks thus, Exactly so, we may answer: 'living or dead!' That alternative is simply slipped in and passed; but it is in that alternative that the whole matter lies. Chemically, dead protoplasm is to Mr Huxley quite as good as living protoplasm. As a sample of the article, he is quite content with dead protoplasm, and even swallows it, he says, in the shape of bread, lobster, mutton, &c., with all the satisfactory results to be desired. Still, as concerns the argument, it must be pointed out that it is only these that can be placed on the same level as water; and that living protoplasm is not only unlike water, but it is unlike dead protoplasm. Living protoplasm, namely, is identical with dead protoplasm only so far as its chemistry is concerned (if even so much as that); and it is quite evident, consequently, that difference between the two cannot depend on that in which they are identical—cannot depend on the chemistry. Life, then, is no affair of chemical and physical structure, and must find its explanation in something else. It is thus that, lifted high enough, the light of the analogy between water and protoplasm is seen to go out. Water, in fact, when formed from hydrogen and oxygen, is, in a certain way and in relation to them, no new product; it has still, like them, only chemical and physical qualities; it is still, as they are, inorganic. So far as *kind* of power is concerned, they are still on the same level. But not so protoplasm, where, with preservation of the chemical and physical likeness, there is the addition of the unlikeness of life, of organisation, and of ideas. But the addition is a new world—a new and higher world, the world of a self-realising thought, the world of an *entelechy*. The change of language objected to by Mr Huxley is thus a matter of necessity, for it is *not* mere molecular complication that we have any longer before us, and the qualities of the derivative are essentially and absolutely different from the qualities of the primitive. If we did invent the term *aquosity*, then, as an abstract sign for all the qualities of water, we should really do very little harm; but *aquosity* and *vitality* would still remain essentially unlike. While for the invention of *aquosity* there is little or no call, however, the fact in the other case is that we are not only compelled to invent, but to *perceive* vitality. We are quite willing to do as Mr Huxley would have us to do: look on, watch the phenomena, and name the results. But just in proportion to our faithfulness in these respects is the necessity for the recognition of a new world and a new nomenclature. There are certainly different states of water, as ice and steam; but the relation of the solid to the liquid, or of either to the vapour, surely offers no analogy to the relation of protoplasm dead to protoplasm alive. That relation is not an analogy but an antithesis, the antithesis of antitheses. In it, in fact, we are in presence of the one incommunicable gulf—the gulf of all gulfs—that gulf which Mr Huxley's protoplasm is as powerless to efface as any other material

expedient that has ever been suggested since the eyes of men first looked into it—the mighty gulf between death and life."

2. The very physiologists, to whom we are indebted for the most profound investigations on this subject, admit this difference, though Mr Huxley, who seems to be somewhat behind in his information in his own department, ignores it :—

"The differences alluded to (they are, in order, organisation, and life, the objective idea—design, and the subjective idea—thought), it may be remarked, are admitted by those very Germans to whom protoplasm, name and thing, is due. They, the most advanced and innovating of them, directly avow that there is present in the cell 'an architectonic principle that has not yet been detected.' In pronouncing protoplasm capable of active or vital movements, they do by that refer, they admit also, to an immaterial force, and they ascribe the processes exhibited by protoplasm—in so many words—not to the molecules, but to organisation and life. It is remarked by Kant that 'the reason of the specific mode of existence of every part of a living body lies in the whole, whilst with dead masses each part bears this reason within itself ;' and this indeed is how the two worlds are differentiated. A drop of water, once formed, is there passive for ever, susceptible to influence, but indifferent to influence, and what influence reaches it is wholly from without. It may be added to, it may be subtracted from ; but infinitely apathetic quantitatively, it is qualitatively independent. It is indifferent to its own physical parts. It is without contractility, without alimentation, without reproduction, without specific function. Not so the cell, in which the parts are dependent on the whole, and the whole on the parts ; which has its activity and *raison d'être* within ; which manifests all the powers which we have described water to want ; and which requires for its continuance conditions of which water is independent. It is only so far as organisation and life are concerned, however, that the cell is thus different from water. Chemically and physically, as said, it can shew with it quality for quality. How strangely Mr Huxley's deliverances shew beside these facts ! He can 'see no break in the series of steps in molecular complication ;' but, glaringly obvious, there is a step added that is not molecular at all, and that has its supporting conditions completely elsewhere. The molecules are as fully accounted for in protoplasm as in water ; but the sum of qualities, thus exhausted in the latter, is not so exhausted in the former, in which there are qualities due, plainly, not to the molecules as molecules, but to the form into which they are thrown, and the force that makes that form one.'

"In protoplasm, even the lowest, then, but much more conspicuously in the highest, there is, in addition to the molecular force, another force unsignalised by Mr Huxley—the force of vital organisation. But this force is a rational unity, and that is an idea ; and this I would point to as a second form of the addition to the chemistry and physics of protoplasm. We have just seen, it is true, that an idea may be found in inorganic matter, as in the solar and sidereal systems generally. But the idea in organised matter is not one operative, so to speak, from without : it is one operative from within, and in an

infinitely more intimate and pervading manner. The units that form the complement of an inorganic system are but independently and externally in place, like units in a procession; but in what is organised there is no individual that is not sublated into the unity of the single life."

3. We wish to signalise the beautiful expression, "But this force is a rational unity, and that is an idea." We have already said something on the illegitimacy of the word "unity" when used in the interest of materialism. It is a sheer forgery in Mr Huxley to pen the word at all. When he shall gain a right to say, that *smell* is the parent of *rotation*, let him talk of molecules begetting unity. We are not to be put off with perpetual sheer paralogism. But we proceed:—

"In the smallest, lowest protoplasm cell, then, we have this rational unity of a complement of individuals that only are for the whole and exist in the whole. This is an idea, therefore; this is design: the organised concert of many to a single common purpose. The rudest savage that should, as in Paley's illustration, find a watch, and should observe the various contrivances all controlled by the single end in view, would be obliged to acknowledge—though in his own way—that what he had before him was no mere physical, no mere molecular product. So in protoplasm: even from the first, but, quite undeniably, in the completed organisation at last, which alone it was there to produce; for a single idea has been its one manifestation throughout. And in what machinery does it not at length issue? Was it molecular powers that invented a respiration—that perforated the posterior ear to give a balance of air—that compensated the *fenestra ovalis* by a *fenestra rotunda*—that placed in the auricular sacs those *otolithes*, those express stones for hearing? Such machinery! The *chordæ tendineæ* are to the valves of the heart exactly adjusted check-strings; and the contractile *columnæ carneæ* are set in, under contraction and expansion, to equalise their length to their office. Membranes, rods, and liquids—it required the express experiment of man to make good the fact, that the inventor of the ear had availed himself of the most perfect apparatus possible for his purpose. And are we to conceive such machinery, such apparatus, such contrivances merely molecular? Are molecules adequate to such things—molecules in their blind passivity, and dead, dull insensibility? . . . Mr Huxley saw no break in the series of steps in molecular complication; but, though not molecular, it is difficult to understand what more striking, what more absolute break could be desired than the break into an idea. It is of that break alone that we think in the watch; and it is of that break alone that we should think in the protoplasm which, far more cunningly, far more rationally, constructs a heart, an eye, or an ear. That is the break of breaks, and explain it as we may, we shall never explain it by molecules."

4. Vital organisation, however—manifesting "unity," objectively embodying "idea," and inevitably suggesting "design"—is not all. There is the subjective idea, the phenomenon of thought as thought, to be accounted for:—

" We can say here at once, in fact, that as thought, let its connection be what it may with, has never been proved to result from, organisation, no improvement of the proof required will be found in protoplasm. No one power that Mr Huxley signalises in protoplasm can account for thought: not alimentation, and not reproduction, certainly; but not even contractility. We have seen already that there is no proof of contraction being necessary even for the simplest sensation; but much less is there any proof of a necessity of contraction for the inner and independent operations of the mind. Mr Huxley himself admits this. He says: 'Speech, gesture, and every other form of human action are, in the long run, resolvable into muscular contraction;' and so, 'even those manifestations of intellect, of feeling, and of will, which we rightly name the higher faculties, are not excluded from this classification, inasmuch as to every one *but the subject of them*, they are known only as transitory changes in the relative positions of parts of the body.' The concession is made here, we see, that these manifestations are differently known to the subject of them. But we may first object that, if even that privileged 'every one but the subject' were limited to a knowledge of contractions, he would not know much. It is only because he knows, first of all, a thinker and willer of contractions that these themselves cease to be but passing externalities, and transitory contingencies. Neither is it reasonable to assert an identity of nature for contractions, and for that which they only represent. It would hardly be fair to confound either the receiver or the sender of a telegraphic message, with the movements which alone bore it, and without which it would have been impossible. The sign is not the thing signified, it is but the servant of the signifier—his own arbitrary mark—and intelligible, in the first place, only to him. It is the meaning, in all cases, that is alone vital; the sign is but an accident. To convert the internality into the arbitrary externality that simply expresses it, is for Mr Huxley only an oversight. Your ideas are made known to your neighbour by contractions, therefore your ideas are of the same nature as contractions! Or, even to take it from the other side, your neighbour perceives in you contractions only, and therefore your ideas are contractions! Are not the vital elements here present the two correspondent internalities, between which the contractions constitute but an arbitrary chain of external communication, that is so now, but may be otherwise again? The ringing of the bell at the window is not precisely the dwarf within. Nor are Engineer Chappe's 'wooden arms and elbow-joints jerking and fugging in the air,' to be identified with Engineer Chappe himself. For the higher faculties, even for speech, &c., assuredly Mr Huxley might have well spared himself this superfluous and inapplicable reference to contraction."

5. What a fatal concession is that of Mr Huxley when he says, "Even those manifestations of intellect, of feeling, and of will, which we rightly name the higher faculties, are not excluded from this classification [of contractility, alimentation, reproduction], inasmuch as to every one but the subject of them, they are known only as transitory changes in the rela-

tive parts of the body." Thought, emotion, volition are known to the subject of them otherwise than by contractility ; for, clearly, of the three categories, contractility alone can be concerned here. Be it so. But why isolate the "subject of them" in this respect from "every other"? Is it my contractilities or contractions that I communicate to my friend when, by "speech and gesture," I essay to convey to him my thoughts, emotions, and volitions. If contractility does not make me conscious of them, how shall contractility make him cognisant of them? Also: is it not plain as daylight that his contractility, in connection with apprehending my thoughts and feelings, is very differently exercised from mine in uttering them? and should he not, for that reason, take in totally different thoughts and feelings from those which I attempt to convey? If my thoughts are molecular contractions, must not precisely the same contractions happen to my friend if he is to understand my meaning? And how can he possibly gratify me by saying, "I entirely agree with you," if the contractions don't agree? What wretched trifling! And this is not all. What has a blind man to do with the "transitory changes in the relative parts of my body," when I call to him out of a crowd, and he, perhaps, has not the slightest idea of who has called? He is no anatomist, we shall say; no physiologist; no natural philosopher. He never heard of the undulations of the atmosphere, nor of the drum of the ear. He takes in the manifestation of my "intellect, feelings, or will" for all that. The idea that they are known to him, any more than they are known to me, only as transitory molecular changes, is a pure hallucination. This is the very chaos and phantasmagorion of science. Mr Huxley's contractility must be in a bad condition, else he would surely have contracted with advantage here. Does he not see, that by isolating the "subject" of thought from the recipient of thought, and by placing them in such outrageously different relations to molecular movement and muscular contraction, he is cutting off the possibility of the recognition of thought by thought. Thought can be recognised by thought only as thought. Mr Huxley admits that the subject of it is conscious of it as thought, not as contraction. It would be unspeakably less absurd to refuse this admission than to demand that the recipient of thought is cognisant of it as contraction merely, and not as thought! 'Tis the very farce and screaming pantomime of logic.

We regret that our space does allow us to follow Dr Stirling farther through the exhaustive and overwhelming argumentation of his intensely interesting *brochure*. In the form of a tractate, it has more than the value of many a volume. Anything more perfect in the way of analysis—in the way of

putting the case, as we say—in the way of doing justice to all the considerations involved—and of repeatedly arraying his antagonist against himself—it has not been our fortune to meet with. We should have been glad to produce his exposure of the mighty difference between the place held on one side of the analogy between the electric spark and already existing protoplasm, called in to account for the protoplasm we see coming into existence. Right well may he ask, “If for protoplasm, pre-existing protoplasm is always necessary, how was there ever a first protoplasm?” And if vegetable protoplasm alone can act on the chemical constituents to transform them into itself, while animal protoplasm can act only on matter already elaborated into protoplasm, animal or vegetable, well may he ask how Mr Huxley can venture to lay down the position, that unity of function belongs to all protoplasm whatsoever. We should have been glad, also, to produce our author’s demonstration of the inconvertibility of one kind of protoplasm into another. “But a more important point is this, that the functions themselves remain quite apart from the alleged convertibility. We can neither acquire the functions of what we eat, nor impart our functions to what eats us. We shall not come to fly by feeding on vultures, nor they to speak by feeding on us. No possible manure of human brains will enable a corn-field to reason. But if functions are inconvertible, the convertibility of protoplasm is idle. In this inconvertibility, indeed, functions will be seen to be independent of mere chemical composition. And that is truth: for function there is more required than chemistry and physics.” We should, also, have liked to analyse his very complete exposure of the fallacy of Darwinianism with which he sums up his polemic against Mr Huxley. We give instead an extract from his Essay on “Materialism” delivered some twelve months ago to the “Medical Students’ Christian Association” in Edinburgh. It is, by itself alone, sufficient to emancipate any reader who has been fascinated by Darwin’s wealth of illustration; for it goes to the very heart of his baseless theory:—

“Accepting natural contingency, however, the Darwinian will be unwilling to believe that his own natural selection is but its metaphor. This, however, it is not difficult to make credible to ourselves. In seasons of scarcity, for example, it is said that the long-necked herbivora, who had necessarily access to trees, might live, while the short-necked ones died. But where is the natural selection here? Is the long neck, then, as such, better than the short one? Is the contingency of scarcity to be called selection? Selection implies choice, the choice of a better; but, in the contingency that would give leaves to the long neck and deny them to the short, are we to recognise an actual selection, an actual choice? By some convulsion of the earth,

all the water on it might become a foot deep. In that case the sprat conceivably would live, while the whale died; but could such a contingency be regarded as a selection? In the same way, a change of temperature in any latitude might destroy thousands of lives, but surely it is only a perverse eye that would see in such a catastrophe a process of natural choice. Some other change of conditions might bring it about that our atmosphere should be always in that state of hurricane which alarmed us in Edinburgh some few weeks ago, and in that case it is self-evident that it would be all over with the larks. But would we be right to see in this contingency natural selection—an actual natural choice? Mr Darwin has simply shewn, but with an amazing wealth of illustration, and an amazing love of hypothesis, what we have known all along, that life is dependent on conditions, to which conditions it is also—and often in a wonderful manner, but still within limits—pliable; but he has not traced life *to* conditions, he has not shewn any origin of life *from* conditions, with consequent ultimate development into the organised world as it now exists."

Christianity and the church of Christ have surely great reason to rejoice in the services of an author so thrice-illustrious in the highest region of thought as Dr Stirling has proved himself to be. We cannot doubt that his tractates on Materialism and Protoplasm will introduce him to the thorough admiration of religious men of science and scientific men of piety to whom his great work on the "Secret of Hegel" may remain a sealed book. For our own part, being unable to afford six months of total leisure for the mastery of it,—and it needs that,—we have done little more than spend a few evenings over it. We rejoiced, however, to come upon a passage such as this:—

"Cannot we, at all events, rise from Hegel with a clearer, firmer conviction of the existence of an infinite principle in this universe,—with a clearer, firmer conviction of this principle being thought, spirit,—and with a clearer, firmer conviction that man partakes of this infinite principle, and that, consequently, he is immortal, free, and in communion with God. For, I confess it all comes to this, and that philosophy is useless if inadequate to this. A philosophy, in fact, whose purpose and effect are not to countenance and support all the great interests of religion, is no philosophy, but a material for the fire only."—*Secret of Hegel*, vol. i. p. 241.

We can fancy the magnanimous delight with which Chalmers would have read a passage such as this, and how cordially he would have wished God-speed to investigations, however intricate and novel, and aside from his own lines of thought, when they lead to issues such as these. Nor can we name the name of the greatest Briton of the century, without saying how strongly we are convinced that the great interests he defended, in the higher philosophy and in natural theology, are all bound, to this day, to the selfsame stake and issues as his splendid

reasonings and copious illustration bound them. Who are they that would pretend, in Apologetics, to be ahead of him? or why are his immortal works less read by students now than twenty years ago? Is it true that Darwinianism and Protoplasm have so thoroughly changed the *status questionis*, that the old lines of defence are antiquated? Far from it. It is refreshing to find Dr Stirling insisting,—as Dr Candlish, in another reference, has analogously insisted,—that, “so far as this argument is concerned, protoplasm has not introduced any the slightest difference. All the ancient reasons for the independence of thought, as against organisation, can be used with even more striking effect as against protoplasm.” Nor is it conceivable that anything that physiology can reveal, though microscopic power should increase a million fold, can ever really alter the issue on which the rights of Reason and the being and the claims of God depend. There is an eternal antinomy between the world of molecules and the world of mind. “It is not to be explained as a transition, but as a *contrecoup*,” as Stirling says so beautifully. The antinomy is reconciled, in the present constitution of man, by correlation, which it is as hopeless to find out by searching, as it is insane to deny. The only conceivable Master of that correlation is the God whom we go a great way to define, when we say that He *is* its Master, and that He instituted it when, forming Man out of the dust of the earth, He breathed into him the breath of life, and Man became a Living Soul.

How *jejeune* to substitute for this wondrous *contrecoup*,—this antinomy, harmonised in subtle, searchless correlation,—a tame homogeneity and one-world movement of the dusty molecules themselves! O hexagrammic geometricians, and amphibious archetypal architects,—ye busy bees and building beavers! Hide ye your diminished heads: Othello’s occupation’s gone. Look at those far more wondrous “cells,” that frame themselves, and do their own geometry. Look at these “cottages of clay,” that build themselves,—not by plan, design, or contract, but by “contractility” alone. See yon wise and witty molecules, thinking, thinking, thinking,—ever thinking out their poems, proofs, plays, and proverbs. See those dutiful and conscientious “eggs,” so intelligently obedient evermore to the heavenly command, “Be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth.” No need of Reason now, nor Instinct; not even that of a beaver or a bee. And no discrimination of, no need of, *function*. Behold, what a “tricksy eye” the *camera obscura* is! What powers of vision Lord Rosse’s telescope is gifted with! How intelligent and communicative a creature,—though somewhat unscrupulous and unprincipled,—that

galvanic battery, with its trembling needle-fingers and its long antennæ of electric wire! And, high o'er all, imperial, kingly Protoplasm,—father of gods and men!—which taketh oxygen and hydrogen and nitrogen and carbon, and “with part thereof he maketh” more protoplasm, more gods and men, even while all the time rasping in ceaseless contiguity with other “part thereof” which goeth out into the draught!

A burial be decreed for the dirt-philosophy! And a truce with chaff and trifling. We set aside dead lenses, *cameras*, telescopes,—if eyes have they, yet they see not; magnetic needles,—dead fingers, which Life and Reason alone can point and fogle with; wires, that are not thinkers; tubes and strings, that are not musicians. The workmanship of men's hands,—they that make them are *not* like unto them, till they bow down to worship *them*, and unman themselves. We set them all aside. We take the littlest living “cell:” and we say of *it*, what we say of the city which hath foundations, and which cometh down from heaven prepared as a bride adorned for her husband. We say of that little cell, as we say of that great city:—“Its Builder and Maker is GOD.”

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ART. VI.—*A Chapter on France.*

SOLDIERS *versus* FARMERS—PARIS AND THE IMPERIAL PROSPECTS—
POITIERS AND CALVIN—BORDEAUX AND “FRATERNITY”—BAYONNE
AND THE BARTHOLOMEW MASSACRE—BIARRITZ—THE ŒCUMENICAL
COUNCIL AND THE FUTURE OF EUROPE.

A FORTNIGHT of tempests, rough seas, and oft-recurring wrecks along the southern coast of England had filled the columns of the daily papers with disasters. But now the melancholy list was closed, and we had a choice night for crossing the Channel. There was just enough of tumble in the sea to give interest to the voyage. There was a glorious moon in the sky. The cliffs of Dover rose behind us, looking in the pale light like hills of snow, while their beacon-lights, which gleamed on their summit, seemed stars emerging from the horizon, and promising ever to mount into the sky. They did not, however, but clung steadily to their hill-top, and thus indubitably attested, as do certain other stars, their affinity to earth. Away we went over the waters, which heaved like the breast which feels the disturbing force of some great sorrow which has not yet spent itself. The scene was an exhilarating one, though at midnight. The fine moon and sailing-cloud

overhead, and the noble vessel ploughing her way over the labouring sea, whose low, broad swell, as it rolled past, glittered in the radiance of the lamp of night. Some of the passengers, however, were foolish enough to get sea-sick. There they sat, by the vessel's side, a row of pallid ghosts, muffled in huge cloaks, napkins round their heads, each flanked by a large white basin, of ominous import, but of which it is unnecessary to speak more particularly. We could not help thinking that it was an odd way of enjoying their voyage. They seemed to prefer it, however; and no one had a right to quarrel with them for taking their pleasure in their own way.

Of the run to Paris we would not speak, were it not to bring into view the signs of advance which successive visits to France enable us to mark. In some things there is progress, in others there is none. We are old enough to be able to look back to the days of the old "Diligence," and to recall journeys made by that conveyance—we shudder, even at this distance, at the recollection of their weariness. The linen blouse was then the almost universal upper garment of Frenchmen—the higher classes excepted. Now it has all but disappeared. In its room have come the broad-cloths of England, and the tweeds of Scotland. Twenty-five years ago, one half the women in Paris wore the *mutch*, such as it may be still seen in parts of Aberdeenshire. Now the head-gear of the French women is like our own. We have an idea that the fashions come from Paris. They may have done so once; but they do so no longer. There is a silent persistent English invasion going on all over Europe. English fashions, as well as English ideas, are pervading the continent. Its peoples may not be conscious of the assimilations going on, and of their slow but steady subjugation by England; but to the stranger, who visits them only at intervals, it is very marked. English good sense, comfort, and substantiality are carrying it over French smartness and frippery; and one must penetrate to the more southern regions, and the more out of the way nooks of Europe, before his eye is reminded by the antique, picturesque costumes of the people that he is out of England.

But in husbandry France stands still. Draining, which has so changed the aspect of Scotland, and ameliorated its climate, seems an unknown art in France; and after weeks of rain, as in the present instance, the country looks much as the earth may have done when emerging from the flood—one vast quagmire. The diminutive fields are walled round by willow bushes, whose unpruned branches sweep over half the space they enclose, shutting out sun and plough. Here and there are patches of fields which the plough does not visit at all, and which seem to enjoy an uninterrupted holiday of fallow; and, both in spring-time and harvest, and all year through, go idle, basking

in the warm sun, and drinking in the rain, yet contributing nothing to the barn-yards or the wine-presses of France. Even in the environs of Paris the farming is like that which may be met with in a Highland Scotch glen, where the husbandman, contending with a sterile soil, a wet climate, and a brief summer, can shew only a thin and dwarfish cultivation. Weeds abound, the grass is tufty, and the tall poplars, which in endless lines cross and re-cross the country, diversify its face, doubtless, but tend to exhaust its strength. Let loose the ploughs and farmers of Scotland on France, and what a flood of corn, wine, and oil would overflow the land. It would pay better than ten Algerias, or a hundred Solferinos. If France would adore the plough instead of the sword, 'twere something.

And this reminds us that in France the soldiers appear to be as numerous to the full as her farmers. True, there are two instruments with which man subjugates the earth, the plough and the sword; but there is a difference. The one reaps the harvest of glory, the other, the more prosaic, but more substantial, harvest of corn. *Glory versus bread.* A look in at Versailles will shew that the brilliant Frenchman has not unfrequently preferred the former. And so he has toiled right manfully at the sword, and now he might cover all the unproductive acres of his land with the immortal names of his battles and victories. There are men, perhaps, who would prefer that they were covered with wheat. The plough, too, works more sweetly. It pursues its noiseless but fruitful course amid the rains, and the dews, and the sunlight; while the sword delights in blood and tears. Right cheerily whistles the swain who guides the plough. He who wields the sword works amid the groans of dying men, and the wail of the widow. These things, however, are not reported in bulletins and gazettes, nor can one hear the echoes of them coming from the marbles of triumphal arches. But, despite bulletins and triumphal arches, there is no mistaking the condition of France. A very mountain of steel is piled up over her—bayonets and sabres, cannons and camps; Chasseurs de Vincennes, Algerian Zouaves, and red trousers without end. Yes, the substance and shadow go together; the shadow in this case being the "glory," and the substance being very substantial, indeed—an army, namely, of upwards of a million of men. This is a terrible draft from the agricultural population. No wonder that the population of the rural parts of France is decreasing, and that the taxes are rapidly growing, while the numbers of those who contribute to their payment is every year diminishing. How can France rise under such a load? The burden of Atlas was nothing to it.

And then, by way of making France the better able to support this tremendous load, what do they do? They add another

to it. No one thinks of putting a prop or pillar beneath her. If the foundations crumble, they put another storey on the top. After the army, comes the clergy ; a long roll, a very long roll, indeed, whose dignities and pensions it were more easy to tell than their services. But somehow it is believed that they keep France stable, and stave off the evil day. When the Arab camel-driver finds that his animal's load is all awry, and that his camel goes on his way staggering, he has a most ingenious way of redressing the balance, and of making the load lighter, and the gait of his camel steadier. What is his device ? He adds a few stones to the side that is lacking in weight. The French have taken a leaf out of the book of the Arab. France has a tremendous load of red trousers on the one side, and, to make the balance even, they suspend a tremendous load of black robes on the other. The priests are as numerous as the soldiers. This is the old story of piling mountain upon mountain ; or rather, it is the modern camel-driver's device of making his animal's load lighter by adding a few stones to it. The day comes, and we think there are symptoms of its coming, when France will cast out, perhaps not very ceremoniously, these stones ; or, it may be, will hurl them at those who put them there. She has been thinking a good deal during the enforced silence of now eighteen years. It was a wise thing to forbid her spouting, for a nation is like an individual. He who is a great talker is ever a little actor. Her weak point was talking—talking loudly, talking incessantly ; the decree on the press has given her a little time to think, and the fruits will appear by and by. Despite all the evils that press upon them, the French people are rising. In bearing they are manlier, their social condition is being bettered, we mean as to dress, living, and dwellings. We fear we cannot say the same thing of their moral condition. Five now read the public prints for one who did so twenty years ago. There must be, there is, a vast accumulation of intelligence ; and, despite marshals and curés, opinion grows, and in no long time France assuredly will throw off the red phantom and the black phantom by which it is at present bestridden.

Nearing Paris we had a specimen of the playful vivacity of the Frenchman—not broad humour, but sparkling fun. A Frenchman sitting near us started up, gazed eagerly through the window of the carriage for a minute or two, then clapped his hands and shouted, "I see it! I see it! there is Paris! there is Fountainbleau!" Paris was at least twelve miles off, and not in sight, and Fountainbleau was still farther away. Many heads were turned in the same direction, while the Frenchman, sinking into his seat, quietly observed, "Ah! it is hunger that makes me see it." A little after, passing through the ramparts

with which Louis Philippe encircled the capital to keep out revolution, forgetting that these things come from within, in the hearts of the people, and are born of bad governments and false religions—we entered Paris, this time no mirage.

Every one who crosses the Channel goes to see Paris, of course. To describe it were verily superfluous. Its glitter grows from year to year. France asked for liberty, and Napoleon has given her fine cities—a capital, indeed, unrivalled. So far well; for if one must live in a prison—and the phrase may be as applicable to a city or a kingdom as to four stone walls—it is better that it be swept and garnished, than filthy and stinking. Towards evening we entered the gardens of the Tuilleries, and stood a few minutes right in front of the main entrance of the palace. Napoleon was not there; he was laid down on his sick couch at St Cloud. Irresistibly there came back upon us the night of December 3d. 1851, the day after the *coup d'état*. We passed through Paris that night, and saw it in a guise very different from that in which it shews itself to the ordinary tourist. A black cloud overhead, a drizzling rain, a gusty wind ruffling the Seine, and the streets embarrassed with pickets of soldiers, camp-fires, and barricades, sprinkled with the blood of their defenders. In that night the second empire was born. Eighteen years have since passed away—how rapidly—and now, Is the empire in its youth or in its age? The strong man who struck that blow is verging on the tomb, and when he descends into it, will his son reign in his stead? We think it just as likely that his grand-uncle will come from his tomb in the Champ de Mars to do so. The royal cradles of France are not blessed. The prophetic woe pronounced over them by our great countryman, Knox, when told of the St Bartholomew massacre, seems still to cast its shadow both on cradle and throne. Had Louis Napoleon, when he began to reign—we do not say abolished Popery, for that would have been an impossibility, seeing light only can abolish darkness—given free course to the Bible among his subjects; had he taken prudent and wise means that in every household in France there should be a copy of what his church acknowledges to be the Word of God, there might—we do not say there would—have been a chance of the continuance of his dynasty. Where there is no Bible there can be no conscience, and where there is no conscience there can be no basis for order. The bayonet becomes the one great principle of the State. It is its one paramount institution. And so at this hour is it in France. Such were our reflections born on the spot, and with these reflections outward things seemed to harmonize. The sun was going down behind the Arc de Triumph, which terminates the vista which opens from the door of the Tuilleries. A slanting ray came

streaming down along the pathway from the far-off Arc, bur-nishing with light the fountains, obelisks, statues, flowers, and trees, and, falling full on the front of the palace, it gilded it with gold. We enjoyed the scene the more because we felt it would be over and gone in a few minutes. And so indeed it was, for down went the sun—he neither hastens nor delays his pace for mortals—into a black cloud which lay along the horizon, and all the glory was at an end. To emperors as to peasants how surely comes the tomb, and then adieu to the glitter and pomp of stars, sceptres, thrones, armies, battles, and victories. It is enough to give a double sting to death to pass from such things to darkness and the worm.

We went by the night train to Tours. A young lady, who sat opposite us, crossed herself thrice at the moment of the train's starting. Our first feeling was one of contempt; our second was one of humiliation. The young lady was booked for Bordeaux, a distance of three hundred and sixty odd miles, and in order that she might arrive in safety, some hundred or more of railway employes must each do his duty, and do it at the precise moment. Making every allowance for human vigilance and organisation, there still remains a wide margin for divine Providence to interpose its care. That care is too little felt, too little acknowledged. We felt rebuked that we who, we may say, go round the globe every few years, and have never had a hair of our head injured, should not have a livelier sense of what we owe to a Power that never sleeps. If we do not believe in charms, all the more ought we to be thankful to that living Providence who keeps watch and ward when the eye of man droops, and his hand forgets its appointed task. Tours is a well-to-do town of the second class, with a fruitful country around it, and a noble stream, the Loire, watering it. Its broad bed was but partially covered, and amply besprent with little islands, clothed with willow and acacia bushes, which flourish there till the winter floods come upon them, and then they have hard work, we should think, to keep their footing. The banks of the river are pleasant, being clothed with vines, crowned with chateaux, with an occasional little white town embowered amid tall poplars and apple trees. By merest accident we met a physician who had been long resident in the place, and who was loud in the praises of its climate. Tours is visited, he said, with a severe winter only once in ten years; and he added that he had recently published a table of meteorological observations, which shewed that the winters of Tours were milder than those of the far-famed Mediterranean coasts. Our informant may have had an eye to business, and should the reader wish assurance that the high eulogium which he pronounced upon the place is deserved, he must sift and verify the

statements of our casual friend by other means. What we saw and felt of Tours favourably impressed us with its climatic conditions.

We made a short halt at Poitiers. Three hundred years ago, Poitiers received an illustrious stranger, though it knew him not; for the fame which afterwards filled France and Europe, was not then able to fill Poitiers. Fleeing from Paris in the disguise of a vine-dresser, Calvin, after a short sojourn at Angoulême, came to Poitiers, which was honoured to be the scene of the earliest of his labours and the earliest of his converts.

After Paris, Poitiers occupies the next place in the early history of the Reformation. At Poitiers really began the evangelisation of France. Here, as we have said, where in former times great battles had been fought, and no little English blood had been spilt, there arrived, in the spring of 1534, an humble soldier, to begin a battle which should change the face of the world. The stranger was a pale-faced, unobtrusive youth; but the beauty of his genius, and the extent of his knowledge, soon drew a circle of charmed friends round him. In these districts had lived Abelard, and the traces he had left behind him, not yet wholly effaced, helped to open the way for Calvin. The prior of Trois-Moutiers, a learned man, opened his door to receive him. He introduced the Reformer to the professors of the university, which was then flourishing. In his walks with these friends, for soon they became such, by the banks of the Clain, in the garden of the Basses Treilles, and afterwards,—when their reunions began to be known, and they feared a surprise,—in the caverns in the open country in the neighbourhood of Poitiers, one of which, to this day, goes by the name of Calvin's grotto, he unfolded to these little assemblies the spiritual nature of the gospel, and the true glory of the kingdom of God, drawing them away from idle ceremonies to those truths of the Spirit's revelation by which the heart is renewed and the life changed. Some contemned the words spoken, but others received them with meekness and joy, and in after years, died as martyrs for the truth. In one of the caves of St Benedict was the Lord's supper, after the Protestant fashion, celebrated, if not *the* first, among the first times in France.

It was not the city of Poitiers only that Calvin sought to evangelise; he visited the castles, abbeys, and villages of the neighbourhood. Ponthus, abbot of a Benedictine convent, and head of a patrician family, became his disciple. Forsaking a brilliant position, he was the first abbot in France who shewed himself an open Lutheran. Some of his descendants afterwards gave their blood for the Protestant cause; and to this

day they continue on the side of the gospel. One of them, the late Count Alexander de St George, was for many years president of the Evangelical Society of Geneva. From this city, too, it was that Calvin sent forth the first Protestant missionaries to begin the evangelisation of France. They were only *three*, a small number for so great a kingdom; but all were found faithful, and others were added to them in due time. Calvin did not quit Poitiers till he had laid the foundations of an evangelical church, which embraced some men of eminent official position, civil and ecclesiastical, and others distinguished for their learning. But the light kindled here by Calvin began to fade; and now we come to the present state of Poitiers.

We daresay, like the little town of Aosta, Poitiers is not very proud of this episode in its history, and would rather efface the traces of its illustrious visitor, and to say sooth, it has been very successful in doing so; for we do not know that there is a half dozen of persons in all Poitiers who are aware that the Reformer ever honoured it, or, as they would say, defiled it, with his presence. It is a most unexceptionably Catholic city, if one may judge from the dreariness, stagnation, and poverty that seemed to reign within it. It has sat undisturbed by change, carefully nursing its orthodoxy till everything else has slipt away from it, and its houses, churches, and even its people have grown hoary and tottering. Its cathedral is a venerable and rather remarkable edifice. Its front is all sculptured over with a miscellaneous and grotesque collection of subjects—Scripture histories, saints, popes, and a vast variety of nondescript monsters, of shape and genus altogether unknown to the geologist. The whole goodly collection, under the influence of the weather, is fast passing into oblivion, and will soon disappear unless the chisel rescue it from its inevitable fate, and give it a new lease of life. We stepped inside, and with the more interest from the thought that Calvin must, at times, have crossed that threshold. The interior was plain; the whitewashed walls were garnished with a few poor pictures; a central row of pillars supported the roof, and at the further end was a priest going through the same ceremonies as his predecessors hundreds and hundreds of years before him, while a few women, miserably clad, their faces dark and wrinkled, were on their knees on the stone floor, muttering something before the daubs of pictures that occupied the wall. On witnessing such scenes one gets confused, and begins to think that surely he is living in the thirteenth century, or mayhap in the times of paganism. Surely he must have dreamed only of a Reformation, else its light would long since have reached this spot, and put the darkness to flight. When night fell, the place was in dark-

ness. There were no street lamps ; there was no gas ; the shops were lit with candles, but there was no business doing, unless in the cafés, where a few young men assembled, to consume a little coffee, and play at billiards. At length the moon rose ; and she, at least, seemed exempt from the obscurity which had passed upon all else. Sweetly fell its silvery light upon the old town and the valleys around, but still we had not heart to pass the night in the place, so, stepping down to the railway station, we took our place for Bordeaux, where we arrived at dawn next day.

At Bordeaux we re-enter the modern times. The great rivers of Europe have their distinctive colours, just as they have their distinctive names. The Rhine is white, the Rhone is blue, the Tiber is yellow, and the Garonne is brown. It is on the latter river, the Garonne, a noble stream, although its waters are sadly discoloured, that the city of Bordeaux is situated. The quays run along for three miles, and crowding the river are the ships of all nations, their masts forming a perfect forest, which runs on from the bridge that spans the Garonne to where its waters meet those of the Atlantic. It is a noble city even now, but it gives promise, should the emperor live a few years longer, to do more than renew its youth, and put on a splendour unknown to the Bordeaux of former times. The older and narrower streets are being removed, and others, spacious, airy and elegant, are rising in their room. One cannot visit France without being struck with the genius of that remarkable man who is at the head of it. He is bidding cities rise like fairy scenes from the soil. Up they spring at his word, every street a line of palaces. And this is only a tithe of his labours. What all besides he has to do is known only to himself : but it would appear as if he could do everything but prolong his existence : that is a war in which there is no discharge.

But to return to Bordeaux. The Huguenots have scored their mark upon it ; and although they were rudely driven out of it, their traces remain to this day in the commercial prosperity and mental freedom which its people enjoy. On brown moors men can often tell where a battle was fought, it may be centuries after, by the fresh and deep verdure which continues to mark the spot. All over Christendom there are green spots which tell where the great battles of the sixteenth century were fought. Bordeaux is one of these spots. Compared with the stricken and withered cities of Italy and Spain, which so far outshone it once, Bordeaux rises fair and flourishing like a palm tree. We cannot say much of its Protestantism, and yet we know that it still lives, and so far as it extends, brings forth holy fruits ; and these are all the fairer that they are

found in what we fear, spiritually viewed, is a desert. They betoken that the old root is still in the soil, and will one day send forth a goodlier tree to replace the trunk which the sword of persecution hewed down. So far as we could learn, there is no great life in the Romanism of Bordeaux. It has a goodly staff of ecclesiastics ; it has at least one superb cathedral—Notre Dame,—in which our lady may be seen in three guises. In the one she is fresh from the chisel,—speaking with all reverence, and describing things as we found them,—the marble beautifully white, the crown newly gilt, and the flower-wreath fresh as if the dew had not been exhaled from it. The other “Mary” has seen more years, and represents a lady no longer young ; for it would seem that immortal youth and charms that fade not, are not the lot even of the Virgin. In the third instance she is absolutely ugly, and even mutilated : fingers broken off, the face sorely scarred, and the poor statue is fain to hide itself in a dark corner, amid dust and cobwebs, where, we daresay, not one penitent or devotee from one year’s end to another, kneels before it, or says so much as one Ave Maria in its honour. We wonder how long the virtue lasts in consecrated images. That of a priest is indefectible ; it matters not how many years burden him, or how many crimes defile him, the holy ichor communicated to him in the moment of ordination knows neither ebb nor decay. But with consecrated images it would seem not to be so. Let them get old and battered, they are gods no longer. They become once more plain marble, or wood, or whatever it was out of which they were at first formed. And they may be put to vile uses indeed ; and from being adored and prayed to, they are thrown into a lumber room, or broken up and built into a wall. Images, like dogs, have their day.

The congregation which we found in the cathedral on Sabbath morning was truly a miserable one. It did not amount to more than a hundred and fifty ; of these some dozen or score might be men, the rest were women and girls. A poor gathering, verily, in the heart of a great city like Bordeaux. There was scarce a glen in the whole highlands of Scotland, which, on the same day, had so poor a congregation ; and many, we doubt not, could, Sabbath after Sabbath, shew gatherings ten times larger. Hugh Miller, on being admitted all over St Paul’s, in London, for the small charge of twopence, remarked that it illustrated the advantages of a national establishment, where otherwise they were in some danger of being overlooked ; for certainly, added he, no private company could afford to build a pile like St Paul’s, and shew it for twopences. So we felt on entering the superb cathedral of Bordeaux. The little knot of worshippers which we found there could not afford to build a

temple like this, and to fill it with statues and pictures, with vessels of silver and gold, and pay a staff of ecclesiastical dignitaries to perform worship in it with all the pomp of tapers and incense, and vestments of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine linen, unless by the aid of State pay.

Hard by is the *grand marché*, and while the priest's voice was echoing drearily amid the empty aisles of the cathedral, some two thousand people or so might be doing business in the market. It opens at five o'clock, and is held on Sabbath as on other mornings. The stranger who wishes to have a bird's-eye view of the whole district, comprehending its products, costumes, and manners; in short, the man who wishes to see the Bourdelaise, not as conventionalised in the city, but as existing in all the truth and freedom of the country, should go to the market. Here is gathered all that the surrounding country produces. The riches of the land are brought into one spot. What variety! what enormous melons, carrots, apples, and what goodly clusters of the vine! The sight is enough to make one sympathise with the regretful eyes which the Israelites in the desert cast back upon the onions of Egypt. There is another inducement to visit the morning market; the traveller will there see all the costumes of the surrounding district. These no longer exist in the streets of Bordeaux. Like all the French cities, it is much like an English town; for the people of the continent are dressing as like Englishmen as the climate will permit. But in the country parts, the old costumes still keep their hold. The peasants wear wooden shoes, turned up at the toe, otherwise their dress is singularly sombre. Both men and women are attired in black. In Italy all is colour; but here, from top to toe not a speck of colour is there about the peasant. The men wear black trousers, black blouses, and a head dress of the same melancholy colour. Well, but the ladies make amends? No, not the least. They wear the same melancholy livery as their lords. Their attire is a black petticoat, a black jacket or paletot, a black napkin, which, wound round the head, falls in folds down the back. As they came trooping to market, they seemed like a long funeral procession, or a band of ghosts on their way to Charon's boat.

A word touching the vine of Bordeaux. As our readers know, it has long enjoyed a high repute as one of the most wholesome beverages of France, and justly so. But vines are like kingdoms, they have their era of flourishing, and then comes their era of decline and fall. So has it happened to the vine of Madeira. At no distant day it was a monarch among vines, but it has descended from its pre-eminence, and is now little heard of. The vine of Jeres next claimed supremacy; but it has now passed its acme, according to Ford, and is

hastening to its setting. The reputation of Bordeaux, also, has been blown upon. But why? Is the soil no longer fertile? is the sun no longer able to mature the generous juice in the cluster? None of these has happened: what then? Art has come to the aid of nature; and some say, that much of what is sent into the world as Bordeaux, is made, not grown. So a gentleman of Bordeaux whispered to us. We don't believe the insinuation, and we would have our readers enjoy their Bordeaux undisturbed by it; but if there be even an atom of truth in the statement, we would counsel the vine-growers of Bordeaux to take warning by what has happened to the wine of Madeira, and is happening to that of Jerez. They ought to throw chemicals to the dogs, and plant out a thousand or so of more acres.

Up to this stage in our journey the weather had been comparatively cool; the air delightfully dry and clear, but certainly not sultry. But at Bordeaux, the climate of North Italy met us. Those who have had some experience of continental travel know what that means,—heat, dust, sweat, and last and most delightful of all, mosquitos; all of which luxuries we here enjoyed. Bordeaux lies on the same latitude with Turin, and has much the same temperature. If Turin is cooled by the great snow fields which are hung above it, Bordeaux is refreshed by its near proximity to the Atlantic.

As regards the religious condition of the place, we may take an instance. The people call themselves Catholics, but their Catholicism is not of a kind that would pass for much at headquarters. The Ultramontanes, certainly, would hold them as no good sons of the church.

We chanced this night to meet a gentleman who had spent many years of his life in Spain, and who, having returned to his native country, was attached to a college in Bordeaux, where he was professor of the Spanish language. He spoke English, which he had learned from the grammar and dictionary (for he had never been in England); and, as was to be expected, he spoke it with the French accent, but with very considerable grammatical accuracy. We inquired whether travelling was safe in Spain, and what he thought of the present order of things in that country. On the former point, that is, the security of person in Spain, he gave us very favourable assurances; but as regarded the latter point, he expressed great doubts. "Things," he said, "were in a bad way in Spain. There must be great changes before the world's better times come." "Are you a Protestant?" we asked. "No," he replied; "I am a Catholic."

We begged his pardon; but we added, that he was talking so like a Protestant just now that we took him for one. For we Protestants looked also for better times; but perhaps we did

others a little injustice in thinking that the expectation of a beneficent era was exclusively that of those who occupied a Protestant standpoint.

"I will tell you," he said, "what I am—what my religion is: I do not believe in any religion. It is all a trade—it is all a profession. I am a republican: that is my religion. I am for *fraternity*. We are all one—all brethren: that is my religion."

"But," we said, "we thought you told us that you were a Catholic. We fear the priests would hardly own you as a good son of the church."

"I will tell you what it is," he said: "I was made a Catholic, or Christian, by my parents, when, as I suppose, I was only a few days old; and so here I am. I am now a grown man. I am a Catholic, but my religion is *fraternity*; and the better times I look for will come when all shall be republicans, and embrace one another, and be brothers."

"Well, that may be," we replied; "but that is a new kind of Catholicism; and it is a Catholicism that would not meet with much favour at Rome, or in that cathedral there."

"Well," he said, "but look ye, what has happened just the other day. There is a priest at Paris; they call him Father Hyacinth: he is at the head of the Order of the Carmelites. These Carmelites go about with bare legs; they have no hair on their heads; they shave their heads once every month: that is their religion—that is their habit. Well, Father Hyacinth, who is at the head of this order of bare legs and shaven heads, has published a letter the other day in which he says the Pope is all wrong, and that he will swallow no more of his nonsense. That is a great revolution, sir, in our church."

We told him that we had read Father Hyacinth's letter.

"Ah, then, you know all about it," he rejoined. "But I tell you, it is a revolution—a great revolution."

"You know the history of your country," we replied; "and you know, that three hundred years ago, a great many in France, priests and laymen, rose up against the Pope, and declared, like Father Hyacinth, that they would swallow no more of his nonsense. But they hanged them, shot them, burned them. Some hundreds of thousands of Frenchmen perished thus. Was not that a great calamity?"

"It was," he said; "I know it. But the people then did not think: now they will be with Father Hyacinth. You had a great man in England—you had Milton. He was the Father Hyacinth of his day: he was before his time. He taught you to think; and you ran away from the Pope. But for him you might have been wearing cowls, and going with ropes round your waist to this day."

We said we did not dispute the greatness of Milton; but

there were other labourers in the good work, and there were other books beside "Paradise Lost" that helped to open our eyes. "Did you ever," we asked, "read the Bible?"

"I don't believe one word of it," he answered. "I never go to mass or cathedral on Sunday. This is Sunday, and I will tell you what I did: I got my breakfast at four o'clock; I take my gun and my dog; I go to the country; I shoot a dozen of partridges; I am satisfied; I am back just two hours ago. I never go to church."

"Well," we replied, "but have you never thought of this? The Pope and all his priests forbid the people to read the Bible. They take the Bible from them; and if they discover them reading it by stealth, they punish them for so doing. Do you think the priests would act thus if the Bible was on their side? If the Bible supported the Pope and his 'nonsense,' would he not do all he could to get men to read and believe it? But seeing he forbids the Bible, is it not a presumption that the Bible condemns him? And, farther, have you never reflected that the men in England, who threw off the Pope's yoke three centuries ago, were precisely the men who read the Bible, and believed in it? And, also, that the hundreds of thousands of your own ancestors in France, who were burned or banished by the Pope, were all readers of the Bible, and believers in it?"

"There is something in that," he replied; "and you may be right. But I look for the better times through fraternity—a world of brothers."

The ride from Bordeaux to Bayonne is sufficiently monotonous and dreary. The railway traverses one continuous forest of firs and cork trees. It reminds one of what he has read or seen of the great American woods. There are open glades where the vine and the Indian corn are grown, but with these exceptions, the whole way between the two cities, an extent of more than a hundred miles, is one continuous fir wood, the ground underneath being covered with heather and ferns. The forest is doomed, however, for the woodsman is there with his axe, and many a noble tree is marked to fall, and to be converted into charcoal, and consumed in the great cities of France. The land is low and swampy. Lying on the Bay of Biscay, it is exposed to deluges of rain, and tempests of wind; and on that portion of it termed the Landes, the peasant may be seen traversing the boggy earth on stilts, or perched on a little platform of boards, and wrapped in his cloak, sitting the livelong day, watching his flock: a new form of patience on a monument.

At last this weary plantation of firs came to an end, and Bayonne was announced. The name means "the good port;"

but name and thing don't, in this instance, as in some others, agree. This "good port" has in its time received strange craft, and wild tempests—wilder by far than the wildest of those which career on the adjoining Bay of Biscay—have gone forth from it to devastate Europe. Bayonne, being a frontier town—for here the Pyrenees, craggy and picturesque, for the first time greet the traveller's eye—has been the frequent meeting place of sovereigns, and a nest in which many a vile plot has been hatched. We take but one instance, but that one of the great crimes of history, the St Bartholomew massacre. Here it was that in 1563 Catherine de Medici met the Duke of Alva, and concocted that tragedy which, a few years thereafter, covered France with blood, and Christendom with mourning. The castle in which this cruel affair was concocted still exists. It has a special but dreadful interest, and we took a careful survey of it, walking round it, and then passing into the interior, which the French sentinel, for the place is now a barrack, kindly permitted us to do. It is situated on a low mound, immediately adjoining the city ramparts. The basement is loopholed for cannon and musketry, and the upper erection is simply a two-storey house in the style of the French chateau, with two rows of small windows, with their white jalousies, and a roof of rusty brown tiles. The front is ornamented with two terminating round towers: the whole edifice being, what doubtless our own Holyrood was in the days of Queen Mary, a quadrangular building with a castellated front. The interior is a small paved court, having a well in the centre, shaded by two tall trees, and portions of the wall clothed with the vine and a few flowering shrubs. Such is the aspect of this old house, neglected now, and abandoned to the occupation of the French soldiers, but which, in its time, has received many a crowned head, and whose chambers have witnessed many a plot, but whose chief claim to glory or infamy must lie in this, that it is linked for ever with one of the greatest crimes of an age of great crimes. Do the spirits of Catherine and Alva ever revisit this scene of their crimes. Eternally must that little court, these chambers, where day by day they sat plotting the murder of all the French Protestants, be fixed in their memory. It is part of the punishment of wickedness, that the spot where it was done ever suggests the memory of the deed, and is an eternal monument and avenger of the guilt. To the French soldier, this is simply an ordinary chateau, but there are beings in existence to whom it awakens a terrible memory, and stirs anew the worm that dies not; and when the great tempests of the Atlantic come rushing across the plain, and shake the old walls of this house, one can imagine the spirits of the two conspirators, sitting unseen in their old conference hall, mewing and gibber-

ing as if concocting their plot over again, and gnashing their teeth at the thought that their great crime has succeeded so little against a cause which they no more love at this hour than they did when they walked the earth.

The battle-field owes to Bayonne one of its most formidable weapons. It was here the bayonet was invented, in the seventeenth century, and from this town it takes its name. The bayonet has restored the advantage in the conflicts of war to strength. The bayonet-charge of the British has become proverbial. We have heard old men who were present at the siege of Toulouse, tell that they could compare the manner in which the British threw the French over their own ramparts, on the bayonet point, to nothing so much as to farmers pitchforking sheaves into a cart on the harvest-field.

Taking one of the omnibusses that ply every half hour between Bayonne and Biarritz, we paid a visit to the latter place. Our readers know that it is the imperial watering-place of France, when the Emperor, forgetting, so far as he may, the cares of the Tuilleries, may recruit himself by the fresh breezes of the Atlantic. Biarritz is a sandy bay of not more than half a mile in length, fronting the west. It is situated almost at the point where the coast of France turns westward, and runs on towards Cape Finisterre. It reminds us strongly of scenes we have seen nearer home, and especially of some of the wilder and more romantic spots on the coast of Buchan, in Aberdeenshire. We have all seen or heard of the bullers of Buchan ; similar, but not quite so grand, are the bullers, or isolated wave-worn rocks which flank the little bay of Biarritz at both extremities. They form two groups, one at each end of the bay, which shoot up out of the sea, rough and craggy, and grotesquely-shaped by the tempests of many many centuries. The swell, as it rolls in from the far-off horizon, scenting the land, as it were, gathers itself up before terminating its career into a great, green wave, and, curving over, breaks into a long line of tossing foam, and then expires gently upon the sandy beach. At the northern extremity is the emperor's palace, standing at a quarter of a mile's distance from all other buildings. It is a plain, quadrangular edifice, of red brick, with pilasters and toppings of white stone. On the second storey a balcony of iron-work runs along the front, while beneath is an esplanade, supported partly on a building of rough blocks, and partly on the rocks which jut forward into the beach. Beyond is the vast spread of the Bay of Biscay, now calm, now raging in frightful tempest, no unmeet type of the career of that remarkable man who may be seen at times pacing this esplanade, and brooding over thoughts which he hides as profoundly as does the ocean over which his

eye ranges the dread secrets at its bottom. On the rocky knolls which terminate the other extremity of the little bay is the town of Biarritz. It is quite of modern construction, and, except that the houses are of French type, it differs in nothing from the fashionable watering-places in England and Scotland. There are the same showy hotels, with their towers, balconies, and flagstaffs. There is the same bustle of hotel waiters, omnibus and mule-drivers, invalids, pleasure-seekers, billiard-players, vendors of nic-nacks; in short, of all that constitutes a fashionable watering-place.

In the centre of the beach is erected an arcade, in the Turkish style, for the accommodation of the bathers. At one end is the *Bains des Hommes*, and at the other the *Bains des Femmes*; that is, the apartments where each dresses before going into the sea. We write upon the spot, and with the scene in our eye. The bathers go out in pairs generally: a husband and wife, or a brother and sister; but let not the reader start. The affair is conducted with far more decorum than with us. The dress, which is black, covers the entire person well nigh. It reminds us of nothing so much as that of our own fishermen; and, when we first saw them, we could not help fancying that we saw a group of fishermen wading into the sea to launch their boat. Some fifty yards away from us is a little group in the water. They wait till the curling billow approaches them, and keep their footing as best they may, while it dashes over their heads in a cataract of foam.

One thing we have omitted in our sketch. Beyond the palace, an eighth of a mile's distance or so, a crescent of naked rock runs out into the sea, forming the northern horn of the little bay. On its point stands the light-house, a marked feature of the little town. It is a tall, white column, with a lantern a-top—welcome sight it must be to the mariner when the Bay of Biscay is, not as now, full of light and sleeping in the calm, but when darkness and tempest claim it as their own, and hold high carnival upon its boundless bosom.

The return journey to Bayonne we performed on foot, a pleasant walk of some five miles. We did so that we might lay up in our mind a more accurate picture of the country between; and it is worth the pains, and more. Five minutes take us from the imperial gaiety of Biarritz out into the open country. It is bare and bold, and well it may, for it forms the great boulder headland which walls in the Atlantic. This headland passed, we descend into a region of tropical luxuriance. There is no lack of water nor of heat, as we can testify; and the result is, what we have said, that the soil runs over with flower and fruit. For instance, the camellia, which is known only in our greenhouses, of which it is so conspicuous an ornament,

grows here in the open air; and, attaining the stature of a tree, throws wide upon the breeze the fragrance of its snow-white blossoms. The road runs right onwards, bordered, on either side, by a magnificent row of Lombardy poplars, the least of which is not under a hundred feet. In front are seen the cathedral towers of Bayonne; on the left is the champagne country, covered with villas and flourishing woods; while on the right, seen through the screens of poplars, are the summits of the Pyrenees, forming the boundary between France and Spain.

The foregoing remarks were penned on the soil of France itself. At that time the Emperor Napoleon was laid down on what appeared to be his deathbed, and the revolutionists had begun to cherish the hopes of immediate action. The centre of the repression is universally recognised to be at Paris; and in proportion as the man who holds the revolution in check appeared to approach the tomb, the republicans thought they saw the day of outbreak and triumph coming nearer and nearer. But the emperor rallied, and the revolution is once more compelled to take up the attitude of "biding its time." A few months or a few years must it still wait. The principle of the emperor's policy is extremely simple: it is worldly-wise, but short-sighted. It entirely consists in a coerced quiet—order at the sword's point—in the hope that revolution will die out, and that industry, prosperity, and attachment to his *regime* will gradually spring up, and entwine themselves around his dynasty. But meanwhile the seeds of these virtues are not scattered; and how can they be expected to grow? Year passes after year, and France is exactly where she was: the revolution is still in its deep cave—growing very audibly at times, and the surface is embellished with nothing more substantial than an enforced quiet and an artificial prosperity. This is perfectly understood in France. There no one believes that the present order of things will last. All feel that whatever time the reins shall drop from the hand that now holds them, convulsion most surely awaits France,—and not France only, but all the countries of the Latin race. All arrangements in France, therefore, are provisional. No one reckons on futurity; no one embarks in enterprises, the successful issue of which demands a stable order of things. All so plan their affairs that when the scenes shall shift they may suffer as little inconvenience or loss as possible. This of itself is a great evil, and entails many of the consequences of revolution even before revolution comes. This, we believe, is the real reason why Napoleon is popular with no class but the army. The middle class have thriven in the period of quiet his powerful government has given the country, and yet they are not sincerely grateful, nor heartily attached; and

for this reason, we believe, that the dread of the future is ever before them. The emperor's policy is but negative: they feel it is building up nothing. To maintain it, the army must be continually increased; and with the multiplication of soldiers must come the aggravation of taxes, the exhaustion of agriculture, and the growth of red republicanism. They feel the imperial policy to be only a postponement of the evil day. For the period of quiet they now enjoy, they must eventually pay dear indeed.

And then with the Œcumenical Council comes another source of perplexity and uneasiness to France and to Europe. The Church of Rome has now cut herself off from all the governments of Europe. They have one and all broken their concordats with her, and she has proclaimed them in a state of virtual excommunication. They are, she says, no longer Catholic and no longer members of the Papacy. What, in these novel circumstances, does that church propose to do? She proposes to enter formally and publicly upon the execution of her divinely-appointed mission as the ruler of the nations. She is to take into her own hands the reins which have been dropped by the virtually deposed sovereigns, and to become both the *spiritual* and *temporal* governor of the masses of Europe, over which the kings have no longer, she holds, any legitimate authority. And for this end the Œcumenical Council is about to do two things. First, it is about to transform the articles of the "syllabus" into positive dogmas. One of these articles is, that the "church" possesses *direct* and *indirect temporal power*, and that she has the right of external coercion. This every Romanist, in a few weeks, will be bound to believe on peril of his salvation. As soon as this is proclaimed, the Church of Rome becomes a **UNIVERSAL TEMPORAL GOVERNMENT**. She now ignores all other governments, as we have said, being virtually excommunicate; and so she is about to step into their place, and, on the ground of divine right, to claim directly the allegiance of the European masses. We say masses, for the "church" holds that the Catholic nations are dissolved. She thus must and will become the great leader in revolution. But second, the Œcumenical Council is about to decree the infallibility of the Pope. And for what end? Obviously, that this combined temporal and spiritual government—which is avowedly antagonistic to all other governments, and which sustains itself, on divine right, the one sole ruler of the European peoples—may be centralised and lodged in one arm, so as to be the more conveniently, promptly, and powerfully wielded. This is the attitude the Papacy will have assumed, in all human probability, before the lines we are now writing can see the light. In order to ascertain what is the actual effect,

which this state of things will exert upon the peace of the world, we must first ask, What is the aspect in which Christendom will then appear to a Catholic eye? The moment the Council shall have ratified the "syllabus," and proclaimed in "infallibility," Christendom, or rather—for we are warranted to use a larger term—the world, will appear to Catholic eyes in no other light than this, namely, all human governments will have become illegitimate, virtually suspended; there will be left but one government in the world,—that government possessing temporal and spiritual power,—that government wielded by an infallible monarch, divinely guarded from error in all his laws and acts, defining the limits of his own prerogatives, having the right to exercise external coercion, and enforcing obedience by the terrors of anathema. This is the aspect under which Europe and Christendom will henceforth be viewed by Catholics; and to this state of things every Catholic will be bound to conform his spiritual and political obedience, under peril of his eternal salvation. Then, we have to take into account, that there are upwards of a thousand bishops distributed over the world, every one of whom is sworn to obey the Pope, and to carry out the infallibility in the sense of a superhuman, temporal, and spiritual government. Under the bishops are many thousands of priests, all under the same obligation to the bishop which the bishop is under to the Pope; and under the priests are, we are told, an hundred and eighty millions of Catholics, who are bound, at the peril of their eternal salvation, to obey the priests. Where, in past history, or on the earth anywhere at this hour, do we find an ORGANISATION so perfect, so thoroughly knit and bound together in all its parts, striking its roots so deep into the earth, and stretching its ramifications so far around, and wielding sanctions and powers so manifold and so formidable, and all directed against liberty and constituted order? It needs not a syllable to shew what a menace this is to civilisation, or to demonstrate that nothing can follow its working—and it is now working for life and death—but conspiracies, conflicts, and universal revolution. It is not we Protestants only who see in the new attitude of the Papacy a formidable danger to the peace of the world: many Catholics are taking the alarm, and earnestly protesting against the new pretensions. The writers in "*Janus*"—a book which well deserves the study of our readers—characterise this new state of things in their own church as "an empire of force and oppression," and offer "a protest, based on history, against a menacing future."

But, it may be said, it is precisely here that light begins to break in, and that a door seems to open for the safety of society,

There are differences of opinion in the Roman Church itself, and the decrees of the Œcumenical Council will be the signal for division. The most ignorant will be wiser than the wisest now is by the time these words can be published, but we think this anticipation is likely to be realised: the probability of upbreak in the "Church" itself increases as the hour of the meeting of the Council approaches. But we are not so certain that that upbreak will "save" society: it is possible it may "rend" it. We have coming—it may not happen while the Council is sitting, but it will follow—two divisions in Roman Christendom, the first *ecclesiastical*, and the second *political*. The first will leave the "church" split up into three "churches" or "obediences,"—the Italian, the French, and the German,—very possibly. The greatest of these three parties will, in all likelihood be the Italian, comprehending not only the bulk of the Italian priests and people, but the Ultramontanes in the other countries of Europe, and more especially in Ireland and the British colonies, who will form what they will denominate the true original Catholic Church, under the presidency of the Pope, declared by the Council "infallible." In the second place will come the French Catholic Church, under the presidency of a national council; and third, a German church, most probably, governed also by a council. The two last, in order to save the "Church," will strive to destroy the "*curia*;" and we may expect to see some rare and edifying examples of Catholic unity.

But there lies before us, too, a political division, also into three parties, and, as a consequent, in a large measure, of the ecclesiastical upbreak. These three parties are already outlined; they consist of the kings or existing governments; the Red Republicans, or the revolution; and the priesthood, or Ultramontanes. Each of these three parties will try their strength against the other two, and how it will fare with society or order in the conflict it is hard to say. It is just possible that the last-mentioned two, the republicans and the priesthood, may temporarily combine against the kings, and, when they have put them down, they will fight it out between themselves. But whether the struggle will come piecemeal or all at once, come it will. That the peace will be kept between these three parties for any long while after the Œcumenical Council issues its decrees, we have no hope. And as little do we expect to see the reformation of the Church undertaken by any party in the spirit of the Reformers, that is, of the Bible. We build nothing on the movement of Father Hyacinth and his companions; we value it only as an upbreaking force. The attempt which will be made will be to reform the Roman Church by purging it of the Roman *curia*; but it will turn out now,

as it has done at all previous periods of the history of the Papacy, that purification, will be only preservation, and preservation in a few years, will become old corruption. No one can accomplish a reformation of the Church of Rome that will be worth a straw, unless he steps outside of her, and takes his stand upon the Bible, and demands a new root as well as a new *branch*—a *new faith*, as well as a *reformed government*; and this, no one of name or position, in the Church of Rome, appears at this hour disposed to do. The true reformation is the “evangelisation” in progress in Italy, Spain, and other countries. That must form the church of the future; a church created by the Word and Spirit of God, and not shaped and moulded by the ingenious contrivances and politic reforms of men. Apart from that “evangelisation” all hopes of the religion of Europe are utterly chimerical; and hence it is that the manifestoes from this or the other priest of Rome, which awaken hope in others, only fill us with despair; they but tend to draw attention away from the strength of the malady, and its only means of cure, and they give birth to expectations which will disappoint and mortify those who cherish them. The “salvation of Israel” must come, not from the mountains of Rome, but “out of Zion.” But the evangelisation progresses slowly. Red Republicanism and Ultramontaniam are advancing with tenfold more rapidity, and are, every day and hour, piling up of new obstructions above the divine and evangelic principle. How the superincumbent strata through which that principle is struggling to force its way are to be rent we know not. We are assured, however, that Providence will open a passage for the heavenly seed in His own way. We do not love the earthquake or the tempest for their own sakes; but surely it is better that they should come, be the ruin they may inflict what it may, than that generation after generation should rot in misery and vice, incapable of noble pursuits and noble enjoyments, and from an undone time pass away to an undone eternity.

J. A. W.

ART. VII.—*Union of Church and State.*

THE times in which we live forcibly remind us of the day predicted by our blessed Lord, “when there shall be signs in the sun, and in the moon, and in the stars; and upon the earth distress of nations, with perplexity; the sea and the waves roaring; men’s hearts failing them for fear and for look-

ing after those things which are coming on the earth." Without presuming to fix the precise era in the history of the world to which this passage may refer, it certainly describes a state of universal turmoil, perplexity, and anxiety which bears a striking analogy to the aspect of things around us in Church and State. All the elements of society seem to bear the marks of change, and to indicate a speedy transition. To confine our views at present to the prospects of the Church, the late fall of the Irish Establishment has been regarded by men of all parties and opinions as only the beginning of an end—an end which none can foresee, but which every one considers to be at no great distance, and the probable character of which each of them, peering fearfully or hopefully into the future, is striving to conjecture. From the high places of the Church of England, where it was least to be expected, we hear sentiments expressed which lead us to conclude that the prospect of a separation between Church and State is calmly contemplated as an event hanging on the condemnation of a book or the election of a bishop. From the ranks of English nonconformity there comes already the shout of anticipated triumph. "If there be any certainty in political and ecclesiastical *augury*," says one of their organs, "the principles of free churches will soon be the only *de facto* principles of British church life. That the days of establishments are numbered no intelligent observer can doubt, and unless our present state of progress be greatly and unexpectedly arrested, their final abolition will come very speedily—in all probability with an accelerated ratio of public conviction which none of us can calculate." * The same event is thus commented on by a foreign divine, distinguished by his philosophical acuteness, who views the matter from a distance, and with friendly impartiality:—"It does not belong to me," says M. de Pressensè, "to relate the great ecclesiastical crisis through which England is now passing. It is certain that, apart from the considerable progress of independent Christianity in its various sections, a great shaking has been communicated to men's minds by the warm debates which the question of the Irish Church is provoking. The passionate efforts of the Conservative party to resist Mr Gladstone's proposal, have had the effect of enlarging the debate instead of localising it, and of raising the ecclesiastical problem in its entirety, by saying to the whole Anglican Church, *De te fabula narratur*—'It is of thee that the question is.' Now when a question of this order has been thus broached in a country, we can no more cause it to disappear. The partial and momentary checks only precipitate the movement of minds. The important point is, that the

* *British Quarterly Review*, October 1869, p. 227.

question is stated ; the solution may tarry—it is certain. The valiant English race has too much energy and logic to leave such a problem in suspense, or to be satisfied with an expedient. I am of opinion, then, that this century will not have completed its course before the noble motto of Cavour—'*The free Church in the free State*,'—shall have been realised on this side of the Atlantic, as on the other shore." *

In these extracts we present a pretty fair statement of the views generally entertained by thoughtful minds imbued with prejudice against religious establishments. We propose to indicate, in the following reflections, how far we are prepared to concur with these views, and to sympathise with these aspirations. One thing we think is very apparent, that the old theory of the union of Church and State, as advocated by such writers as Warburton, and as exemplified in most, if not all, existing establishments, is destined at no distant date to be thoroughly exploded. That theory may be briefly summed up as based on the idea of coalition of Church and State in one corporate society. By whatever name such a union may be called, it will not be difficult to shew that it must amount, on the part of the Church, to a practical surrender of her freedom, her spirituality, and her independence. Flesh and spirit, matter and mind, are as distinct and as incapable of coalescing as the Church, in its true character, as a spiritual society, is incapable of being fused into one body politic with the State. "My kingdom," says Christ, "is not of this world,"—a fundamental maxim of our faith, which, however it may have been misapplied, clearly teaches that every attempt to constitute the Church of Christ part and parcel of the body politic by means of an incorporating union, must be inconsistent with her very nature, degrading to the dignity of her origin, and calculated to defeat the very ends for which she was instituted. Such a union involves the monstrous idea that the Church is the creature of the State; an idea from which it is not difficult to leap to the conclusion that the State must govern the creature it has made. This is no mere theory ; in too many instances it has been reduced to practice. That the Church of England, as it now stands, was the creation of Henry the Eighth and his parliaments, is a fact beyond all question. The arbitrary will of the monarch fixed its constitution, its doctrine, and its worship ; the Church was never consulted, or called upon to judge in the matter. It was otherwise in Scotland ; but in England, the law of which has been now applied to the Scottish Church, the prevalent idea of the union between Church and State is based upon the gross

* "The Church and the French Revolution," by E. de Pressensé, D.D. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1869.

conception that the Church, as established, is the offspring, and consequently, is only an institution and engine of the State. This fallacy pervades all the images under which it has been advocated and upheld. It is vain to conceal the character of such a union under the phrase of an alliance between two independent powers. This figure of speech, if it means anything more than the existence of friendly relations, cannot be fitly applied to designate a union between two powers existing in the same community, composed, for the most part, of the same persons inhabiting the same country. When we speak of an alliance between two independent powers, it is always supposed that they live under separate governments, and in different countries. But an alliance between Church and State, in the same country, if it involves an incorporating union, can only be obtained by the subjection of the spiritual to the secular power. A friendly alliance may be said to subsist between the two powers, temporal and spiritual, when the State recognises the spiritual rights and independence of the Church, and when both prosecute common objects in their own sphere; but if Church and State are to be merged into one, it must be plain that there can remain no spiritual rights or independence on the part of the Church to be recognised. And such, in point of fact, is found to be the case wherever the Church is mixed up, and identified with, the civil institutions of the land. The very tightness of the embrace which is intended to do honour to religion, strangles its liberty. Equally fallacious is the illustration which has been frequently drawn from the alliance between the human soul and body, which, however differing from each other, constitute one person. The Church, indeed, is "one body," but it is so only "in Christ"; her unity is spiritual; and the idea of her being united with the world implies the introduction of a foreign substance equally inconsistent with her spirituality and her unity in Christ. Another form under which the union between Church and State may be advocated, is that of protection. That the Church is entitled to be protected by the State from every form of persecution and injustice is what few will deny. The members of the Church are entitled to expect, not only as an act of common justice, but in homage to her divine Head and King, that their persons and property shall be held inviolate; that her jurisdiction in spiritual matters shall not be infringed, over-ruled, or nullified by civil decisions; and that her assemblies for public worship shall be preserved from outward molestation. But the moment that the protectorship of the State assumes the form of a legal right to take the Church under the wing of its patronage, it amounts to a claim of superiority, incompatible with the freedom of the Church. It was under the title of Lord Protector that Oliver

Cromwell trampled on the prerogatives of king, lords, and commons; and the claims put forth by the Czar of Russia to the protectorate of the Greek Church in Turkey was resisted by the Sultan as a claim of dominion over his Greek subjects, and involved Europe in a bloody and disastrous war. In connection with this, we may be expected to speak of the legal establishment of the Church, but in point of fact, this is an abstract question, on which, as matters now stand, it is needless to enter. The only question calling for solution is whether, amidst a multiplicity of conflicting sects, each claiming the character of the Church of Christ, it is the duty of civil government to select one of them as the object of its special patronage, and to sanction its constitution and privileges by legal enactments. One thing, we think, is very apparent, that our reformers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries left this question unsolved. While they laid down broad, general principles on the respective duties of Church and State, capable of being applied, in certain circumstances, to what has been called a legal establishment of the true religion, they do not attempt to solve the problem of an actual union between Church and State under any circumstances, much less in a divided state of the Church. It is a striking fact that in the Westminster Confession of Faith this topic is studiously avoided. The duties of the civil magistrate are there prescribed as boldly as the rights and prerogatives of the Church; but no attempt is made to strike a balance between the two, or to shew how far the one may be discharged without infringing upon the other. Not a word is said about union between Church and State. The compilers seem to have felt that it was not their part to construct an established Church, but simply, in the name of God, to state the duties and responsibilities devolving upon civil rulers in regard to religion, leaving them to fulfil these as they might be guided by the light of God's word, and by the leadings of His providence. Hence the wide and strong language which they employ, and which, while it has led some to claim it as covering all the sanctions and prerogatives of a regularly established Church, has induced others to reject it, as plainly savouring of Erastianism and persecution. For our part, we are inclined to regard it as equally guiltless of both these imputations. The Confession, we think, cannot be said either to teach that it is the duty of civil government to establish the Church by law, or to justify civil rulers in exercising an Erastian or persecuting power over the Church.

It only remains to advert to that form of union which consists in the payment by the State of the ministers of the Church. This may be regarded as the lowest form in which the union can exist; the last and slenderest tie by which the Church can

be joined to the chariot of the State. Judging from the importance attached to this consideration by some polemic writers, we should suppose that State support, in any shape, constituted the very essence of this union. The late Dr Wardlaw, if we recollect right, argued that if State endowments were withdrawn, the whole Voluntary question was at an end; and others seem to hold that every kind of extraneous support drawn from the coffers of the State is irreconcilable with the divine institution; according to which, as they conceive, the ministers of religion must be sustained by contributions flowing directly from the people among whom they labour. In the New Testament we fail to discover any such institution. The natural principle, that the labourer is worthy of his hire, is there applied to the Christian workman, who is held entitled to live, like other professional men, by his profession; a principle exemplified in all Churches, endowed or unendowed. But in whatever form he may be supported, it is plain that, in apostolic eyes, this occupied a very inferior place among Christian duties. So little did the apostle of the Gentiles estimate its importance that he preferred working with his own hands in order to minister to his necessities, while he pleaded that his brethren were entitled to be maintained on the natural principle of remuneration, recognised by our Lord. "The care of the poor," says M. de Pressensè, "was regarded as a more pressing claim than the maintenance of the pastors."* Certainly, the main office of the primitive deacons was rather eleemosynary than financial; and was thus more in accord with the spiritual character of the Church. It belongs, indeed, more properly to secular than to spiritual officers to deal with and dole out the mammon of unrighteousness; and we cannot see how it can be theoretically maintained that a Christian nation may not appropriate a portion of its revenues to the support and advancement of religion. It certainly may spend them upon much less worthy objects. The grand practical objection to the adoption of this course arises from the source already alluded to, the multiplicity of religious sects. This objection, we fear, must be held valid, as matters now stand, against the legal and permanent endowment of any of our contending churches. But why may we not anticipate a state of matters, in which such an objection might have no standing-room? Are our ecclesiastical divisions to be eternal? Is the Lord's hand shortened, that it cannot save His church from her present state of miserable disunion? Is His ear heavy, that it cannot hear the earnest and united supplications of His people for the return of the dove with the olive branch of peace, announcing that the

* "The Early Years of Christianity," p. 314.

angry waters of controversy and strife have abated from off the earth? And even should this prospect be deemed too chimerical, may we not conceive of circumstances in which it would be equally hard and unreasonable to tie up the hands of a united nation from ministering of its substance for the support of those who are labouring in the gospel among a people too blind to value it, or too poor to pay for it. Thus far, we think, it may be fairly contended that, to use an apocalyptic phrase frequently applied to this subject, "the earth may help the woman." Such help from the State,—not in the character of a paymaster, providing for the support of a set of officials, but as an enlightened benefactor, granting a subsidy for the support of divine ordinances in destitute and undemanding districts of the country—was all that Dr Chalmers pleaded for in his eloquent defence of Establishments. We must frankly allow, however, that a national endowment, fixed by statute, to any particular church, has generally issued in the worst evils attendant upon an Erastian union. It has cramped the liberality of the Christian people; it has stereotyped a system of error, which might otherwise have perished from sheer inanition; and it has saddled the Church with a cold, heartless, time-serving, and money-seeking clergy, who, if placed above popular caprice, have gained that independence at the expense of losing the wholesome breath and cheering sunshine of public opinion. In confirmation of these statements we appeal to the history of the whole church, from its birth to the present day; we express, too, the result of personal observation. We have before our mind's eye the shrivelled aspect of those branches of the Reformed Church on the continent which are paid and protected by the civil government; we are thinking of the deplorable state of so many parishes in England, appropriately called "livings," sold to the highest bidder, and handed over to underlings who have anything at heart but "the cure of souls"; we are reflecting on the shameful misapplication, in virtue of the Dissenting Chapels' Bill, of the endowments left by our pious ancestors, the English Presbyterians, for the preaching of a pure gospel, to the support of Unitarianism. We could not, indeed, desire a better illustration of the views we have just propounded than is suggested by this ill-omened bill, introduced by Sir Robert Peel in 1844, and so keenly advocated by the late Lord Brougham. The funds in this case were strictly Church endowments, bequeathed by godly men and women for the use of the Church to which they belonged, and left to the free and voluntary disposal of that Church; but they were forcibly grasped by the State, and converted into a fixed and permanent endowment of a sect which holds principles opposed to those of the original donors, and which, wanting this support, would

soon have sunk out of sight. Our readers will not be slow to perceive the essential difference between an endowment sanctioned, it may be, and secured by law for the use of a certain church, but left to the independent management of that church, and the appropriation of a State fund to any religious purpose which the State may choose to further, or to any sect whom the State may choose to patronise.

From the foregoing reflections, it will appear, that while not prepared to go into the views of ultra-Voluntaryism as held by Mr Miall and the Liberation Society, we repudiate the union between Church and State as it has been generally entertained in theory, and realised in practice. We feel persuaded that there is much less difference of opinion on this question among evangelical Christians than one might be led from recent controversies to imagine. Nonconformists, in all ages, have been driven into their position of antagonism to the National Church mainly by the monstrous character of the coalition between the temporal and spiritual, or by the force of the civil element involved in that conjunction. In Scotland particularly has this been the case. All the contests that have arisen, all the divisions and disruptions that mark the history of the Scottish Church, are clearly traceable to those vicious notions regarding the union of Church and State to which we have adverted. The faithful fathers of that church uniformly stood out and suffered for the spiritual independence of the church; nor was their testimony for this the less decided and impressive because they held at the same time that it was the duty of civil governors, within their own sphere, to advance the interests of Christ's kingdom. "Take away the freedom of our Assemblies," said Knox, "and you take away from us the evangel." "Sir," said Melville to James VI., "there are two kings and two kingdoms in Scotland. There is King James, the head of this commonwealth; and there is Christ Jesus, the King of the church, whose subject James VI. is, and of whose kingdom he is not a king, nor a lord, nor a head, but a member." And thus spoke Alexander Henderson, when the Royal Commissioner would have dissolved the Glasgow Assembly of 1688, in the king's name: "Whatsoever is ours we shall render to his Majesty, even our lives, lands, liberties, and all; but for that which is God's, and the liberties of his house, we do think, neither will his Majesty's piety suffer him to crave, neither may we grant them although he should crave it." Had these noble sentiments been responded to by the civil government at that period, had Charles not aimed at asserting a lordship over the Church of Scotland, how different might have been the train of events from those which followed. Had the sovereigns of England not claimed a headship over the church, and

had Parliament not tamely yielded to the usurpation, what a different face might that church have presented at the present day! And even yet, were that temporal headship, which some would cling to as her sheet-anchor, but which Christendom regards as her weakness and disgrace, to be abandoned, and were the independence of the church to be secured by the severance of those ties which merge her in a gross material union with the State, are we too sanguine in cherishing the hope that she might regain all she has lost, and like the ancient champion of Israel, shaking herself free from the withs, ropes, and webs in which she is entangled, assert her strength more gloriously than ever. It does not follow from this that the church should be denuded of her endowments,—of that property, we mean, which belongs to her as an ecclesiastical body, flowing, not directly from the national exchequer, but from the ancient springs and fountain-heads of a voluntary beneficence. Left to the free disposal of these funds, the renovated Church, embracing, as we would anticipate, a large infusion of the lay element, would, no doubt, find ample scope for a wise, equable, and efficient administration. We can see no ground in justice or good policy for following out, over the rest of the empire, the same measure which has been recently meted out to the Establishment in Ireland, where the abnormal and exceptional state of matters demanded, we think, no less than what has been done. In the all-wise providence of God, it may be destined that all our Church Establishments shall come down. All we say is, that such a conclusion does not logically follow from the fate of the Irish Church, and cannot be justly inferred from the motives or principles of the Government which has carried that measure.

Leaving this to be decided by the natural course of events, or rather by Him who is their great disposer, there are two points on which, before concluding, we feel impelled to make a few remarks, without, we hope, giving offence to any party. In the first place, we cannot sympathise with the feelings of self-gratulation expressed by the extreme section of the Voluntary school in the prospect of the downfall of all Establishments, as if this indicated the triumph of their peculiar principles. In so far as this is the end aimed at by their contendings, they may be said, in such an event, to have seen that end accomplished; but it would be a great mistake to imagine that Establishments, if overthrown, will owe their downfall to the progress of Voluntaryism. It is a notorious fact, that the leaders in the Disruption movement of 1843, which now threatens the stability of the National Church of Scotland, were the very men who had distinguished themselves in defence of Church Establishments; that they were the

staunchest of conservatists, and the keenest opponents of Voluntaryism. That movement originated in the unjustifiable encroachments of the civil power; and the followers of Chalmers and Gordon came out, not because they loved Establishments the less, but because they loved spiritual independence the more. And can any one take a candid survey of the state of matters in the English Establishment without perceiving that the real causes which threaten its dissolution are to be found, not in any theoretical notions about the mode of supporting Christian ministers, prevailing either within or without its pale, but in the internal corruptions and divisions of the church itself; in its monstrous system of secularity, simonism, and subjugation to the State; in its rigorous enforcement of outward uniformity, combined with a total laxity of discipline; and in other evils unnecessary to mention. Over such a catastrophe, many, no doubt, provoked by the pride and vain-glory of Churchmen, may be disposed to rejoice, and "say in their hearts, Ah, so would we have it!" For our part, we see small occasion to felicitate ourselves or the country on the melancholy failure of our Establishments to fulfil the great and holy ends for which they were set up, for which so much wealth has been expended, and which, under a wiser and more scriptural management, they might have accomplished. In the next place, we are equally unable to concur with the sentiment so rife in many quarters, that payment and patronage are inseparable concomitants; that the State can in no wise aid the Church by pecuniary benefactions, without claiming, and justly claiming, the right of presentation to benefices, and the power to govern the Church, and control her jurisdiction; that the Church cannot receive any temporal boon from civil rulers without compromising her independence. Such a condition it is as mean for the State to exact as it is for the Church to submit to. If offered on such dishonourable terms, the fitting reply of the church should be that of the apostle, "Thy money perish with thee." We utterly disclaim the idea, that the payment of money for the support of the ordinances of religion infers the subjugation of the church to those who pay it. Upon this principle, it would follow that those churches where the minister is payed by the congregation, the people must be his superiors, the deacons his governors, and the church-treasurer his lord patron. The time, we trust, is not far distant when to connect spiritual power with mere money will be held to be a relict of the past—a monstrous coalition, entailing disgrace upon all who advocate and uphold it. So long, however, as the State claims to be lord superior over the Church, so long as patronages are vested in the crown, in the nobility, gentry, and higher clergy, we despair of seeing any effective reform in

our existing Establishments. Equally strong is our conviction, that were this system wholly abolished, were this earthly theory of Church and State consigned to the tomb of all the Capulets, a new era of the Church would be inaugurated. One plunge into the broad, bracing element of popular election would free the Church of those clerical larvæ, ritualistic and rationalistic, who now cling to her simply in virtue of her emoluments, in spite of all the exertions and protests of the Christian people. Better surely—whatever changes might come over the constitution and form of the Anglican Church—ininitely better that her ecclesiastical wealth should be entrusted to the disposal of a free church, than that it should be swept away by an act of rash and aimless confiscation. Our religious Establishments, such as they now are, may be overthrown, and it is now almost universally admitted that the State may lawfully resume the revenues which the State has conferred ; but it appears little better than mere folly to propose that the Church's rightful patrimony, bequeathed by the piety of her ancestors for the propagation of Christ's glorious gospel, should be scattered broadcast over the field of secular expenditure, and that, like Alnaschar in the wellknown story, we should spurn away the substantial good that lies at our feet, under the idea of acting out a fanciful theory, which glitters in the distance, but which we may never be able to realise.

In connection with our subject we may add a word or two on the union of the churches themselves. To talk of a free and independent church being united with a crown-patronised and state-privileged church, is simply preposterous. In this case, the State has thrown up a wall of separation, which, like a certain "great gulf" elsewhere mentioned, is on either side impassable. Were the link, however, which unifies Church and State to be dissolved, the union of evangelical churches would, in Scotland, speedily, and, throughout the rest of the empire, eventually be accomplished. We do not here speak of Roman Catholics, who, from the very nature of their pretensions, are insoluble either with Church or State. The spiritual independence asserted by Popery and High Church Prelacy is founded on a claim of superiority to the State, and is utterly alien from that which justly belongs to the true kingdom of Christ. But the recent union between the Old and New Schools of Presbyterians in America shews how easily the churches of the Reformation may be brought to see eye to eye, and sing together with the voice, even after the sounds of a bitter warfare had scarcely died away, just because there the disintegrating element of State union does not exist. How desirable is such a union among ourselves ! As it is, no

church can prosper by our divisions, save that of Rome, the policy of which is to divide and conquer, and which can only succeed, like other despotic powers, by persuading men that there can be no union or peace unless the government be centralised in the person of one man. On the other hand, by the union of the friends of truth, on the broad principles of the gospel of peace, under the Lord Christ, the sole King and Head of his church, what an amount of good would be secured both for Church and State. The hands of a liberal and generous government would be freed from those perplexing questions which now paralyse its efforts to co-operate with the church in promoting the moral and social improvement of the community; and the church might then bring all her energies, now expended on religious contention, to bear with undivided force on the great ends of her spiritual mission.

For ourselves, we frankly confess that, so far as Scotland is concerned, we cannot contemplate with satisfaction any union short of what our American brethren call Pan-Presbyterian. The Disruption of 1843 rent the Old Kirk in twain from the top to the bottom, leaving an unsightly scar, which time has hardened but not healed. If Government cannot recognise the spiritual independence of the Church while in union with the State, then in Heaven's name, say we, let that unhallowed marriage be dissolved. The reversal of a principle which produced disruption may surely be expected to issue in re-union. Only let the tackling by which the church is bound to the earth be loosed, and the vessel will rush into the arms of her native element, and speedily settle down and adjust herself to her new position. She will become in a much truer sense than she is now, a national institution. In spite of all that has happened, and in spite of all anti-national speculations, we feel assured that, dismissing the recent past as a painful dream, and reverting to the days of our common ancestors, who sleep in the quiet churchyards of our rural parishes, or in the moors and mosses where they fell as martyrs, the heart of every leal Scotchman, whether at home or far away, would leap with joy at the prospect of a free, united, reconstituted National Kirk.

ART. VIII.—*Female Catholic Life in France.*

IN France, women have always played a more distinguished part than in this country. Some of our readers may have seen (none who have seen can forget) a picture in the Hotel de

Ville gallery at Rouen, the Martyrdom of Joan of Arc, where besides the centre figure on the burning pile, the chief interest is thrown by the painter on two contrasted females,—the one a Burgundian lady in full medieval finery of pyramidal hat and peaked boots; the other a sympathising French peasant girl, as you may, in north-west France, see them still in the Romish churches, bare-handed and bare-headed. The applauding Burgundian lady, and the mourning Norman girl, are representative women of that age, when, after Joan's death, it was Agnes Sorel, far more than Charles VII., that concentrated in one person the patriotism that drove the English out.

Victor Cousin, in one of the later literary efforts of his long and laborious life, gave to the world a series of monographs on Jacqueline Pascal and other female celebrities of the Port Royal period. The letters of Madame de Sevigné retain their European celebrity of two centuries. In the frightful moral laxity of the "Parc aux Cerfs" age, the Memoir of Madame d'Haussez and the Letters of Madame du Deffant throw a clear if lurid light on the state of manners and morals that prepared for, and to some extent accounted for, the atrocities of the first French Revolution.

In the age of temporary reaction which manifested itself under the Restoration monarchy, the Memoirs of the Countess de Genlis, wearisome in lengthiness as they are, give a vivid representation of the influence of the Chateaubriand revival of Romanism in connection with monarchy and semi-feudal aristocratic minds. Madame de Genlis was a woman of great literary activity, and unbounded literary vanity. She seems to have considered herself a sort of providentially raised-up female counterpoise to the Revolution and Napoleon I., though she does not, like others, vulgarly deny the merits of "the Child and Champion of the Revolution," as Canning called him. The religion, of which the Countess was, in her time a chief literary exponent, was superficial enough, but it was Gallican and Anti-Curialist in tone. The Revolution of July, in its consequences, gave a thoroughly Ultramontane tone to the generality of the French Romanist clergy. Ravignan and Lacordaire, Gerbet and Dupanloup might differ in many points, but with the Gallicanism of the old liberties, and the famous Four Articles of 1682, they utterly broke.

The Memoirs of Madame de Genlis, published in 1825, give a very fair sample of the Romanism current during the Restoration period of French history. The Countess was a most prolific writer, and a woman of enormous literary vanity. The notices of her quarrels with this literary man and that literary woman are amusing or painful, according to the feeling of the reader. With her, an apt pupil in the half-political, half-sentimental

school of Chateaubriand, the Romish altar—a Gallican one, not an Ultramontane one—is the needful support of the throne. Protestantism, even though then represented by such writers as Madame de Stael, and Guizot in his earlier works, is to her a species of Sans-Culottism. It is the religion of a fashionable blue stocking, to whom masses and sermons are an alternative to operas and balls. The earlier letters of Lamennais, in the collection edited by E. D. Forgues, also throw much light on the aristocratic and conservative character of the prevailing Romanism of his time. The life of Royer Collard, by De Barante, shews the calm and unproselytising temper of the “liberal” Romanists of the era of Louis XVIII. With the last Bourbon of the elder branch, Charles X., Romanism assumed a different type. Charles was a devotee of the fashion of Louis XIV. after Blenheim, and under the sway of his unavowed wife, Madame de Maintenon. Promotion came in the wake of affected devoutness according to Jesuit principles. Unadvised prosecutions, such as that of the poet Beranger for some rather sarcastic verses of his, tended to alienate the people from the church; and when the crash of July 1830 took place, the Romish clergy largely shared in the hatred incurred by the expelled Bourbons.

Soon after the accession of Louis Philippe, there arose the party of the “Avenir,” headed by Lamennais, Montalembert, and Lacordaire, whose object it was to assert the independence of the Church upon the State. Pope Gregory XVI. having condemned the newspaper in question, and required its cessation, Lamennais broke altogether with Rome. His two colleagues became, however, only more devoted to Ultramontane views; and these are now in the ascendant among the French clergy and devout laity.

The three works before us* comprise the lives of three very remarkable Roman Catholic women. There is nothing so memorable, perhaps, as in the life of Catherine of Sienna, the only female that Papal “infallibility” has licensed to preach, the counsellor of several occupants of the pontifical chair; and of Teresa of Jesus, the reformer in discipline of Spanish Catholicism, and one who, in rare union, combined gifts of eloquence in speaking and writing with gifts of management and rule. But Madame Swetchine was far more than the Hannah More or the Mary Marsh of the Romish Church in France. Born in the Greek communion, she early in life became dissatisfied with the laxity of life and ignorance, alike of theology and literature, which

* “Vie de Mad. Swetchine.” Par De Falloux. Correspondence. Journal de Conversion.

“Recit d’une Sœur.” Par Mad. A. Craven.

“Eugenie de Guerin.” Par G. S. Trebutien. 1868.

she found prevailing in the church of Russia. She found her way, with comparatively little aid from human converse, as she has in the journal of her "Conversion" most intelligently and graphically stated. Residing, except for one brief return to St Petersburg, for the last thirty years of her life in Paris, she there founded a *salon*, not literary like that of the Duchess de Duras, or fashionable like that of Madame Recamier, but theological and religious, to which the flower of the Parisian aristocracy of either sex were willingly accustomed to repair.

She was a woman of untiring benevolence, as the portrait prefixed to the first volume of the life shews. Like all others of such a type of character, she had many claims, and sometimes, amid the multiplicity of Romish claims on her time, had scarcely "leisure as much as to eat." She seems to have, like many other Romanists, known Protestantism only in its rationalist type, as seen in France and Germany. Had such women as the Countess de Gasparin or Madame Pressensé come across her path, her estimate of the reformed religion, in its evangelical form, would have been different. Her acquaintance with Roman Catholic theology and literature, especially French, was very wide, and she could, in writing or in converse, make good use of her acquirements. A bathing-woman at Vichy said of her, after her decease, "She was a saint indeed: she cared more for a poor woman than for a princess." Her correspondence with Father Lacordaire, which is published separately, contains her estimate of the events in Church and State for a quarter of a century, and ends in 1857, shortly before her death. The second volume of the Memoir contains her fragmentary reviews, collected by the Count de Falloux, her biographer, and is full of Pascal or Vauvenargues-like seeds of thought. She seems to have been in many ways the most remarkable Catholic Frenchwoman—for she was French assuredly by the adoption and residence of so many years—of her time.

The "*Recit d'une Sœur*" is a book of a totally different type. It contains, besides the life of the Countess Albert de la Ferronays, whose thoughtful and decided, though noways beautiful portrait, is prefixed to the earlier of the two volumes, an account of the history of various near relatives and connections. The Countess was eminently a lady of the gay world before what she deemed her conversion took place. After that, she was indeed "a stranger here." She set an example in the way of limitedness of expense in dress, which few even of the most thoroughly Christian women in this country do. Towards the end of her life, Mrs Craven relates that she had only two black gowns, and hardly linen to correspond. The twelve years which elapsed between the Count's death and her own, she spent as a "widow indeed." On one occasion she

was solicited by a Sister of Mercy for money to buy a pair of shoes for a poor woman. Returning in a few minutes with the purchase, the next word was, "Now, Countess, put them on, for it is not fit for you to go about the streets of Paris in January with such old shoes!" There is a curious antagonism between the creed which made her believe professedly in purgatory, and the study of Scripture, which made her believe that all the truly pious went, at death, to heaven. There is more sentiment in the book than we approve of; but does not the same objection belong to a good many volumes of biographies written by Protestant ladies? Montalembert, or, as he is familiarly called in the letters, "Montal," was an intimate friend of the Countess, as he had been of her husband. Was not this lady one of the "saints in bondage," amid Rome, whom we devoutly wish and pray to become "saints in freedom," by forming a Free Catholic Church?

Eugenie de Guerre was a provincial French lady, with all the natural vivacity of the sunny French South. With delicate health from the first, and suffering much from the death of her only brother Maurice, a young poet of the highest promise, she led a meditative and devout life, going comparatively little into general society. She was a close observer of nature in all the varying aspects of the seasons, the habits of different animals, and the effects of the outward scenes of things upon the soul. There is a blended influence of Wordsworth, Cowper, and Lamartine in her journals. Brought less than the other two ladies into contact with the chief men of the Gallican Church, and seldom having anything more than provincial clergy to consult or work with, she gives a sample, much higher than the average, in respect of intellectual culture; shewing in her sex the rural catholic life, of which the lives of Royer Collard, De Tocqueville, and De Barante have lately shewn the aspect towards cultivated men. With Protestantism she seems utterly unacquainted. Partly from most of the Protestant clergy in France being paid by the State, and partly from the low rate of remuneration enjoyed by the Romanist priests (even their bishops' incomes ranging, unless members of the Senate, only from £600 to £800 a-year), there is no stigma of "vulgarity" attached, as especially in the rural parts of England there is, to "Dissent." Still, in France, Protestants and Romanists seem to meet little together; and the holy influence of the evangelical section of the former does not tell. The very names of the Monods and De Pressensé seem entirely unknown to all the three very highly refined and cultured women whose memoirs we have been reviewing. Let us trust that the "Œcumenical Council," in further developing Papalism and Mary worship, may have the effect of leading devout men and women in

(though not of) Rome to come out and be separate, even though, at first, they should get no further than a Free Catholic Church, and the use of such a Scripture version as the Jansenist one of Lemaitre De Sacy.

ART. IX.—*Tendencies in Connection with the Doctrine of Future Punishment.*

BEING PRINCIPAL CANDLISH'S INTRODUCTORY LECTURE AT THE OPENING OF THE SESSION 1869-70, IN THE NEW COLLEGE, EDINBURGH.

I HAVE sometimes taken advantage of the occasions afforded at the beginning and close of our sessions, for discussing some topic of theology, or of ecclesiastical controversy as bearing on theology. Of course, at such intervals as come in between, I cannot pursue a regular course; nor, in the brief space of time allowed to me, can I treat any one subject fully and exhaustively. Still, I am inclined to keep that method in view.

Accordingly, I mean now to call your attention to the subject of Future Punishment, as it has been recently handled by a divine of the Church of England, belonging to the school with which alone we can have full sympathy,—the school of the Evangelical portion of that church. I do not care to give his name. I think it enough to say that he is one of the ablest and best of that school; and that he occupies a position, personally, and through his manifold relations, entitling him to speak with some authority on their behalf. One reason for my treating his work anonymously is, that I do not despair of his seeing his way to some modification of his views. At present, after a year or two, they stand unchallenged, so far as I know, by any of his own brethren within the Anglican Church. And any observations that have been made from without have not been very conciliatory. I trust I may be enabled to avoid offence, when I try, first, to bring before you the theory maintained by him; and, secondly, to offer a few general remarks upon it.*

* I leave this opening paragraph as I gave it. Of course, it would be absurd to have any reserve now. The book I comment upon is "The Victory of Divine Goodness, by T. R. Birks, M.A., Incumbent of Holy Trinity, Cambridge. Rivingtons, 1867." Since the delivery of the Lecture, I have received Mr Birks' "Reply to Strictures in Two Recent Works;" the works being the publications of Mr Grant and Mr Baxter, which I had previously seen. In this "Reply," Mr Birks refers to two of his own works, as bearing on the subject: "Outlines of Unfulfilled Prophecy" (1854); and

The question is thus raised. On the one hand, "nothing can be more positively laid down by our Lord than that the reward of heaven and the punishment of hell are eternal." But, "on the other hand, a perfect love seems to imply a sincere desire for the happiness of every conscious and intelligent creature, and a perfect victory of Almighty love, seems to imply that this desire shall not fail through the strength of evil, but be at length fulfilled." Hence, apparently, "a hopeless contradiction." It is a contradiction "between direct and repeated statements of Scripture, and inferences, natural and almost inevitable, from one of the most fundamental truths of revealed religion" (p. 41).

I need scarcely point out the extreme vagueness and weakness of this last ground of belief, as set over against the other. The urgent point is, the manner in which the alleged contradiction is met.

Here his first proposition is,—“Every created being may be viewed in two different aspects; what it is in itself, and also as part of a greater whole. It has a personal and individual, but also a relative or federal character” (p. 42). And his second,—“Wherever selfishness is not complete, the same contrast is found in the elements which constitute human joy and sorrow” (p. 43).

That is, as I understand it, the man who, as an individual, may have cause of joy, may find his joy becoming sorrow in sympathy with those for whom he cares, or in contemplation of a painful object. And on the other hand, one who is personally a sufferer may have “the sense of severe suffering almost lost in some absorbing object of thought, or joyful tidings of the happiness of others who are deeply beloved.” “How often has the wounded soldier or sailor almost forgotten his wounds in his deep joy for his commander’s or his country’s victory!” (p. 43).

This duality of nature and constitution among men, in virtue of which every one may be viewed in two aspects, as being susceptible of two opposite kinds of feeling at the same time, is the psychological starting-point in the argument.

Hence his third and fourth propositions,—“All the statements of Scripture with respect to eternal judgment and the opposite issues of blessing and punishment, refer to the personal and individual characters of men.” They apply to the “personal and individual character” which every man has, as distinguished from his “relative or federal” character. “The result of this personal judgment is a final con-

“Difficulties of Belief” (1855). I have got and read both of them. With the first, I cannot pretend to deal. On the second, I may have some remarks to make in the footnotes of this article.

trast, an eternal separation, depending on the use or abuse of the probation in this mortal life" (pp. 43, 44). But though that is a scriptural truth, it may not be the whole truth upon the subject. For, beyond the eternal contrast between the righteous and the wicked personally, "there is a farther objective or federal element." The combination of the two may be thus put. Along with "the utmost personal humiliation, shame, and anguish," there may be "the passive contemplation of a ransomed universe, and of all the innumerable varieties of blessedness enjoyed by unfallen spirits and the ransomed people of God; such a contemplation as would be fitted, in its own nature, to raise the soul into a trance of holy adoration in the presence of infinite and unsearchable goodness" (p. 45).

That, according to this writer, is the eternal state of the lost.

Now, omitting for the present his reasoning in support of his view, I go on to a subsequent portion of his book, in which he more fully explains his meaning. And I refer here, especially, to the chapter on the Nature and Effects of the Atonement; for it is with that doctrine that I am chiefly concerned.

The author repudiates what he calls "a distorted and lifeless orthodoxy, from which heresy is often the recoil." He does not say who hold it, though he seems to put it as the only alternative to his own teaching. "The moral government of God can hardly be subjected to a worse travesty than when lowered to this one claim, that a certain amount of suffering must be exacted, it matters not from whom, for a certain number or amount of sins." "A creed in which there is no substitution, and a creed in which there is nothing but substitution, departs equally, on opposite sides, from the truth of God." Let us see what his *via media* is, as brought out in successive attempts, "with modesty and reverence, to disentangle, one by one, the difficulties in this part of revealed religion" (p. 148).

1. As to the extent of the atonement, he holds it to be universal; quoting, without a word of explanation, the usual texts in support of that opinion, and assuming it to be implied in the very nature of the gospel. "Christ died for all men, and for all their sins" (p. 150). Let us beware, however, of ascribing to that language the meaning which evangelical Arminians would put upon it. He goes considerably beyond them.

2. He raises the question accordingly, "In what sense can Christ be said to have borne the sins of the whole world?" In reply, he teaches "a farther truth." "Christ bore, indeed, the sin of the world, *the collective guilt of all mankind.*" Let that expression be noted. "But all sin has two different, almost opposite, aspects. It is an act done once for all, which cannot be undone. Once committed, it stands engraven on

the scheme of Providence, a transgression of God's law, a rebellion against the Supreme Lawgiver, which needs some public vindication of his outraged authority. But it is also the act of a conscious agent, the sign of his present state, which may be changed or even lost, but which, while it lasts, must make him hateful in the sight of a holy God" (p. 151).

So far as I can understand him, the writer limits the direct effect of the atonement to sin considered simply "as a debt; a transgression of the law, without or above the sinner" (p. 151). Once committed, sin, as a fact accomplished, comes to be "without or above the sinner," and to stand engraven, apart from him, on the scheme of providence. It takes a sort of abstract and impersonal character, and in that character it is all dealt with and disposed of in the atonement. So sin, all sin, considered as a debt, is cancelled. The gospel proclaims that as a universal fact. And then, treating sin as a disease, it exhorts all men to faith and repentance. It is hard to see how, upon that footing, the object of faith can be the atonement. But let us go on.

3. It is asked, "What, apart from the atonement, is the state of mankind before God? What is their legal standing, and the nature of the curse and sentence under which they lie?" It is mankind, observe, collectively that is indicated. "The sentence of the broken law is death." But what death? "The death meant must be the same death which was threatened in paradise, and which entered the world through Adam's sin." "It is not the mere act of dying; it is ascribed to the soul even when separate from the body." "In its own nature, apart from Christ's redemption, it would be everlasting." "It is temporal, however, because its future abolition is a revealed promise." It is a contrast—this which the author calls the first death—"to the second death, the final sentence of the last judgment." "When one is inflicted the other is abolished. 'And death and hell were cast into the lake of fire'" (pp. 155, 156).

Thus the two deaths are contrasted. The first, that pronounced or inflicted from the beginning is described in the usual terms in which divines represent the state of a fallen man here and his doom hereafter. But "that is swallowed up in eternal victory;" a result "due to a mighty work of redemption alone" (p. 156). The second, however, remains. "The two are portrayed by contrasted figures." "The one, the second death, is the 'lake of fire,' solemn indeed and most awful, yet bounded in its range, shut in by firm land on every side." "The other, the first death, is 'the deep,' the abyss, 'the bottomless pit, evil reigning, rioting, growing, deepening without limit and without end, in its fatal descent, farther and farther from light and happiness and heaven. By the sentence of the

law, fulfilled without atonement or redemption, mankind, thus fallen, would be shut out from God's presence, and sink, and sink, and sink for ever, in this abyss of hopeless and endless ruin" (p. 157). This is the first death, which, apart from a remedial interposition on the part of God, must have been the doom of all, as transgressors of the law.

But, 4. "What now is the nature of Christ's atonement? What is the curse he endured for sin? What is the direct and proper result of that atonement, apart from the mighty moral change, in all who obey the gospel, wrought by the magnetic, transforming influence of the cross of Christ?" In one word, he abolished the first death. "Sin was not ascribed or imputed to him as the sign of a sinful character. It was in its other aspect, as a series of acts done, that could not be reversed, that the sin of the world, one vast, collective whole, was laid upon the shoulders of the world's Redeemer. And the curse which he bore was death, the first death, so far as it was due to the demerits of sin and the claims of divine justice alone, and was not aggravated by the further working of moral corruption in the heart of God-abandoned sinners" (pp. 158, 159). Thus the whole world, *en masse*, is redeemed from the first death.

But again, 5. How is "the atonement connected with the special benefits which believers obtain?" I would say, judging from the author's somewhat prolix answer to the question, not at all. Certainly there is no direct or immediate connection; no real connection. The atonement is not, in any sense, the procuring cause of any of these special benefits. Accordingly, they are expressly connected, not with the death of Christ, but with "his incarnation, his sinless life, his glorious resurrection and ascension" (pp. 162, 163).

An illustration which the author uses brings this out. A friend pays a debt for a prisoner. "The substitution" (as if that were substitution) "belongs to the payment only, and its immediate effect is his release from prison." The friend, however, may thereafter receive him into his family, and do him many good offices. But "these are no part of the payment which was first made, though they are so dependent on the first act of love that, in a lower sense, they may be called the purchase of that first ransom." He says, with a measure of truth, "Christ is never said to have bought blessings for his people. It is his people who are purchased." But he makes plain what he means when he adds, "The curse of the law can be removed by the atonement alone, believed or unbelieved" (p. 165). It is so removed in the case of all men, indiscriminately and without exception. But what he calls "the curse of the gospel, the moral guiltiness of present rebellion, the sore sickness and dis-

ease of indwelling sin, can be removed by repentance and faith alone, and in no other way. Here substitution can have no place. Each must repent for himself. Each must believe for himself" (p. 165).

There is here a strange confusion of ideas surely! As if any body in his senses would ever dream of a man repenting or believing by a substitute or proxy! And yet it is surely possible to conceive of the Redeemer becoming our substitute so thoroughly as to secure for us, by his substitution, not only deliverance from death common to all, but all saving blessings; including repentance and faith themselves.

But what now of the lost,—the irretrievably, and finally, and eternally lost? For such, the author strongly asserts, many will be found to be. He devotes his closing chapter to that subject, which indeed suggests and underlies his whole treatment of the doctrine of the atonement.

The question is resumed (p. 167) in view of a "double perplexity pressing here upon every thoughtful mind." "How can multitudes for whom Christ died, perish in their sins, and be lost for ever? How can a being of perfect love create vast numbers of intelligent creatures, with the certain foresight that the result of that creation will be their everlasting misery?"

The solution is to be found, it seems, in the distinction between the two deaths. It is assumed that while, as a consequence of the atonement, the saved enjoy all spiritual and eternal good, the lost as well as they have the good of a present respite of forbearance and grace, a resurrection to judgment, and beyond that, the second death. The connection of the first of these with the atonement is admitted by all. That of the second is denied by many of us. But the point is about the third;—the second death. For the first death being universally abolished by the cross, and ultimately cast into the lake, the second death becomes a boon of redemption to the lost. That is the author's ultimatum. It is better at anyrate—that second death—than the first which, but for the atonement, must have been their everlasting doom. True, the second death is to be their everlasting doom, when they are condemned in the judgment, not as breakers of the law, but as rejectors of the gospel. But that sin, it would appear, does not entail so severe a penalty as the other. Is it because it involves less guilt? The penalty it entails is indeed irreversible and everlasting, and Scripture speaks of it in terrible terms, unmitigated and unmodified by any explicit qualifications. It is punishment enduring for ever. But it is punishment all the while in some sense salutary and beneficial.

"It is a deep saying of Plato in his *Dialogues*," the writer observes, "that just as the sick man resorts to the physician,

so wicked men, if they were wise, and knew what was really good, would offer themselves up, of their own accord, to undergo the punishment which is the only fit medicine for their disease." "This truth," he adds, "will apply even to the last act of solemn judgment. Compared with the awful wages of sin, left without redemption, even the second death, with all its terrors, may be, not only in the sight of a holy God, but even in the consciousness of the lost themselves, an infinite gain" (p. 170). And the same thought is afterwards put thus: "Can it be true, even of the souls that perish, that there is mercy in the sentence which dooms them to the lake of fire? Does not the deep thought, which revealed itself more dimly to Plato by the light of nature, receive here a direct and full sanction from the Spirit of God? Compared with that unequalled and most awful curse of evil being left to work out its own terrible issues in the darkness of utter banishment from the divine presence, even the justice of God, in all its severity, may be like a medicine to guilty sinners." "It is mercy to force them back, though captive and in chains, to the presence of that infinite goodness, from which their own rebellious hearts would hide them still deeper and deeper in delusion and darkness for evermore" (pp. 182, 183).

I fear I may have somewhat wearied you in trying to give the substance of a theory propounded with great earnestness, and not a little ingenuity, by one whom, for his ability and his connections, we may fairly hold to be a representative man among the Evangelical clergy of the English Church. Of course, it is out of the question that I should here and now examine it in detail. I wish rather to advert briefly to some of the tendencies which it seems to manifest.

I will not characterise it as rationalistic, though I certainly cannot regard it as biblical or scriptural. At least, the writer comes to the study of the divine word with a previous leaning in his own mind towards a certain desired result. The very point from which he starts is a somewhat novel paradox in the science of mind; the possibility of two opposite and contradictory feelings and experiences co-existing in the same man, and that not momentarily, but in perpetuity; for ever. The instances founded on are certainly very doubtful and very slender.

Wolfe, expiring in the arms of victory, may lose his sense of his own dying pain in his patriotic joy of sympathy with his king and country; and this may be said to show a double character; the one personal and individual, the other relative or federal. In the one, he feels his wounds as touching himself. In the other, he loses and merges himself personally—his personal self—in his covenant relation to a higher circle, or in his rapt

admiration of some absorbing object or event. But is it conceivable that a man could live long in this nicely-poised balance, in his double character, between anguish or delight? or that he could live in it to all eternity? And, especially as regards the analogical use made of this instance, is it conceivable that the condemned sinner, personally kept in penal shame and torment through everlasting ages by the righteous Judge, should yet be able, in his federal character, apart from his own personal interest in it, or its bearing on himself personally, to behold with complacency, as a sort of abstract object of admiration, the glorious love of Him under whose inexorable penal sentence he is all the while lying?—or to behold it in sympathy with the members of the family to which he federally belongs, who actually enjoy it, as he can never hope to do? I much doubt if that is true to human nature in any state. It seems to me to demand superhuman virtue,—a sort of supernatural disinterestedness.

In fact, the author's representations of this strange, dualistic or double state, are of the vaguest possible kind. But, as I cannot help thinking, they all imply this serious consequence, at least, that the finally lost may, nay, must have an apprehension and appreciation of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ, such as he, as well as I, would strenuously maintain cannot be got now, except through the regenerating and enlightening operation of the Holy Ghost. Not a hint is given of there being any room or any possibility for that in his theory of the future state. He would shrink, as I would, from any such idea; for it would amount, virtually, to a sort of purgatory. There is no room with him, any more than with me, for any work of the Spirit beyond the grave, to turn retributive punishment into chastening and correcting discipline. The condemned pass at death unchanged into their changeless state. And there they reach, according to him, such an intelligent, admiring, sympathising view;—not by any inward work of the Spirit, but simply through some outward dealing or manifestation consistent with their continuing eternally condemned;—thus they reach such a sight of God's glory as overbears and overcomes their sense of condemnation, to the effect of its turning judgment into mercy!

Surely there is in all this a sad and serious under-estimate of man's inability to "see God," in our Lord's sense of that phrase, as well as a sad and serious disparagement of the work of the Holy Spirit. For if it is unnecessary hereafter, why may it not be dispensed with now?*

* I am much afraid that we have here the result of a very wide and radical divergence from what evangelical men usually hold and teach. The author's theory of the origin of evil, as put forth in his "Difficulties of Belief," natu-

Another painful proof, if not of a foregone conclusion on the writer's part, yet of a proclivity somewhat like it, is his elaborate anxiety to vindicate himself from the charge of being wise above what is written. This, indeed, is one of the most painful features in his book. And it is difficult to advert to it with due tenderness and calmness. He is extremely anxious not to detract from the force of the solemn and awful words of Scripture. He not only allows, but asserts, their terrible significance. And he finds not a syllable that, with anything like explicitness, interposes the very least caveat against their being taken literally, in their utmost hopelessness. More than that. He sees a reason for reserve, on the part of the Spirit, both in the Old Testament and in the New, as to any revelation that might indicate any such modified and mitigated view of future punishment as he maintains. But such a view, he thinks, may be

rally and legitimately bears this fruit. He professes opposition to Leibnitz's doctrine, that out of all possible foreseen universes, the Supreme chooses from everlasting the best ; although it would be easy to shew that he is himself virtually in the same boat with the philosopher. At all events, he starts with the assumption that God may and must, out of a sort of free necessity in his own nature, call into existence a universe in which his highest moral perfections are to be exhibited, but in which, on that very account, moral evil may so prevail as to defy the direct fiat of his omnipotence. So far as I understand him, he maintains that God can deal with free moral agents only in the way of presenting motives. He thus accounts for the fall of the angels ; ascribing, of course, the obedience of the unfallen angels simply to their own spontaneous will. We have been accustomed to hold that, without derogating from the freedom of moral agents, God can not merely present motives from without, but work directly upon the active principle within, so as to render it susceptible of the influence of motives. We have usually ascribed the steadfastness of the elect angels to such a work of distinguishing grace on the part of God. We have also usually ascribed the fall of man, not, as this writer most absurdly supposes, to special grace having been granted in reference to all matters except the command about the forbidden tree, but to the absence of it altogether :—his being left universally to the freedom of his own will. But above all, with reference to the renewal of man's nature, we strenuously contend for the necessity of a direct and immediate exercise of omnipotent grace in and upon the soul itself,—the will,—the faculty of choice ; —not, of course, apart from motives, but prior and indispensable to the operation of motives. This, with us, is the very essence of conversion. I am sorry to say that I see no room for anything of that sort in the author's theology. His limitation of omnipotence, as regards not only the entrance of moral evil, but the remedial treatment of it, is far more serious than he thinks. I find only a single hint (p. 63) as to "the facts which the Word of God reveals with regard to the possible recovery of guilty and rebellious souls by divine grace." "They do not prove that even the Almighty can change the will of man without its own consent, but only that, in certain cases, to be considered hereafter more fully, that consent may be secured." I have looked in vain, down to the end of the volume, for the fuller consideration of these "certain cases." How is consent to be secured? That is the question. And if our friend is to put himself right with those who rank themselves as followers, not of Calvin merely, but of Romaine, Simeon, and Venn, he must face that question. If he does, I shrewdly suspect that the very basis of his whole structure will give way, even under his own handling, and he will be glad to acquiesce in the old-fashioned method of owning the unexplained and unfathomable sovereignty of God.

lying in Scripture, like sympathetic paper, or a secret cypher, to be read and deciphered when the right time comes. And he thinks, moreover, that the right time has come; grounding his opinion, not on Scripture itself, but on the prevalence now of a view of the divine love which can only be met by his breaking the seal which has hitherto sealed the lips of the inspired. Nay, he represents God as having consented to underlie an imputation of severity, which he might at any time have refuted by making his revelation clearer, but for considerations of divine expediency. Now, however, to meet present scandals, he must be held to have removed all embargo on the full declaration of the truth concerning the lost. And, if not by a new revelation, yet by new light drawing forth meaning from the old revelation never dreamed of before, he must be held to be willing that the whole truth on the subject should come out.

Now, I do not speak of the strangeness of this attitude, however humbly and cautiously assumed, on the part of a Protestant divine.* I refer to it simply as indicating a somewhat peculiar mode of preparedness for the exegetical study of the passages in Scripture which bear upon this awful subject. In point of fact, in his references to Scripture, there is really no exegesis at all. The very key-stone of his whole edifice—his doctrine about the nature of the second death—is not scriptur-

* I hope it may not be deemed invidious to refer here to Origen's view, and his manner of speaking about it. I quote from Hagenbach's "*History of Doctrines*" (Clark's edition, 1846), pp. 219 and 223 :—"As he looked upon evil more as the negative of good, than as something positive, he was induced by his idealistic tendency to limit even hell, and to expect a final remission of the punishment of the wicked at the restitution of all things. But in popular discourses he retained the common idea of eternal punishment." His ideas "are connected with his general views on the character of God, the design of divine punishments, on liberty and the nature of evil, as well as with his demonology, and especially with his unwavering faith in the power of Christ's work to overcome all things. At the same time, he frankly confessed that his doctrine might easily become dangerous to the unconverted. He therefore speaks of eternal condemnation, even of the impossibility of being converted in the world to come. Nevertheless he calls the fear of eternal punishment (according to Jeremiah xx. 7) *ἀνάγκη*, though it be beneficial in its effects, and brought about by God (a pedagogical artifice, as it were). For many wise men, or such as thought themselves wise, having apprehended the (theoretical) truth respecting the divine punishments, and rejected the delusion (beneficial in a practical point of view), gave themselves up to a vicious life, while it would have been much better for them to believe in the eternity of the punishment of hell." I am very far from applying Hagenbach's description of Origen's teaching to Mr Birks' book. But two things strike me very forcibly. First, the influence of general speculations about high and transcendental points of metaphysical theology is apparent in both cases. And, secondly, I cannot but regard Mr Birks' view of "the nature of evil" ("*Difficulties of Belief*," chap. ii.), making it ultimately "the negation of good,"—limitation on God's part rather than commission on ours,—and representing it as, therefore, necessarily inherent in creation, and in all parts of creation, with some alarm. It certainly has a bearing, not, as I think, altogether safe, on the whole of his subsequent ratiocinations.

ally discussed. It still stands, as much as ever, the fearful name of the doom in which all preceding judgments are swallowed up; more terrible than all of them; absorbing them all into its own everlasting vortex. So also the texts about the first death, and the lake of fire, as distinguished from the abyss, are accommodated merely, and not expounded, or critically analysed.

Even that, however, is not the worst. I might bring instances of many texts, ordinarily construed as asserting simply present responsibility and future judgment, having a meaning put upon them not easily to be found in them when naturally understood. And I might refer to reasonings about the supposed feelings of the saints in glory, and the supposed necessity of the future condition of things and the future government of the universe being cast in a particular mould, which very strongly influence, in a perverse way, the interpretation of plain scriptural statements.

Let me take, as an illustration, what he says about the feelings of the saved beholding their fellow-men suffering the vengeance of eternal fire. Describing, *more suo*, the spectacle thus presented to the view of these holy and loving on-lookers, he asks if it is possible to imagine them continuing to contemplate it without such a recoil of sadness, if not horror, as must mar fatally their own pure blessedness. He does not see how completely his argument can be turned against himself. For what, according to him, do the saved, as they are gathered round the lake, behold? Lost men, suffering eternal shame and misery, yet capable of such a sympathetic and admiring contemplation of the glory of God in redemption as somehow and somewhat mitigates the sense of their own unintermitting and unending pain. Is not that a spectacle which might shock the saved even more than the other? Might it not raise questions as to the equity of keeping intelligent creatures, capable of so knowing and understanding God, under penal constraint and penal suffering for ever? It is not, in that view, their mere sensibility that is apt to take offence, but their higher sense of justice.

Of course, it will be understood that I am merely putting this as an *argumentum ad hominem*. Our view of the sight which the saved have of the lost is not to be represented as this writer represents it. We regard it as a great mystery, and ask for no further explanation than Scripture seems to give. The saved will be with God, and Christ, and the Spirit, and the holy angels, in looking on whatever sight the doom of the lost may present. That surely should be enough for us.

Another striking feature of this writer's mode of reasoning, which very sadly tends to identify him with a class of divines whose fellowship he would disown—the ordinary rationalistic

opponents of the orthodox evangelical creed of Christendom—is this. He fights a mere man of straw. He sets up a “wooden soldan,” and triumphs in knocking it down. Again and again, formally or in passing allusions, he professes to state the doctrine which he opposes. And he does so invariably in terms just as exaggerated and offensive as any employed, I say not by such authors of the Broad School as Robertson, Maurice, and Kingsley, but by the coarsest caricaturists among our fashionable semi-religious novelists.

I have already referred to one instance in connection with the doctrine of the atonement ; and I am unwilling to quote the language which he, over and over again, employs to stigmatise the view of future punishment which he evidently means his readers to accept as that ordinarily current in the religious world. Still, I must give a specimen.

Thus, he represents us as “speaking of lost souls as their own mutual tormentors, and given up to Satan to be tormented by him for ever ;” as “assuming the perpetual continuance of active malice and permitted blasphemies ;” as “making hell the scene of Satan’s triumphant malice, as heaven is that of the Creator’s triumphant love ;” as “connecting with the doom of the lost ever-during, self-tormenting wickedness, unrestrained by the hand of God ;” as teaching what “would be the reign of Christ’s enemies, in a rival dominion of blasphemy and outer darkness ;” “the continuance of rebellion, hatred, and blasphemy for ever, deepening its terrors by heaping up all kinds of moral horrors, the unchecked ravings of fiendish malice, the blasphemous utterances of raging despair,”—and so forth.

Surely these outbursts are as unseemly as they are irrelevant. I would fain ascribe them to sheer ignorance of Protestant theology. In believing that the original curse lies for ever upon all who are not savingly interested in Christ, and that the wicked shall be turned into hell, we do not say, as he would insinuate, that “the purpose of God’s government is to stereotype and eternize active rebellion against God.” We are not disposed to dogmatise positively on the subject of the future and eternal punishment which awaits the guilty and condemned, whether under the law or under the gospel. Some rash and rude religious terrorists, borrowing from the Church of Rome, and importing into Protestant teaching orally, the horrid sights exhibited visibly at Antwerp and elsewhere,—let the poets, also, the Italian Dante, and even our own Milton, share the responsibility,—may be quoted as uttering things that should be held to be unutterable, as regards the future destiny of the finally lost. To fasten upon these exceptional instances is unworthy of this Protestant clergyman, and unfair to us who are his fellow-Protestants. We shroud in solemn silence the place and position of those who

have forfeited for ever the favour of the Almighty. It is a solemn silence, however, admitting of no strife ; but only hopeless, abject imbecility!

But it is chiefly for its bearing on the general scheme of theology, and especially on the central doctrine of the atonement, that a theory like this demands careful notice.

I have adverted on other occasions to the fact that inadequate and erroneous views on any one point in the system, however remote it may seem from other points not directly handled, always indirectly affect, not only these other points, but the entire body of truth. In the present instance, and by the author's own admission, the very heart's core of the plan of salvation is touched ; whether for good or for evil men will judge for themselves. For my part, I greatly fear that the citadel of the gospel is undermined.

Thus, first, for one thing, the idea of real personal guilt is scarcely, if at all, acknowledged, in the author's representation of the atonement. Sin is a debt and a disease. As a debt, there is payment or discharge *en masse* ; the whole accumulated heap, as it were, being disposed of by one great declaratory act of justice in the person of the general substitute. As a disease, it is remedied by appropriate spiritual agency and moral means. But guilt ; the guilt which burdens my individual conscience, and demands a personal release, on the footing of its being expiated and atoned for by one taking my place personally and answering for me ; finds no place in this divinity. In fact, the debt *in cumulo* being paid and wiped out, " whether we believe or not,"—these are his own words,—there is scarcely any room for a sense of sin in my experience, excepting only as sin bears on my present disposition toward God. It follows, secondly, that the author holds what is called the governmental theory of the atonement ; as being simply a public manifestation and vindication of divine justice, opening the way for divine mercy to flow forth righteously towards all or any ; having a public and general bearing merely, without reference to individuals. But I doubt if all or many of those who hold that theory, in any sense consistent with judicial action and the exercise of penal judgment, would accept his statements unreservedly. I doubt if they would admit his view of the death of Christ, actually, *ipso facto*, effecting the deliverance of all and sundry from their obligation or liability to the punishment of death under the law ; irrespectively altogether of their believing and repenting. And this, thirdly, brings out another dangerous tendency of such bold and hazardous speculation as I am deprecating. I cannot see how, in consistency with it, the great and precious doctrine of justification or acceptance by faith alone, faith in a vicarious righteousness and atonement, can be conserved. In fact, the atonement does

not enter at all directly into this transaction or negotiation of peace between the righteous God and the guilty sinner ; the holy Law-giver and the sinful law-breaker. It has once for all disposed of sin, of all sin, viewed in any such aspect as that, in the case of all alike, believers and unbelievers indiscriminately. The distinction now between the saved and the lost turns, not on the former being moved and enabled humbly to claim an interest in the death of Christ, as the one only and infinitely sufficient ground of acceptance in the sight of God,—not on that at all,—but on their being themselves renewed and sanctified by the Holy Spirit. It is not on a work done for them, but on a work done in them and by them, that they are to depend for obtaining eternal life,—for being transferred from the crowd of the lost to the company of the saved. I had this consequence in view when I remarked that even evangelical Arminians, like our Wesleyan friends, with all their dislike of a limited atonement, could not accept the author's view of redemption.

I am very far from wishing to charge this writer with these, or any other defective or erroneous views on the vital truths of the gospel of Christ, which seem to me follow from his doctrine of future punishment. And, therefore, I do no more than hint my very serious apprehension that, without his meaning it, his doctrine at bottom is really that of universal restoration. I cannot imagine it possible for any thinking man, or any body of thinking men, to rest long at this half-way house, and resist the hard pressure of inexorable logic urging them on to a more satisfying landing-place. I have undertaken a task sufficiently painful in itself, without the pain being aggravated by my being supposed to throw out invidious imputations of heresy. I do not desire to be a heresy-hunter. But I own it grieves me to the very heart to see, as I think I see, such a leaven of unsound and unsafe speculation beginning to work in that section of the Church of England to whose high spirituality, earnest conscientiousness, and soundness in the faith, evangelical men outside have been fain to look as the last hope of that strange institution. If my voice could reach them, I would beseech them to pause and ponder the tendencies to which they may be yielding. And I could honestly assure them that my poor attempt to point out some of the probable, or, as I think, inevitable results of these tendencies, is meant not to accuse my brethren, but to put them on their guard.*

* Before leaving this book, I may advert, in a single particular, to what has been written since the Lecture was delivered.

In his "Reply to Strictures," Mr Birks' manner of citing scriptural authorities and drawing "inferences," is very singularly exemplified and illustrated. He has an imposing list of twenty arguments, "a large variety of reasons, all

To you, gentlemen, I would address a very few words in bringing my remarks on this very solemn subject to a close. At an early period of my studies I was not a little exercised about it; and two considerations were then deeply fixed in my mind, and have been fixed in my mind more and more ever since until now.

The one has respect to the difficulties and objections which reason, the reason of the natural mind, is apt to urge against the doctrine of future punishment, and its eternity. These are, no doubt, very formidable, as affecting both the character of the Creator and the claims of the creature. It is not often desirable to deal with them in detail; it is better to set against them the declarations of Scripture. But one thing, I am persuaded, will be found to be true, when the arguments generally urged are probed to the bottom. They all ultimately resolve themselves into the insoluble problem of the origin and permission of evil, as that again is connected with the free will

deeply rooted in the messages of the Word of God" (pp. 42, 47). It is hard to see how such vague, general, *a priori* presumptions as are suggested by "the analogy of all human punishments," especially "as states rise in civilisation"; or by "all the punishments God has ever inflicted in the present world," which is confessedly under a dispensation of forbearance; or by "the fact of creation and its revealed motive"; or by God's kindness here to the evil and unthankful; or by his commanding us to love all men, and to love our neighbour as ourselves; or by "the truth that God is merciful;"—can possibly be accepted as "reasons deeply rooted in messages of the Word of God," on a subject on which, all speculation apart, the simple and direct teaching of that Word should be decisive. Some texts are applied in a way that would rather surprise those who find spiritual food and medicine for their own souls, in the Psalms;—for instance (lxxvii., lxxxiii., cxlv.). But the fatal objection to all his "reasons" is, that they prove too much for him. They tell quite as much against his refinement as against the vulgar notion. They must be received in favour of universal restoration if they are received at all. Take a testing example. Our Lord's prayer for his murderers—"Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do"—is the sixteenth of these reasons. "All sin, in its nature, involves ignorance and darkness." Therefore, "the plea of the prayer, by its terms, includes all sinners; and the Father hears the Son always, however unlike, in different cases, the forms which his mercy may assume. For the same lips have said, of the sin against the Holy Ghost, 'it shall not be forgiven in this age, or in the age to come.'" Was it not, then, a prayer for the full and complete forgiveness of his murderers that our Lord uttered on the cross? Or was the sin of crucifying him the sin against the Holy Ghost, implying a certain reserve of non-forgiveness, and that for ever? I have been wont to think that it was just because their crucifying him, not knowing what they did, was not the sin against the Holy Ghost, that the dying prayer of love went up on their behalf. It was answered on the day of Pentecost, when three thousand men, under Peter's preaching and the Spirit's working, came to know what they had done, and repented, and believed, and were saved. It was answered when Saul of Tarsus "obtained mercy because he did it ignorantly in unbelief." It has been, is, and will be answered in the conversion of myriads since then down to the end of time. It is not answered in the case of all men, unless all men are actually forgiven—unless there be universal restoration. It is truly sad, overwhelmingly sad, to find an evangelical divine and preacher of the gospel reduced, by the exigencies of an untenable self-contradictory imagination, to the necessity of putting such a gloss on so divine an utterance.

and responsibility of self-conscious, intelligent, and, so far, independent creatures. The question of more or less, longer or shorter, is really not relevant to the issue. Account to me for the existence of evil at all, before you ask me to account for its continuance and perpetuity.

The second consideration has respect to the evidence of revelation on this subject. I never have been able to explain away its strong, direct statements. But over and above these, what has always silenced and convinced me has been the absolute impossibility, as it seems to me, of holding consistently, whole and entire, the great doctrine of redemption;—the astonishing fact of the atonement;—a divine Redeemer, a real substitution, an actual endurance of wrath;—the interposition of heaven's love after that tremendous fashion;—without admitting the correlative and corresponding fact of a hopeless hell.

I leave these hints for your maturer thoughts; and would now only exhort you ever to bear in mind, as students and as preachers, the deep solemnity and trembling tenderness with which this theme must ever be handled. Let us not be much moved by the caricatures and misrepresentations of ignorant or prejudiced men, who paint us, in their fictions, as gloating in fiendish delight over the doom of lost souls; exulting in our security as the select and exclusive favourites of heaven; having no gospel but one of fire and brimstone; dealing damnation wholesale all around. We know that our temptation is all the other way; that if we err at all, it is not in that line. We are ambassadors for Christ. We beseech men, in His name, to be reconciled. Let us enter into the loving heart of God, and Christ, and the Spirit, in our fulfilment of our message; never weary of proclaiming the saving grace of the Lord. But let us not be unfaithful in shewing the dark background of condemnation, in front of which the light of saving grace shines. Let us exhort ourselves, and one another, and all men, to flee from the wrath to come.

R. S. C.

IX.—GENERAL LITERATURE.

The Holy Grail, and other Poems. By ALFRED TENNYSON, D.C.L.,
Poet-Laureate. London: Strahan & Co.

It was truly a hazardous experiment on the part of Mr Tennyson, to attempt any further transfusion of the Arthurian legends into modern form and significance. It was said by some one of Goethe, that it was his *specialité* to finish whatsoever he undertook. Mr Tennyson seems inclined to follow this rôle; but because of the peculiar nature of his genius, he will, with any subject of this kind, never really succeed in doing much more than promising or suggesting a completed whole. He is sensitive, selective, and unsettled—with a peculiarly morbid and fantastic proclivity for themes in which there is a certain element that will not bear any but an indirect and daintily suggestive treatment. This we see so far in “Maud;” more clearly in “Enoch Arden;” and clearest of all in certain of these *Idylls*—notably in “Vivien,” in the former volume, and “Pelleas and Ettarre,” and “The Golden Supper,” in this new one. But, since Mr Tennyson has been written of at some length in this *Review*, not so very long ago, we need not here resume the critical line; let us rather recognise the peculiar wealth of imagery, the dreamy grace, the superb inwrought richness of the work we have here, and frankly admit the choice artistic nature of it in itself, whatever lack of fitness there may sometimes be discoverable in the class of subject to which it is applied.

“The Coming of Arthur” is the first poem in the volume—notwithstanding that the book takes its title from the second one. Arthur, having been asked by King Leodogran for aid in subduing unruly enemies, fulfils his own fate by falling in love with the king’s only daughter, Guinevere,—“fairest of all flesh on earth.” But Leodogran is pursued with doubt whether Arthur is, or is not, a king’s son, and calls in his chamberlain and others for counsel. Nothing satisfies him, however, till Bellicent, the Queen of Orkney, comes to his castle with her two sons. Of her, too, he ask many questions as to Arthur’s birth; and desists not till he has got all her story.

“To sift his doubtings to the last [he] ask’d,
Fixing full eyes of question on her face,
‘The swallow and the swift are near akin,
But thou art closer to this noble prince,
Being his own dear sister;’ and she said,
‘Daughter of Gorlois and Ygerne am I;’
‘And therefore Arthur’s sister?’ ask’d the King.
She answer’d, ‘These be secret things,’ and sign’d
To those two sons to pass and let them be.
And Gawain went, and breaking into song
Sprang out, and follow’d by his flying hair
Ran like a colt, and leapt at all he saw:
But Modred laid his ear beside the doors,

And there half heard ; the same that afterward
Struck for the throne, and striking found his doom.

“ And then the Queen made answer, ‘ What know I ?
For dark my mother was in eyes and hair,
And dark in hair and eyes am I ; and dark
Was Gorlois, yea and dark was Uther too,
Wellnigh to blackness ; but this king is fair
Beyond the race of Britons and of men.
Moreover always in my mind I hear
A cry from out the dawning of my life,
A mother weeping, and I hear her say,
“ O that ye had some brother, pretty one,
To guard thee on the rough ways of the world.” ’
‘ Ay,’ said the King, ‘ and hear ye such a cry ?
But when did Arthur chance upon thee first ? ’

“ ‘ O king ! ’ she cried ‘ and I will tell thee true :
He found me first when yet a little maid :
Beaten I had been for a little fault
Whereof I was not guilty ; and out I ran
And flung myself down on a bank of heath,
And hated this fair world and all therein,
And wept, and wish’d that I were dead ; and he—
I know not whether of myself he came,
Or brought by Merlin, who, they say, can walk
Unseen at pleasure—he was at my side,
And spake sweet words, and comforted my heart,
And dried my tears, being a child with me.
And many a time he came, and evermore
As I grew greater grew with me ; and sad
At times he seem’d, and sad with him was I.
Stern too at times, and then I loved him not,
But sweet again, and then I loved him well.
And now of late I see him less and less,
But those first days had golden hours for me,
For then I surely thought he would be king.

“ ‘ But let me tell thee now another tale :
For Bleys, our Merlin’s master, as they say,
Died but of late, and sent his cry to me,
To hear him speak before he left this life.
Shrunk like a fairy changeling lay the mage,
And when I enter’d told me that himself
And Merlin ever served about the king,
Uther, before he died, and on the night
When Uther in Tintagil past away
Moaning and wailing for an heir, the two
Left the still king, and passing forth to breathe,
Then from the castle gateway by the chasm
Descending thro’ the dismal night—a night

In which the bounds of heaven and earth were lost—
Beheld, so high upon the dreary deeps
It seem'd in heaven, a ship, the shape thereof
A dragon wing'd, and all from stem to stern
Bright with a shining people on the decks,
And gone as soon as seen. And then the two
Dropt to the cove, and watch'd the great sea fall,
Wave after wave, each mightier than the last,
Till last, a ninth one, gathering half the deep
And full of voices, slowly rose and plunged
Roaring, and all the wave was in a flame :
And down the wave and in the flame was borne
A naked babe, and rode to Merlin's feet,
Who stoopt and caught the babe, and cried "The King !
Here is an heir for Uther !" And the fringe
Of that great breaker, sweeping up the strand,
Lash'd at the wizard as he spake the word,
And all at once all round him rose in fire,
So that the child and he were clothed in fire.
And presently thereafter follow'd calm,
Free sky and stars : "And this same child," he said,
"Is he who reigns : nor could I part in peace
Till this were told." And saying this the seer
Went thro' the strait and dreadful pass of death,
Not ever to be question'd any more,
Save on the further side.' "

Bellicent tells Leodogran that he need not fear to give his daughter, Guinevere, to Arthur ; and, after due reflection, the cautious king sends—

"Nefus, and Brastias and Bedivere,
Back to the court of Arthur answering yea."

"The Holy Grail" is, of course, the most ambitious work we have here. When we have once got over a certain surprise at the exceptionally overwrought construction of the story, and have had time to follow the main thread succinctly, we find much to admire in it. It is gorgeous in varied, inwrought colour ; and really resolves itself into a series of separate pictures, with something of that misty, yet moonshiny halo floating over them, which we may suppose to have at once comforted and disturbed the love-struck maiden of the middle ages, as she brooded dreamily over the conceits slowly taking form before her eyes, in her faint devotion at the embroidery frame. It is Sir Percivale who tells the tale ; and his sister, a nun, is the hero, although Galahad is a great figure still. Sir Percivale is questioned by a monk, Ambrosius, about the Holy Grail, and they converse earnestly as to what is to come of all this wonder and miracle now again rife among them. The monk says :—

"From our old books I know
That Joseph came of old to Glastonbury,
And there the heathen Prince, Arviragus,

Gave him an isle of marsh whereon to build ;
And there he built with wattles from the marsh
A little lonely church in days of yore,
For so they say, these books of ours, but seem
Mute of this miracle, far as I have read.
But who first saw the holy thing to-day ?

“ ‘ A woman,’ answer’d Percivale, ‘ a nun
And one no further off in blood from me
Than sister ; and if ever holy maid
With knees of adoration wore the stone,
A holy maid ; tho’ never maiden glow’d,
But that was in her earlier maidenhood,
With such a fervent flame of human love,
Which being rudely blunted, glanced and shot
Only to holy things ; to prayer and praise
She gave herself, to fast and alms. And yet,
Nun as she was, the scandal of the Court,
Sin against Arthur and the Table Round,
And the strange sound of an adulterous race,
Across the iron grating of her cell
Beat, and she pray’d and fasted all the more.

“ ‘ And he to whom she told her sins, or what
Her all but utter whiteness held for sin,
A man wellnigh a hundred winters old,
Spake often with her of the Holy Grail,
A legend handed down thro’ five or six,
And each of these a hundred winters old,
From our Lord’s time. And when King Arthur made
His Table Round, and all men’s hearts became
Clean for a season, surely he had thought
That now the Holy Grail would come again ;
But sin broke out. Ah, Christ, that it would come,
And heal the world of all their wickedness !
“ O Father ! ” asked the maiden, “ might it come
To me by prayer and fasting ? ” “ Nay,” said he,
“ I know not, for thy heart is pure as snow.”
And so she pray’d and fasted, till the sun
Shone, and the wind blew, thro’ her, and I thought
She might have risen and floated when I saw her.

“ ‘ For on a day she sent to speak with me.
And when she came to speak, behold her eyes
Beyond my knowing of them, beautiful,
Beyond all knowing of them, wonderful,
Beautiful in the light of holiness.
And “ O my brother, Percivale,” she said,
“ Sweet brother, I have seen the Holy Grail :
For, waked at dead of night, I heard a sound
As of a silver horn from o’er the hills

Blown, and I thought, 'It is not Arthur's use
To hunt by moonlight'; and the slender sound
As from a distance beyond distance grew
Coming upon me—O never harp nor horn,
Nor aught we blow with breath, or touch with hand,
Was like that music as it came; and then
Stream'd thro' my cell a cold and silver beam,
And down the long beam stole the Holy Grail,
Rose-red with beatings in it, as if alive,
Till all the white walls of my cell were dyed
With rosy colours leaping on the wall;
And then the music faded, and the Grail
Pass'd, and the beam decay'd, and from the walls
The rosy quiverings died into the night.
So now the Holy Thing is here again
Among us, brother, fast thou too and pray,
And tell thy brother knights to fast and pray,
That so perchance the vision may be seen
By thee and those, and all the world be heal'd.'

"Then leaving the pale nun, I spake of this
To all men; and myself fasted and pray'd
Always, and many among us many a week
Fasted and pray'd even to the uttermost,
Expectant of the wonder that would be.

"And one there was among us, ever moved
Among us in white armour, Galahad.
"God make thee good as thou art beautiful,"
Said Arthur, when he dubb'd him knight; and none,
In so young youth, was ever made a knight
Till Galahad; and this Galahad, when he heard
My sister's vision, fill'd me with amaze;
His eyes became so like her own, they seem'd
Hers, and himself her brother more than I.

.

"But she, the wan sweet maiden shore away
Clean from her forehead all that wealth of hair
Which made a silken mat-work for her feet;
And out of this she plaited broad and long
A strong sword-belt, and wove with silver thread
And crimson in the belt a strange device,
A crimson grail within a silver beam;
And saw the bright boy-knight, and bound it on him,
Saying, "My knight, my love, my knight of heaven,
O thou, my love, whose love is one with mine,
I, maiden, round thee, maiden, bind my belt.
Go forth, for thou shalt see what I have seen,
And break thro' all, till one will crown thee king
Far in the spiritual city:" and as she spake

She sent the deathless passion in her eyes
 Thro' him, and made him hers, and laid her mind
 On him, and he believed in her belief.' "

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Then we have a description of the adventures of Sir Percivale, Gawain, Lancelot, and Sir Bori; and in each case the incidents are so wrought and manipulated as to reflect something of the character and inward tendency of each of the seekers; and here we find the spray of allegorical meanings playing up too brightly and keenly over the real incident of the story, very much like the little figures now seen for a moment and now again hidden in the ceaseless plash and play of a highly carved marble fountain. This portion of Sir Percivale's account is not only strikingly told, but, in view of his defect in humility making the real world half unreal to him, it has a deep significance of its own:—

“ ‘ And I rode on and found a mighty hill,
 And on the top, a city walled: the spires
 Prick'd with incredible pinnacles into heaven.
 And by the gateway stirred a crowd; and these
 Cried to me climbing, “ Welcome, Percivale!
 Thou mightiest and thou purest among men! ”
 And glad was I and clomb, but found at top
 No man, nor any voice. And thence I past
 Far thro' a ruinous city, and I saw
 That man had once dwelt there; but there I found
 Only one man of an exceeding age.
 “ Where is that goodly company,” said I,
 “ That so cried out upon me?” and he had
 Scarce any voice to answer, and yet gasp'd
 “ Whence and what art thou?” and even as he spoke
 Fell into dust, and disappear'd, and I
 Was left alone once more, and cried in grief,
 “ Lo, if I find the Holy Grail itself
 And touch it, it will crumble into dust.” ’ ”

This is Sir Galahad's testimony:—

“ ‘ I Galahad, saw the Grail,
 The Holy Grail, descend upon the shrine:
 I saw the fiery face as of a child
 That smote itself into the bread, and went;
 And hither am I come; and never yet
 Hath what thy sister taught me first to see,
 This Holy Thing, fail'd from my side, nor come
 Cover'd, but moving with me night and day,
 Fainter by day, but always in the night
 Blood-red, and sliding down the blacken'd marsh
 Blood-red, and on the naked mountain top
 Blood-red, and in the sleeping mere below
 Blood-red. And in the strength of this I rode,
 Shattering all evil customs everywhere,

And past thro' Pagan realms, and made them mine,
And clash'd with Pagan hordes, and bore them down,
And broke thro' all, and in the strength of this
Come victor. But my time is hard at hand,
And hence I go ; and one will crown me king
Far in the spiritual city : and come thou, too,
For thou shalt see the vision when I go.'

" ' While thus he spake, his eye, dwelling on mine,
Drew me, with power upon me, till I grew
One with him, to believe as he believed."

" Pelleas and Ettarre " is the best of the whole, if we judge it as a story. It is clearer, and the conscious meanings play less obtrusively through the simple movement of the tale. This is the picture of the young Sir Pelleas :—

" KING Arthur made new knights to fill the gap
Left by the Holy Quest ; and as he sat
In hall at old Caerleon, the high doors
Were softly sunder'd, and thro' these a youth,
Pelleas, and the sweet smell of the fields
Past, and the sunshine came along with him.

" ' Make me thy knight, because I know, Sir King,
All that belongs to knighthood, and I love,'
Such was his cry ; for having heard the King
Had let proclaim a tournament—the prize
A golden circlet and a knightly sword,—
Full fain had Pelleas for his lady won
The golden circlet, for himself the sword :
And there were those who knew him near the King
And promised for him ; and Arthur made him knight.

" And this new knight, Sir Pelleas of the isles—
But lately come to his inheritance,
And lord of many a barren isle was he—
Riding at noon, a day or twain before,
Across the forest call'd of Dean, to find
Caerleon and the King, had felt the sun
Beat like a strong knight on his helm, and reel'd
Almost to falling from his horse ; but saw
Near him a mound of even-sloping side
Whereon a hundred stately beeches grew,
And here and there great hollies under them.
But for a mile all round was open space
And fern and heath : and slowly Pelleas drew
To that dim day, then binding his good horse
To a tree, cast himself down ; and as he lay
At random looking over the brown earth
Thro' that green-glooming twilight of the grove,
It seem'd to Pelleas that the fern without

Burnt as a living fire of emeralds,
 So that his eyes were dazzled looking at it.
 Then o'er it crost the dimness of a cloud
 Floating, and once the shadow of a bird
 Flying, and then a fawn ; and his eyes closed.
 And since he loved all maidens, but no maid
 In special, half-awake he whisper'd, ' Where ?
 O where ? I love thee, tho' I know thee not.
 For fair thou art and pure as Guinevere,
 And I will make thee with my spear and sword
 As famous—O my queen, my Guinevere,
 For I will be thine Arthur when we meet.'

" Suddenly waken'd with a sound of talk
 And laughter at the limit of the wood,
 And glancing thro' the hoary boles, he saw,
 Strange as to some old prophet might have seem'd
 A vision hovering on a sea of fire,
 Damsels in divers colours like the cloud
 Of sunset and sunrise, and all of them
 On horses, and the horses richly trapt
 Breast-high in that bright line of bracken stood :
 And all the damsels talk'd confusedly,
 And one was pointing this way, and one that,
 Because the way was lost.

" She said, ' O wild and of the woods,
 Knowest thou not the fashion of our speech ?
 Or have the Heavens but given thee a fair face,
 Lacking a tongue ?'

" ' O damsel,' answered he,
 ' I woke from dreams ; and coming out of gloom
 Was dazzled by the sudden light, and crave
 Pardon : but will ye to Caerleon ? I
 Go likewise : shall I lead you to the King ?'

" ' Lead then,' she said ; and thro' the woods they went.
 And while they rode, the meaning in his eyes,
 His tenderness of manner, and chaste awe,
 His broken utterances and bashfulness,
 Were all a burthen to her, and in her heart
 She mutter'd, ' I have lighted on a fool,
 Raw, yet so stale !' But since her mind was bent
 On hearing, after trumpet blown, her name
 And title, ' Queen of Beauty,' in the lists
 Cried—and beholding him so strong, she thought
 That peradventure he will fight for me,
 And win the circlet : therefore flatter'd him,
 Being so gracious, that he wellnigh deem'd

His wish by hers was echo'd ; and her knights
And all her damsels too were gracious to him,
For she was a great lady."

But it is truly a sad story in its ending ; and when Pelleas rushes into the hall crying, '*I have no sword,*' the word of doom has been spoken over the Round Table.

The only other *Idyll* is the "Passing of Arthur," which is in fact nothing more or less than a reprint of the early poem, "The Morte d' Arthur," without alteration or addition beyond some little setting of incident for framework. This circumstance is not without a significance of its own, which might be dwelt on had we more space at our command, or had we had more time allowed us for the task.

The only other poems the volume contains are "The Golden Supper," "The Higher Pantheism" (which we really cannot regard as being very successful), and "The Northern Farmer, New Style." "The Golden Supper" is founded on a story in Boccaccio, and exhibits Mr Tennyson's peculiar power of subtle dramatic suggestion, combined with minute elaboration of detail. Of "The Northern Farmer, New Style," it is enough to say, that it is worthy to set beside the other one ; and that is saying much. "Proputty, Proputty, Proputty," is the idol of the New Northern Farmer's worship, and in choosing the mere abstract idea of wealth in opposition to the concrete attraction which the *land* had for the former Farmer, Mr Tennyson has, in our idea, acutely hit off a real and vital distinction ; and in linking the idea with the trotting of the horse, has found a fine symbol for the idea. This is one of those poems which has on it the stamp of genius—the best voucher for veracity and reality. We therefore cordially recommend our readers not to miss the treat of a careful perusal of it ; we ourselves have read and re-read it with a peculiar and increasing pleasure. We hope now Mr Tennyson will find himself free to work in this line of subject.

XI.--GERMAN LITERATURE.

Theologische Studien und Kritiken. Jahrgang 1870. Erstes Heft. Gotha, Perthes.

This number opens with the first of a series of articles from the pen of Beyschlag, on the subject of the "Resurrection of Christ from the Dead," which has again become more than ever in Germany the great question between rationalists and believers in the supernatural origin of Christianity. A few years ago, Dr Holsten had an article in the "*Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*" (Journal for Scientific Theology) on this subject, in which he propounded the *mythic* theory, that the appearance of Christ to Paul at his conversion was not an objective appearance at all, but only an internal influence on his mind which took the oriental form of a Theophany. This article was answered by Beyschlag in the *Studien*, in an able paper on the "Conversion of the Apostle Paul." Last year Dr Holsten again returned to the controversy by publishing a work entitled, "*Zum Evangelium des Paulus und des Petrus*" (on the Gospel of Paul and Peter), in which are condensed his three previous publications bearing more or less directly on the subject, in the preface to which he challenged Beyschlag to a renewal of the controversy. The article before us is the first part of Beyschlag's answer. It is to be followed by other two. When completed, it will, we have no doubt, be one of the fullest and ablest discussions of the mythic interpretation of the vision of Christ accessible to the student.

The second article is by Dr Koestlin on "Religion and Morality in their relation to each other." In his lengthened and elaborate discussion, the writer follows somewhat in the track of Schleiermacher and Rothe. His aim is mainly practical. He takes his start from the fact, that in the present day religion is endangered, not so much from the side of direct infidel attack, as from the prevalence of other and important interests which threaten to absorb the whole of man's thoughts and activities. Dr Koestlin is a well-known contributor to the *Studien*, of which he is one of the editors, and his articles uniformly breathe a fine spirit, and display great power of analysis. This Number contains also (1.) Harmony and an Exposition of the Gospel Narrative of the Woman of Canaan (Matt. xv. 21-28); and (2.) a Consideration of the Results of Tischendorf's Transcript of the Alexandrine MS. of Clement of Rome. Clement was a presbyter of the church at Rome, who died, according to Irenæus, about the year 100 A.D. The only work of Clement, whose genuineness can be established, is his Epistle to the Corinthians, sometimes called the Second Epistle. The only known MS. of this Epistle is appended to the Alexandrian Codex of the Scriptures now in the British Museum. Among his other critical labours, Tischendorf has investigated this MS., and published a correct transcript of it, which Dr Laurent the writer of this article gives here an account of.

These articles are followed by two lengthened reviews of important works, (1.) Mueke's "Die Dogmatik des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts, u. s. w." (The Dogmatics of the 19th century); and (2.) "Untersuchungen zur alttestamentlichen Theologie," by Dr Klosterman, Professor of Theology at the University of Kiel. This appears from the review to be a work of no great merit, being simply an Exposition of Psalms cxxxix., lxxiii., and xlix., in which the writer finds the expression of the hopes of the ancient church regarding the coming of a Saviour.

Zeitschrift für die gesammte lutherische Theologie und Kirche.
Jahrgang 1870. Erstes Quartalheft, Leipzig.

This ably-conducted Lutheran quarterly, contains (1.) an article by Dr Mühlau of Leipzig, on "Albert Schultens of Leyden, and his Labours in the department of Hebrew Philology." This distinguished oriental scholar was born at Groningen in 1686. While yet a youth, he devoted himself with great zeal to the study of the Greek and Hebrew languages, and afterwards of the Chaldee and Syriac and Arabic, at the university of his native town. He was deeply interested in comparative philology, and especially in the importance of the Arabic as throwing light on the interpretation of the Hebrew. The library of Leyden, which was rich in its treasures of oriental literature, was thrown open to him. He studied with great intensity the Arabic, Persian, and Turkish MSS. which he found there. He was soon recognised as the foremost scholar of his time in *orientalibus*. In 1718 he was promoted to the chair of Hebrew Literature at Franeker. Here for sixteen years he laboured, having as his associates Campegius, the Vetringas, father and son, and Venema the fruitful Old Testament exegete. In 1729, Schultens was called to fill the situation of rector of the Theological College of Leyden. For one-and-twenty years he was the ornament of the university of Leyden, to which students of oriental literature resorted from all lands. As a theologian and a preacher, he merited the appellation given to him by one of his colleagues, Vriemoet, *ἡγεμόνιστος*. He died in 1750, in the 64th year of his age.

The writer of this article enters into an interesting account of the life and labours of this distinguished Hebraist. His different works, which were no fewer than thirty-five in number, are described. The article is a valuable monograph, well worthy of the perusal of all who are interested in the history of oriental literature.

(2.) The second article is from the facile pen of Delitzsch, one of the editors. It is on the "Ancient Historical Literature of the Israelitish Nation," viewed simply as a study in history. We know of none, even in Germany, more competent to do justice to such a subject than Delitzsch. He has done much by his commentaries and other critical works to farther the study of the Hebrew Scriptures, and the article before us is a valuable contribution to a knowledge of the varied changes the language and literature of the Hebrews underwent during its progress from the time of Moses to that of Daniel.

(3) The third article is on "The Church and Materialism," with

some reference to the doctrine of miracles. It is in the form of an address delivered at a pastoral conference in Lüneberg by R. Rocholl. (4.) "Meister Eckhart the Mystic," founded on the able and interesting history of Eckhart, by Adolf Lasson, to which we have already called the attention of our readers. (5.) "On the Authenticity of the Words ascribed to Luther at Worms." "Hier stehe ich, ich kann nicht anders, Gott helfe mir. Amen." (Here I stand, I cannot do otherwise, God help me. Amen!) (6.) A well written paper on the present so-called "Œcumenical Council at Rome." It is a controversial response to the Pope's invitation to Protestants, one of many such answers, more or less elaborate, from the Greek Patriarch at Constantinople, Luthardt of Leipzig, &c., which have recently been published. The convening of this council has, we think, been very wisely taken advantage of, and might even be to a greater extent yet taken advantage of for the purpose of awakening a more energetic and intelligent Protestant spirit in our own country.

This Number of the *Zeitschrift* contains also the usual amount of critical notices of current German theological literature. They are written by the recognised contributors to the journal, and are all animated, as might be expected, by a strongly denominational Lutheran spirit.

Zeitschrift für die Historische Theologie. Jahrgang. 1870. Erster Heft. Gotha.

This number of the Journal of Historical Theology contains two papers. The first is on "The Writings, the Philosophical Stand-point, and the Ethics of Peter Abälard," by Bittcher. Abälard, the great middle-age representative of dialectic scepticism, was born in 1079 and died in 1142. He began his career as a leading spirit of the age in Paris. Thousands of students from all quarters flocked to Melun, where he delivered his lectures. He afterwards studied theology under Anselm of Laon, surnamed Scholasticus, who had been a pupil of Anselm of Canterbury, and then returned to Paris, which was the great centre of learning, where again students crowded to hear him. While in Paris he gained the affection of Heloise, whose romantic history, in connection with that of Abälard, is well known. After an active life, during which he gave an impulse, in many diverse directions, to intellectual pursuits, and came into conflict with the prevailing church tendencies, especially as represented by St Bernard of Clairvaux, the great teacher of that period, the representative of church authority, and the main instigator of the Second Crusade. He died in 1142. The motto of his theological system was "Non credendum nisi prius intellectum." In this respect he stood in direct opposition to Augustine and Anselm, whose motto was "Credo ut intelligam." Abälard affirmed that knowledge must precede faith,—that only what was known could be believed. With him faith was merely an intellectual act. Augustine's doctrine was, on the contrary, that faith must precede knowledge. Bernard, who was Abälard's great opponent, maintained this doctrine. He represented the pectoral theology. His motto was, "Tantum Deus cognoscitur quantum diligitur—orando

facilius quam disputando et dignius Deus quæritur et invenitur." Abälard was the representative and the leader of the new school of free inquiry. He was the father of the scholastic theology. His philosophy was mainly a system of dialectics. The great controversy of that age was between the *Nominalists* and the *Realists*. The great question of scholasticism was about the relation between *thinking* and *being*—between the *idea* and the *essence* of a thing. One school of philosophy maintained that the *universalia*, the general conceptions or generic ideas which constitute the common essence of a genus, are merely *nomina*, or intellectual abstractions, and that they have no real existence beyond the intellect which conceives them. Hence they were called nominalists. Another school maintained that these *universalia* had an objective existence beyond the mere human intellect. In this controversy, Abälard was opposed to both the nominalists and the realists, and held an intermediate position, which has been denoted by the term Conceptualism. The whole subject, in all its bearings, is here discussed in a lengthened and elaborate paper.

The second article is a continuation of a critical review of the writings of Ambrose of Milan (died 397), the principal instructor of Augustine, as a contribution towards the settlement of the Text of Scripture.

Zinzendorf's Theologie. Dargestellt von Dr HERMANN PLITT.
Erster Band. Gotha, London, and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 1869. Pp. 648.

There is not a more interesting chapter in modern church history than that which narrates the origin and development of the Moravians as a distinct section of the church of Christ. The Protestant states and cities of Germany were soon made to feel the necessity of combination, with a view to defend their liberties against the threatened assaults of the popish party, who sought, with unwearied assiduity, by every means to regain the ascendancy of which the Reformation had deprived them. Hence the League formed between them (1581) at Smalcald. The princes and states united in this league had soon to meet their enemies in actual war. They were, after a lengthened struggle, overpowered by the Emperor (Charles), and forced to submit. The Reformation received a check, and the Protestants were in many places, particularly in Moravia and Bohemia, oppressed and persecuted. During the Thirty Years' War, which was so disastrous for Germany, they suffered yet more severely, so that the old faith of the Hussites was wellnigh extinguished. Only here and there among the dwellings of the people did lingering traditions which had come down to them from their pious forefathers, survive. At length, in the beginning of the 18th century, Christian David, a native of Senftleben in Moravia, who had himself, during his travels, been awakened to a knowledge of the truth, appeared among his countrymen, and the dying flame of evangelical truth was rekindled by his instrumentality and the people began to feel again the power of the gospel. To escape persecution they emigrated (1722), under the direction of David, unto Upper Lusatia, and sought a refuge and a home on the

estates of Nicolas Louis Count von Zinzendorf, whose sympathies he had already, in a previous interview, enlisted in behalf of his brethren. In the absence of the Count, his steward, under the countenance of the Count's pious grandmother, assigned them as a place of settlement, Hutberg near Berthelsdorf. The village, which immediately began to be erected on that hill, he also called Herrnhut (The Lord's Protection), a name which afterwards came into common use to designate the Moravian brethren generally,—the Herrnhutters. The Count, on his return, immediately visited the new settlement. He fell on his knees in their midst, and, thanking the Saviour for bringing them thither, he commended them to the grace of God. Zinzendorf was brought up from his youth under pietistic influences. Spener of Halle was one of his sponsors. Aided by his like-minded wife, Erdmuthe Dorothea, the sister of his friend the Count of Reuss, he took a deep interest in the Moravians. He formed for them a constitution, retaining the old forms and names, on the ground of which the colony was formally constituted in 1727, under the name of the "Renewed Moravian Church." He left his residence in Dresden, and for a time took up his abode among the colonists, and "wrote, journeyed, worked, struggled, and prayed for them incessantly." He formed new associations of the brethren in different parts of North and South Germany, Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, Holland, and England. He was ordained, through the influence of King Frederick William I. of Prussia, to the office of the ministry, and went forth preaching everywhere "The grace founded on the blood of the Lamb of God, which does not admit of one spark of self-righteousness to be mingled with it." His eventful life came to a close at Herrnhut in 1760. His image is deeply imprinted on the Society which he founded, and amongst the Moravians, "he being dead yet speaketh." Dr Plitt writes with a loving appreciation of the character of Zinzendorf, and gives, in this first volume, a distinct picture of the man in the varied aspects in which history presents him, as he passes to and fro in his ardent, impulsive zeal in behalf of the Saviour whom he loved. The volume extends over the period from 1728 to 1742. It is well worthy of the attention of students of modern church history, particularly in the department of the history of doctrine.

Kant's Psychologie. Dargestellt und erörtert. Von JURGEN BONA MEYER, Professor der Philosophie in Bonn. Berlin and London : Williams & Norgate. 1870. Pp. 812.

In Professor Meyer of Bonn, whose work is before us, the great Königsberg professor has met with an able and painstaking interpreter. The work is very comprehensive—indeed, it may be regarded as a review of philosophy in Germany since the time of Kant (d. 1804)—and withal very condensed, which is a quality rarely met with in German books. Professor Meyer is evidently at home in dealing with the intricate and somewhat difficult subject. Kant's philosophy is a criticism on the materialistic scepticism of Hume, the idealism of Berkeley, and the rationalism of Descartes, Leibnitz, and Wolf. In carrying out his philosophy, he subjected the intellectual power to an

entirely new investigation, with the view of ascertaining what the mind can do—how far the power of reason can extend. This investigation he carries out in his "*Kritik der reinen Vernunft*" (Critique of pure Reason). In that work he arrives at the conclusion that the only reliable source of knowledge is the joint exercise of all the faculties of the whole mind. He started from the postulate, that in order to gain a knowledge of anything, or to be capable of knowing, the mind must be a knower, and must be also a possessor of knowledge. The mind, he affirmed, is never without certain conceptions within it, found already existing in it, on its very first contact with the external world, and therefore not the result of experience. These conceptions are pure knowledge, as distinguished from that which comes through the senses, and is gained by experience, which is called empirical. From this as his starting point, Kant elaborates a system of mind, and reaches the conclusion, that whatever lies outside the limits of space and time, that is, whatever cannot be cognised by bringing a sensuous intuition of it under an understanding conception of it, cannot be the subject of proper knowledge. Hence God, the soul, and immortality, are subjects lying beyond the sphere of theoretical and demonstrated knowledge, and belong to the sphere of the pure reason. The next question is, Can the reason give us any valid cognition, any knowledge of real things? Here the great, the "*enormous deficit*," of Kant's system, the great ideas of God, the soul, and immortality, have no faculties to cognise them. The idea of God cannot, he concludes, be proved by any rationalistic process. It remains for the reason, as well as for the understanding, a mere idea, incapable of proof.

The "*Kritik*" was Kant's great work. It gave an impulse to philosophical speculations which has continued to the present time. He has had many commentators and critics, and many disciples. Professor Meyer, in a series of clearly written, intelligible chapters, presents the whole subject before his readers.

Franz Xavier. Ein weltgeschichtliches Missionsbild von Rev. H. VENN, Prebendary of St Paul's, and Dr W. HOFFMANN, Domprediger zu Berlin. Wiesbaden and London: Williams & Norgate. 1869. Pp. 418.

This volume consists of three parts. The first gives an account of missions prior to the time of Xavier,—the missions of the Ancient Church,—the missions of the Romish Church in the middle ages. The second part is a Translation by Dr Hoffman, with here and there a few abbreviations of the "*Missionary Life and Labours of Francis Xavier, &c.*," by Rev. H. Venn, London, 1862." The last part of the volume gives a historical account of Christian Missions since the time of Xavier. (1.) The Roman Catholic Missions in the footsteps of Xavier; (2.) Roman Catholic Missions beyond the sphere of Xavier's activity,—Abyssinia, Western Africa, Central America, North America, and South America; (3.) Roman Catholic and Evangelical Missions down to the present time.

This book is of the deepest interest. It is a valuable history of

Missions. Dr Hoffmann has rendered an important service in the publication of it to the church of Christ. It is beautifully written, and will, we hope, be instrumental in awakening a more active interest in the spread of the cause of our Lord throughout the world. Dr Hoffmann has not forgotten the Missions of England and Scotland. They have honourable recognition in this interesting and instructive volume.

Chrysostomus in seinem Verhältniss zur antiochenischen Schule. Ein Beitrag zur Dogmengeschichte von LIC. TH. FOERSTER, Prediger und Inspector am Königlichen Domcandidatenstift zu Berlin. Gotha and London: Williams & Norgate. 1869. Pp. 190.

John, better known since the seventh century by the name Chrysostom (*Χρυσόστομος*), the golden-mouthed orator of the Greek Church, was born at Antioch in 347, and died at Comana in Pontus, on his way to a place of exile to which he had been banished by his enemies, in 407, in the sixtieth year of his age. His last words, *Λόξα τῷ Θεῷ πάντων ἕσται*, were the motto of his whole life. His life was eventful. He was greatly influenced by the spirit of monasticism that prevailed in that age. His character was moulded by it. He is the greatest commentator and preacher of the Greek Church, which reveres him above all the fathers. He has left a spotless name behind him. As a divine he was sound, moderate, and practical; less profound and original than Athanasius or Augustine, and superior to both as an exegete and sermoniser. He is the best representative of the Antiochian school, as distinct from that of Alexandria. Foerster's work is specially a contribution to the history of doctrine. The topics discussed in their historical development are (1.) The doctrine of the Holy Scriptures; (2.) Anthropology; (3.) The conception of God and the Trinity; (4.) Christology; (5.) Soterology; and (6.) The ethics of Chrysostom. On these different points the opinions of Chrysostom and of the school of Antioch are distinctly exhibited in their diverse relations to the opinions propounded by other theologians of that formative period of the church's history.

Chronologie der römischen Bischöfe bis zur Mitte des vierten Jahrhunderts von R. A. LIPSJUS. Kiel and London: Williams & Norgate. 1869. Pp. 280.

The whole subject of the chronology of the bishops of Rome down to the middle of the fourth century is here treated, from a Protestant point of view, although the author does not regard Popery as the system of Antichrist. The work is exceedingly elaborate and full of historical details. Those who take an interest in such researches will find here abundant materials. The author has made diligent investigations into all manner of sources for information on the subject of the precise order in which the bishops of Rome followed each other. He has subjected to a critical examination the works of predecessors in the same field, and presented, as the result of his labour, what he regards as the true chronological order.

Beiträge zur richtigen Würdigung der Evangelien und der evangelischen Geschichte von Dr KARL WIESELER, Gotha Perthes. London : Williams & Norgate. 1869. Pp. xvi., 844.

Wieseler is one of the leading professors of theology at the Protestant Evangelical University of Greifswalde, in Prussian Pomerania. More than five and twenty years ago the author, then at Kiel, published a work entitled "*Chronologische Synopse der vier Evangelien*," which was devoted to an investigation of the chronological, topographical, and historical facts of the Gospel narratives. The work before us, "*Contributions to the right estimate of the Gospel and the Gospel history*," is an Appendix to that work, and discusses the whole subject in view of the researches and controversies of the last quarter of a century which have thrown light, from many sides, on the chronology of the Gospel history, and which Wieseler shews only confirm more and more the historic accuracy of the facts therein recorded. He arrives at the conclusion, that the usual chronology is correct which fixes the date of the birth of Christ at Bethlehem during the general census, sometime between the latter end of December and the beginning of February in the year 750 after the foundation of Rome, and four years before the commencement of the usual Christian era ; and the date of his crucifixion in the spring of the year after the foundation of Rome 783, on the 15th of the month Nisan (8th April) in the 80th year of the Christian era. This is the date of the crucifixion according to the synoptical Gospels, whereas John apparently makes it on the 14th of the month. Wieseler adopts the former date, and shews how the statement of John may be reconciled with it. The work evinces, as might have been expected from one who has made the New Testament chronology his special subject of study, under most favourable circumstances, for more than a quarter of a century, great patience and thoroughness of research, and is full of important historical information from Roman and Jewish sources bearing on the Gospel History.

Liber Genesis. Textum Masoreticum accuratissime expressit, e fontibus Masoræ varie illustravit, notis criticis confirmavit S. BAER. Præfatus est edendi operis Adjutor FR. DELITZSCH, Lipsiæ Tauchnitz. Londini: Williams et Norgate. 1869.

This is an admirable critical edition of the Book of Genesis. Delitzsch points out, in the preface, the errors existing in the ordinary editions of Athias (1661), Jablonski (1699), and Norzi (1748), which have been corrected in this. The book has been edited with the greatest care, is beautifully printed, has an abundant critical apparatus accompanying it, and may be easily obtained by students, to whom we cordially recommend it. It may be had for little more than a shilling. In 1861 Delitzsch published, in conjunction with Baer, a similar edition of the Hebrew Psalter. Of recent years the study of the Hebrew language and literature, and especially the critical study of the Old Testament Hebrew, has been attracting increased attention

in Germany. The impulse given to the study by Gesenius still continues and widens. As an illustration, we may mention two valuable works which have recently appeared in the department of the grammatico-critical study of the Hebrew language: (1.) "*Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Sprache*," by Justus Olshausen. This is a very complete work on the grammatical forms of the Hebrew language—more complete and useful to the student than any similar work with which we are acquainted. It is to be followed by a second volume devoted to the Syntax of the Hebrew language. (2.) "*Ausführliches Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Sprache*," von Friedrich Böttcher. This extensive work, in two volumes, is the fruit of thirty years' study. It accomplishes for Hebrew Grammar what Gesenius' Thesaurus did for Hebrew Lexicography. The author died before the publication of the work, which has been carefully carried through the press by Ferdinand Mühlau. These works are well worthy of the attention of British students, among whom we rejoice to see an increasing interest manifested in the study of the Hebrew language, which cannot but bear good fruit.

Matthias Claudius, ein Beitrag zur Kirchen-und Literar Literatur-Geschichte. Geschichte seiner Zeit von C. MÖNCKEBERG, Archidiaconus zu St Nicolai in Hamburg. Hamburg and London: Williams & Norgate. 1869. Pp. xi., 427.

Claudius, better known by his *nom de plume*, "*Der Wandsbecker Bote*" (The Wandsbeck Messenger), was born in 1740. He spent the greater part of his life at Wandsbeck, near Altona, and died in 1815 at Hamburg, in the house of his son-in-law, the celebrated publisher, Frederick Perthes. He mingled with the prominent literary men of that important transition period in the history of Germany, and exerted, in his own quiet way, a powerful influence on the development of opinion. His writings, which obtained a wide circulation in Germany, aided powerfully in the overthrow of the vulgar rationalism which at that time held sway over the people, and in the introduction of the evangelical era, which ever since his day has been spreading more and more widely its blessings over the land. Dr Moenkeberg has re-investigated the history of Claudius and of the period in which he lived, and has produced a valuable "*Contribution to the Literary and Ecclesiastical History of that period.*"

XII.—FRENCH LITERATURE.

The Œcumenical Council judged by its own Friends.

Le Concile. Par Mgr. DE SEGUR. Br. 7^{em} edit. 1869.

Du Concile général et de la paix religieuse. Mémoire soumis au prochain concile du Vatican. Par Mgr. MARET. 2 vols. Paris, 1869.

L'Infaillibilité et le Concile général. 8^{me} edit. Par Mgr. DECHAMPS. Malines, 1869.

Le Concile. Extrait du Correspondant. Octobre 1869.

Le futur Concile Œcumenique. Par Mgr. DUPANLOUP. 9^{me} edit.

Lettre de Mgr. d'Orléans au clergé, etc. avant son départ, &c.

Idem. *Observations sur la Controverse relativement à l'infailibilité.* 1869.

Les Conciles généraux. Par Mgr. PLANTIER (Nismes). 1869.

Le Concile Œcumenique. Par Mgr. de GRENOBLE. 1869.

Incartades libérales de quelques auteurs Catholiques. Par L'ABBE JULES MOREL D'ANGERS. 1869.

Le Concile Œcumenique et la situation actuelle. Par L'ABBE CHRISTOPHE, précède d'une lettre du CARDINAL DE BONALD, archeveque de Lyon. 1869.

De l'influence Sociale des Conciles. Par ALBERT DU BOYS, ancien magistrat. Paris, 1869.

"The other day, under a hedge, in one of the most frequented 'barrières' of Paris, a dozen of freemasons, typographers, cabinet-makers, foremen, all great readers of the *Siecle*, the *Opinion Nationale*, the *Rappel*, the *Charivari*, and the *National*, were at table, and talking about religion. . . . They were speaking about the Council.

" 'Well, now, brothers,' said one of them, 'let us discuss this question a little ! Let us see clearly for once in our lives. Let each of us say what he thinks about it.' 'Well said,' cried his comrades, 'it's you to begin.'

" A. 'I don't think there is anything serious about the Council. First of all, Of what use can an Œcumenical Council be ? Do we want their councils in the 19th century ? Have we not our academies, our public meetings, our clubs, our legislative assemblies, our five or six hundred lodges ! That's what makes us get on, and helps our progress. But the Council, why it's going to begin to talk to us about religion, paradise, hell, Sunday, the mass, confession, the things belonging to the other world, which are quite useless in this one. My opinion is, that these bishops are going to lose their time, and that they need not trouble themselves for so little.'

" B. 'Don't you see, brother, that they are a useless set, who are going to meet to amuse themselves, to eat well, and pass a pleasant time down there, at Rome ? They never do anything else. These churchmen are, as some famous man said, an idle, unproductive race.'

"C. 'Well, for my part, I believe that it is very serious. But it is all one; I'm not afraid of them. They say that the Protestant ministers have met several times within these few years, at Paris, Genoa, Nismes, in Prussia, in England, and I don't know where. They could not agree about anything, and went away mortally offended. Believe me, brother, it will be all the same with their council at Rome. We shall have a laugh; it will be like our clubs for the elections, and even worse! For they're coming from everywhere, and they speak thirty-six different languages; and then we know what the Catholics are, an obstinate, intolerant set, who won't understand anything about anything. The *Opinion* said yesterday (so it must be true), that in their Ecumenical Councils, as they call them, they do nothing but dispute, cry out, take each other by the beard, and come to no conclusion at all. I'm not afraid of them; that's my opinion.'

"D. 'But I tell you, they will agree perfectly! They see that we want to do without them, that liberty and progress are getting on, and that science has emancipated us all; they see that the world won't obey any longer, except it obey reason; that modern ideas, commerce, comfort, civilisation, have got the upper hand; they see that the free nations have reached their majority, and are going to become brothers; that everybody is going to be happy, and that we shan't want them nor their masses any more! They are all furious, and the Pope has sent for them to put an end to progress, to plunge us again into ignorance and slavery. They want to bring back the middle ages; nothing else, that's clear.'

"E. 'Not at all; you understand nothing about it. We must get down into the depths of their plot against society. I tell you, it is our purses they will be at. Their Council is only a new way of extorting money. They want to drink the people's sweat. They only live for money, that is well known. They only care for the temporalities. The Pope sees that his power is going, and he has called the Council to save the cash. It's nothing else; I'm no prophet, but you'll see they're only going to speak about money down there. They're going to bring back the tithes, and we'll all be plucked and fried!'

"F. 'No, it's not that! Pius IX. is not a man that cares for money. But the brotherhood would do well to trip up their heels, and hinder their Council at all hazards. Don't you see that they are the people's enemies? They are going to agree with the kings, the princes, and all the aristocrats, and you'll see, after their Council, the princes will be saying to the bishops, "Help us, and we'll help you." The bishops will say the same thing, and then down we go. I'm sure it's the kings that have told the Pope to hold his Council. They all go hand in hand.'

"G. 'I don't think it is just that. I rather think the Council is intending to make an end of the Government as well as of the people. You know well enough that the Pope and his bishops fancy themselves masters over all; that kings, princes, all the powers, even national sovereignty and universal suffrage, ought to be at their bidding, and that nothing should be done without their leave. That's their idea. They have always had it, and nothing will put it out of their heads. But since they see that people won't give heed to them any more, that every one intends

to be master at home, they're going to fulminate ! But it won't take. We're in an enlightened age. The Government won't let themselves be done ; they'll hinder the decrees from being published, and the priests from teaching them ; and they'll do quite right ; they'll put all those that uphold them into prison, and that'll be right, too. For my part, I only understand these two things—energy and liberty !'

"H. 'Don't be afraid. The brotherhood is on the watch ; the Freemasons are not asleep, and we must expect all from them. While the Pope is holding his Council at Rome, our venerables will have theirs at Naples, or Paris, or Geneva. It is decided ; and the Liberator, the grand master, Garibaldi, has his eagle's eye open on the doings of the clergy. The Masonic Council is going to give us the symbol of reason and science ; so I have heard. Our brethren will thwart the Pope's Council as much as they can, and their arms will stretch into Italy, France, Belgium, Germany, America,—everywhere. Let them only go to work !'

"I. 'Well, as for me, whatever you say, I'm not at all sorry about this Council. Do you know what it will be ? Why, just the burial of the church and the papacy, and all the old Catholic machinery ! Believe me, the Pope sees that his sovereignty is breaking up, and he is calling the bishops to his help. They'll curtail his old Ultramontane privileges, and give him a set-down, and not let him be any more master of all, with his Bulls, and his Encyclical Letters, and his Syllabus, &c. Then there will be a revolution in the church, just as in 1789, when the States General in France rose against the old monarchy. Without the Pope the church would be nothing. We'll soon get the better of it. That's why I tell you that the Council is the end of all ; and I invite you to the funeral of the Pope and the Church on the 8th December, at the Vatican, exactly at ten o'clock !

"J. 'So we are all about agreed. Let's drink to the health of the Council, whose heirs we are. The old Catholic world will no longer appear a menacing spectre to us !' So let it be ! repeated in chorus these poor deluded creatures, victims of the impious and revolutionary press."

The foregoing picture is no exaggeration. It represents exactly the mind of the people in the large cities of France and Belgium. We quote from no suspicious source. It is the "Prologue from Nature" of a pamphlet which has reached its seventh edition, and which is intended to counteract the views of the million, by explaining the Council to them from a Romish point of view. This pamphlet is written by Monseigneur de Ségur, the blind bishop, whose invectives against Protestantism have gained for him the reputation of a valiant defender of the church.

We shall now take a glimpse of the way in which the two great parties within the Romish Church, Gallicans and Ultramontanes, view the matter. We shall not go into any speculations of our own, but merely glance over some of the books, pamphlets, pastoral letters, &c., that have been called forth by the announcement of the coming Council. First, then, we have two large volumes by the Bishop of Sura, Monseigneur Maret, against the personal infallibility of the Pope. This work is entitled, "Upon the General Council and

Religious Peace." But instead of *peace*, it would seem as if the Council were to open with *strife*. "The aim of the school whose tendencies we are pointing out," says the Bishop, "seems to be to induce the Council to define the absolute, separate, personal infallibility of the Roman Pontiff. . . . Already several prelates have shewn themselves favourable to this project, and seem by their writings to wish to clear the way for it in the public mind. Other bishops have testified their repugnance and fears about it."* It is no wonder that the liberal Roman Catholics fear, for they must feel the anomaly of their position; and they know the strength of the Jesuit party, headed by Cardinal Bonald, Archbishop of Lyons, Primate of Gaul, and by Archbishop Déchamps of Malines, Primate of Belgium. The latter has published a small work in defence of the personal infallibility, addressed to the laity. This work, augmented by a Brief from the sovereign Pontiff, and a new letter on the opportuneness of the occasion for the dogmatic definition of the infallibility of the Holy See, has already reached its eighth edition. The prefatory Brief opens thus:—"We congratulate you, venerable brother, on the way in which you have brought to light the truth in your new work. . . . We have experienced heartfelt joy in seeing with what clearness you develop the principles you enunciate, and with what erudition you refute the sophisms by which they are opposed. This volume will, we are persuaded, be of great use in dissipating opinions full of prejudice." In opposition to this Brief, we have the bellicose Dupanloup, Bishop of Orleans, coming forward and asking, "Was the definition of the personal infallibility in the very least degree among the motives and causes of the convocation of the Council?" and answering, "Not the least in the world." According to him, it is newspaper writers who, "screening themselves behind the venerated name, which they profane by such contests, have undertaken, by means of strong affirmations, to bear upon public opinion, while, (as if they wished to intimidate the bishops, and shut their mouths), they hold suspended over their heads insults and attacks full of violence and gall" (*Observations*, p. 17). But at the same time our bishop is obliged to confess that his "holy friend," the Archbishop of Malines, and "the pious and eloquent" Manning, have both affirmed the opportuneness of the definition of the personal infallibility of the Pope; while, on the other hand, the German bishops, assembled at Fulda, besides their public letter, have addressed a private memorial to the Pope, entreating him not to permit the question to be mooted at the approaching Council.

* Here is the judgment of an Ultramontane organ on this work: "Gallicanism is dead. . . . It is not Mons. Maret's work that will galvanise this corpse. . . . We believe that the Bishop of Sura's work, far from hurting the cause of the pontifical infallibility, will only strengthen and advance it. It will perhaps become the motive of a peremptory decree which, without this last manifestation of a doomed party, would have appeared superfluous. Gallicanism has always appealed to the next Council. Let us hope that their appeal will be heard, and that the Assembly of Bishops will answer the last of the Gallicans by this traditional maxim, bequeathed to us by Ambrose and Augustine, 'Ubi Petrus, ibi Ecclesia!'"

According to our view of the matter, the Bishop of Orleans has no power at all to discuss the subject, for we find him saying, in his first letter to his clergy, "Obedient from the beginning, and obedient unto the death, I adhere to the decisions of the Head of the Church and of the Council; I adhere to them from the bottom of my heart, and with my whole soul, whatever these decisions may be, whether conformable or contrary to my private opinions; I have said it, and I repeat it, should they confirm or contradict them" (*Lettre*, p. 20). After this declaration, should the Council proclaim the personal infallibility of the Pope, we suppose that the Bishop of Orleans will find means of explaining it away, as he and his brethren did the famous Syllabus. In regard to this latter document, we cannot resist quoting a few words from the article taken from the *Correspondant*,* entitled "Le Concile:"—"It was not only a certain contemporaneous institution, but the whole of modern society, with its accompaniments of discoveries, sciences, riches, and industry, that appeared, by the brevity of a phrase in the Syllabus, to be declared irreconcilable with the Church. . . . Every one who has present to his mind the memorable series of episcopal mandates which followed the encyclical letter, "Quanta Cura" (not one of which was disavowed by the Holy See), knows now perfectly well that nothing in the pontifical act was intended to have the effect of disturbing the *ancient maxims of public right in France*, or of bringing any prejudice to the *independence of the civil power*, or to the *principles, properly understood*, which the Revolution of 1789 has introduced as the *basis of our modern constitution*," pp. 58, 59. "Undoubtedly, the popes do not need that their language should be corrected or rectified, or that there should be two concurrent doctrines in the Church, or that the bishops of any country should, by a captious interpretation, substitute their own thoughts for those of the Popes themselves. Far be such a suspicion from us! But there is, between the language of the popes and that of the bishops, the difference which exists in every matter between the language peculiar to a science and common language, between absolute principles and their particular application. The pontifical documents speak the language of theology,—a precise language, very little understood, and still less studied in our day,—a language in which words have often a sense very different from the vulgar sense, and the bearing of which cannot be arbitrarily extended or restricted. The bishops are the natural interpreters, whose business it is to translate the sovereign Pontiff's thoughts into the vulgar tongue of every country," &c., pp. 60, 61.

The best comment we can make on these assertions is to give the happy criticism of Dr E. de Pressensé, in the last number of the *Revue Chrétienne*:—"What entirely surpasses our comprehension is to see the *Correspondant* affirm, without wincing, that these encyclical

* The *Correspondant* is the organ of the liberal Roman Catholic party. The article in question, which is considered a very clever one, is written against the personal infallibility. It is reprinted apart from the review, and, contrary to the general rule of the Journal, is not signed. It is supposed to be from the pen of M. Montalembert, or possibly from that of the Archbishop of Paris.

letters are not what a foolish people imagine, that it is only their sublimity that has veiled their real meaning, and that it is by an abuse of interpretation that we see in them the condemnation of liberty in general, and very specially of liberty of conscience. Paper can bear many things, we read in the same article, but, to our mind, it hardly ever bore anything equal to this assertion. Either the Romish oracle does not know what it says, or it positively condemned freedom of belief, of printing, of teaching; it even declared it abominable. . . . In regard to vulgar tongues, to clear and precise interpretations, we know nothing better than practical application. Now the Holy Father has put his encyclical letter into the vulgar tongue himself, in the excellent institutions with which he has endowed his own States, and those which he claims outside, by the concordats passed with Austria and South American Republics. That prose is worth all the ingenious commentaries, which quietly transform an inconvenient text" (November 1869, p. 703).

But to return to the Bishop of Orleans. We shall give a rapid sketch of his pamphlet, because it concerns us protestants more nearly than most of the other works under notice. We must, however, premise that the bishop declares he does not discuss the personal infallibility of the Pope, but only whether the present moment be opportune for defining it.

Reasons for declaring the moment inopportune:—1st. As regards the Eastern Churches. "What is it that separates us from the Orientals?" asks the bishop. "The supremacy of the Pope." . . . Could there be anything more contradictory in regard to the Eastern Churches, or less persuasive, than to address them in language such as this: "We invite you to take advantage of the great occasion of the Œcumenical Council to explain yourselves; and come to an agreement with us. But what we mean to do first is, to raise a new and higher barrier between us and you: a ditch separates us, we are going to make an abyss of it. Till now you have refused to recognise the mere primacy of the Roman Pontiff; we are going, first of all, to oblige you to believe something beyond this, and to admit what Catholic doctors themselves have not yet admitted, namely, the personal infallibility of the Pope alone, "INDEPENDENTLY AND SEPARATELY FROM THE BISHOPS."*

* But it may be said, "The schismatics are not desirous of a union; what does one barrier more signify between us and them?" To this the bishop answers, that he cannot think it allowable thus to seal the tombs of these ancient Christian nations; and adds, that he has had many opportunities of meeting with oriental bishops, and that there is on their part a great desire for a closer understanding.—(Pp. 18–20.)

2d. As regards the Protestants.

Protestantism does not recognise the authority of the church: "That is the great point of controversy between it and us; it is in this principle of division that lies its essence, its fatal plague. This is what many of our separated brethren begin to have a glimpse of.

* Quotation from Archbishop Manning's pastoral letter. The capital letters are the words of the Bishop of Orleans.

They feel that a principle which admits of infinitesimal division, and even allows persons to remain Protestants after they have ceased to be Christians, cannot be the true Christian principle. Hence the great travail that is going on in the bosom of Protestantism, the great and consoling returns of which England and America are giving us the spectacle, and the aspirations after union which, I know, are in the hearts of many Protestants. 'We are eight thousand in England,' said Dr Pusey to me two years ago here in Orleans, 'who are praying every day for union.' Do not then speak of imposing upon them beforehand, as the condition of their return, the personal and separate infallibility of the Pope! It would be a forgetfulness of all prudence, as well as of all charity. I have heard it said that the new converts are full of zeal for this dogma. Yes; certain new Catholics perhaps. But I know other new converts whom the announcement of a definition has troubled. I know certain Protestants desirous of coming to us whom this alone would make start back. It seems to me that those who do not see that this would be infallibly raising a new barrier, and one, perhaps, for ever impassable, between our separated brethren and us, must know very little, or be very badly informed about their present dispositions."—(Pp. 21–23.)

8d. The consequences which might attend such an act, viewed in the light of the modern governments. Here the Bishop examines the state of Europe. Three of the five great powers are not Roman Catholic: Russia, Prussia, and England. A great number, too, of the secondary states (Saxony, Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland, Holland, Greece) are either schismatic or heretic. "Who does not know what prejudice all these governments cherish against the Church? Can we suppose that a definition of the personal infallibility of the Pope is calculated to dissipate those prejudices? When by an inveterate prejudice (that will not be destroyed by aggravating it) these governments look upon the Pope as a foreign sovereign, can we really suppose that declaring the Pope infallible will ameliorate the position of the Catholics in these countries? Will that render Russia, Sweden, Denmark milder towards their Catholic subjects?"—(P. 24.)

The Bishop then goes on to say that he has before him the answers given to Pitt by the universities of Paris, Douai, Louvain, Alcalá, Salamanca, Valladolid, when he questioned them as to the Pope's right of interference in the temporal affairs of Great Britain. "Those universities replied that neither the Pope, nor the Cardinals, nor any body or individual in the Church of Rome, has received from Jesus Christ any civil authority over England, or any power to loose the subjects of his Britannic Majesty from their oath of fidelity. This declaration reassured Pitt although "the contrary doctrine has been professed, we must confess, in celebrated Bulls, by more than one Pope.' What then if the Pope is declared infallible? These non-Catholic governments will not believe in the infallibility, but they will believe that the Pope may make a bad use of this new power conferred upon him. And "what will be very serious in their eyes will be that their Catholic subjects will believe in it, and will be obliged to submit to all his decisions, even to those that are most offensive from the non-Catholic point of view taken by these governments. Will the pontifical

power not become more formidable and more hateful to them?"—
(P. 26).

4th. As regards the governments of the Roman Catholic countries, In what light will they see the proclamation of the new dogma?

"At the very moment in which I am writing these lines," proceeds the Bishop, "Are there not three of the four great Catholic powers, more or less engaged in distressing struggles with the church? And may not some point of litigation arise among ourselves at any moment? And would not this word be too mild in the terrible event of a revolution which is quite possible?"—
(P. 27.)

He next remarks that, if the Pope is declared infallible, the sovereigns will wish to know whether that means that he is impeccable. No, he answers, for he is obliged to confess that, though the number of them is very small, still there have been ambitious enterprising Popes, who confounded the spiritual with the temporal, and affected the pretension of ruling over crowns; "and we are not sure," he adds, "that we shall have always a Pius IX. on the pontifical throne."—
(P. 28.)

The Bishop next calls to mind the bulls of Boniface VIII. against Philip the Fair, and that of Paul III., excommunicating Henry VIII., offering "England to whomsoever would choose to conquer it, and bestowing upon those who would make this conquest of it, all the goods, houses, and lands of the English who had become dissenters." . . . "Is it certain that this frightful bull was not a great calamity for all Christendom?" . . . "Once more, may not even the Catholic sovereigns ask themselves if the dogmatic proclamation of the infallibility of the Pope will render such bulls impossible in the future? Who, then, will prevent a new Pope from defining what several of his predecessors have taught, namely, that the Vicar of Jesus Christ has a *direct* power over the temporal sovereignty of princes; that it is among his attributions to institute and depose sovereigns; that the civil rights of kings and peoples are subordinated to him?

"But then, after the proclamation of the new dogma, no clergy, no bishop, no catholic will be able to disavow this doctrine, so hateful to the governments, namely, that all civil and political rights, as well as all religious beliefs, would be in the hands of one man!

"And do you think that the governments would look on with indifference, at the church assembling from all parts of the world, to proclaim a dogma which seems to them fraught with such consequences? . . . Does the hour, then, seem to you come, to awaken hatred against the Holy See from one end of Europe to the other? Or rather, is not the present moment already full enough of great and numerous perils?

"Is it to be desired that the separation of church and state should become the order of the day all over Europe? Or is it desirable to make the Council run other risks? What more is wanted, in the present state of Italy and Europe, to bring about the greatest disasters!

"It is impossible to hide from ourselves that there are parties who

wish to drive the church to the last extremity. For whose interest?" —(Pp. 30-35.)

5th. We have the theological difficulties attending a definition of the dogma classed under six heads:—

1. Difficulties drawn from the necessity of defining the act *ex cathedra*, all the pontifical acts not having this character.

2. Difficulties drawn from the double character of the Pope, considered either as a private doctor or as Pope.

3. Difficulties drawn from the multiplied questions of fact which may be stated anent every act *ex cathedra*.

4. Difficulties drawn from the past, and from historical facts.

5. Difficulties drawn from the ground of the question.

6. Lastly, Difficulties drawn from the present state of the public mind.

We shall not enter into the discussion of these difficulties, but hasten on to the Bishop's last reason for declaring the moment inopportune for defining the dogma of the personal infallibility of the Pope.

6th. If the personal infallibility of the Pope be declared, what becomes of the Council? "Will the faithful not say within themselves, What is the use of Ecumenical Councils for the future? Since *one alone*, the Pope 'WITHOUT THE BISHOPS,' can decide everything, even questions relating to the faith, infallibly, what is the use of convoking the bishops? What is the use of the delays, the researches, the discussions of Councils? Thus, then, the coming Council would make a decree which would tend to suppress, or, at least, to diminish the number of Councils! And the bishops, would, so to speak, decree their own abdication!"—(P. 49.)

The bishops are both judges and doctors in the church "But, with the personal infallibility of the Pope, without the concurrence of the bishops,—outside and independently of the episcopal body,—in the eyes of the faithful, there is but one who defines, one who teaches, one sole doctor and judge. The bishops are no longer voices in the church, but simply echoes."—(P. 52.)

Although Monseigneur Dupanloup contrives all along to protest that he is merely combating the opportuneness of the moment for giving out a definition, it seems to us that this last reason goes into the question of the infallibility itself. Of course, he gives a very different meaning from that of Messrs. Dechamps and Manning to the word of Ambrose: "Ubi Petrus, ibi Ecclesia." "According to certain writers," says he, "whose exaggerations are assuredly neither agreeable to the Pope, nor to any one almost, it would seem as if the Pope alone were the whole church."

The pamphlet winds up with the most vehement protestations of devotion to the Pope: "For twenty years has my hair been blanching and my hand wearing itself out in thy service. O, Holy Father, God knows that the last word on my lips, the last sigh of my heart, will be for the church and for thee!"

The Bishop of Nismes, who shares the opinions of his brother of Orleans, tells us that the Council will have five very clear and certain consequences. Among others, it will shew the full and cordial union,

founded on complete identity of views, that exists between the Holy See and the great majority of the episcopate ; also, that the Holy See knows how to respect the prerogatives of the bishops ; and, lastly, that modern errors will receive a blow from which they will never recover.

The Bishop of Grenoble, also a Gallican, tries to explain away the fact about which complaint has been made, namely, that the bishops are still kept in entire ignorance of what subjects are to be treated at the Council. But his mind is evidently not at ease as to this mode of procedure.

The Abbé Morel's book comes in curiously after the liberal words of Monseigneur Dupanloup. Here is a born inquisitor, a true successor of Torquemada, who, instead of calling us "separated brethren," would willingly apply the instruments of torture, not only to us, but to all the liberals in his own church. He laments that the revolutionary spirit should have invaded the precincts of the church : and appeals to the Council to condemn men such as Lacordaire, Gratry, Matignon, &c., who, until now, have passed for obedient sons of the church. Even the virulent Louis Veuillot does not find grace in his eyes because he tries to take the odium of some of the doings of the Inquisition off the Popes, and lay it upon the secular government. This consistent Romanist sees nothing more admirable than the middle ages, or, as he calls them, "the thousand years of Christ's reign in Europe." For one thing, however, we may thank him ; he considers our modern society unworthy of the glorious institutions which he so admires. "Do you think, good people," says he, "that we wish to re-establish the Inquisition, fling an interdict upon a king, declare subjects loosed from their oath of fidelity, and release the Pope from the engagements of the Concordats? You do not even know how Christian a people must be to deserve the honour of being punished by the simplest of the excommunications!"—(*Introd.* p. xv.)

The Abbé Christophe's pamphlet, preceded by a commendatory letter from Cardinal Bonald, Archbishop of Lyons, seems to be the counterpart of that of the Bishop of Orleans.

"The doctrine," says he, "that the Council is superior to the Pope, may be a party flag, or the signal of an interested opposition. . . . If a few objections are heard on the subject, . . . they are only empty buzzings, which will be lost in the universal concert of union round the Holy See, which is the glory as well as the palladium of our epoch. . . . If the future Council decree the infallibility of the Pope, it is evident that it will decree an irreformable dogma, that is, a truth dependent upon faith. What is there in that to hurt the church? Ah! it is said, the public mind is not disposed to receive such a decision. How so? If the future Council judge it opportune to define the papal infallibility, it will be quite as infallible upon the point of opportuneness as upon that of the decision."—(Pp. 17, 18.)

We do not think the Bishop of Orleans could have got a better answer than this. But, perhaps, the Ultramontanes would do well, in spite of the infallible opportuneness, to ponder the words of the Bishop : "When the oak is two thousand years old, to go digging in

order to seek the originating acorn under its roots, looks like wishing to shake the whole tree."—(*Observ.* p. 11.)

One word more and we have done with these pamphlets. "Who is the enemy of the church in our day?" cries the Abbe Christophe. "It is not heresy, neither is it schism. . . . It is the revolutionary spirit. . . . It was indeed this spirit that St John saw coming up out of the sea, like a leopard, having seven crowned heads, and ten horns, and names full of blasphemy upon its heads. . . . There is nothing wanting, not even the stupid admiration which the beast in the vision of St John excites on the earth; all is reproduced on the traces of the Revolution, 'Et admirata est universa terra post bestiam.'"—(Pp. 26, 27.)

We ask, in turn, who were the ten horns to hate, to make desolate and naked? whose flesh were they to eat? and whom were they to burn with fire?

Perhaps, in the good providence of God, the Council, convoked to prove to our unbelieving world the unity of the Romish Church, may be the means of clearing the eyes of some outside her pale who are dazzled by that so-called unity. The debates are becoming more and more envenomed from day to day. The Bishop of Orleans has just been denouncing M. Louis Veuillot as guilty of "accusing, insulting, calumniating his brethren in the faith, and of trying to raise a pious riot at the door of the Council;" while the *Bien Public*, an Ultramontane paper, taking part with the delinquents, says that Mgr. Dupanloup has directed a most violent attack against him, a personal, direct attack, not only against the words, but against the thoughts and intentions, as well as the attitude of M. Veuillot. "He has put him in the pillory, in full modern publicity." We might go on quoting many more of such amenities, which are a source of great amusement to the liberal journals. But we forbear; the above specimen is sufficient.

In the midst of these clamours, let us not forget that there are many souls, fettered by their position, who are sighing after freedom from the thralldom of Rome, and who see to the very bottom of that system of lies.

The following words, taken from a private letter written by a former professor of theology, and superior of a religious seminary, express the feelings of many others besides himself: "Does Rome herself believe what she teaches? After having viewed things very closely, and lived in the intimacy of those who have the key of her secrets, I say boldly, that I do not believe it; nay, I affirm that I know the contrary. Her morality is only an outward garb from which she frees her votaries when she does not fear the noise of a scandal.

"Her belief is an outward profession, which she exacts from some, and from which she dispenses others.

"Her Christianity lies in the form, but it is a form that covers an empty phantom. . . .

"Is it not to be feared that our modern society, looking closely at this pious comedy, should throw itself with frenzied fury into the broad road of infidelity? What is needed is, to hold up before its eyes the light of the gospel in all the splendour of its purity.

"The divine word is misrepresented. Let us take the veil from off it. The gospel is stifled. Let us shew the breadth of its doctrine. Prejudice blinds the ignorant masses, fanaticism goads them on. Could Rome govern otherwise?"

"Let us dissipate this fetid fog by the breath of God, seeking the inspirations of our pen in the meditation of his Word."

To this testimony we cannot forbear adding the concluding words of Father Hyacinthe's letter to M. Emile de Girardie, although it may already be in the hands of your readers.

"During the sad days of the schism and the captivity, the word of the Lord came unto the prophet Ezekiel, saying, 'Son of man, take thee one stick and write upon it: For Judah and for the children of Israel his companions; then take another stick and write upon it: For Joseph, the stick of Ephraim, and for all the house of Israel his companions; and join them one to another into one stick, and they shall become one in thine hand.' Well! To me also, the least of Christians, hath the Lord spoken in those visions of the soul which are not denied to longing hearts. He put into my hands these two broken and withered branches, Rome and the children of Israel who follow her; the churches of the Reformation and the peoples who adhere to them. I clasped them to my heart, and, in the effusion of my tears and of my prayers, I brought them together so as only to form one trunk. But men laughed at my effort, in appearance, senseless, and asked me, as the ancient prophet was asked, 'Wilt thou not shew us what thou meanest by these?' And upon the tree, which still seems sterile and mutilated, I see already the brilliant flower and the juicy fruit!"

'ONE LORD, ONE FAITH, ONE BAPTISM!'

'THERE SHALL BE ONE FOLD AND ONE SHEPHERD!'"

C. DE F.

XIII.—AMERICAN LITERATURE.

Cyclopædia of Biblical and Theological Literature. Edited by Rev. J. M'CLINTOCK, D.D. and JAMES STRONG, S.T.D. Vol. II. C-D. New York: Harper & Brothers.

In noticing the first volume of this truly splendid work, we have already described its general character, and given expression to our high estimate of its value. The second volume now before us, fully confirms the judgment of it which we were led to form from the first. We know of no Cyclopædia, either German or English, at all to be compared to this for the extent of its range, and the full, yet condensed, information it gives on all biblical and theological subjects, and on all subjects which in any way bear on the different branches of study which must engage the attention of a theologian. There are Cyclopædias which are exclusively devoted to certain departments of study,

and on these they may be expected, of course, to be fuller; but unless the student has the means of procuring several Cyclopædias—such as Smith's, Kitto's, and Fairbairn's of this country, and Winer's and Herzog's of Germany, and many others—there is none we know of which so fully, and at the same time with the greatest ability covers the whole field which he will be led again and again to explore.

The editors have a large band of accomplished writers associated with them in the preparation of the several articles. The plan followed is to adopt freely from all sources whatever is of value. We may safely say to them, ἄλλοι πεποιθήκασι καὶ ὑμεῖς εἰς τὸν κόπον αὐτῶν εἰσεληλύθατε. This they will not look on as a reproach. They have acted on the principle of making a *useful* rather than an *original* work. Their readers will derive all the advantage. But while there is a free appropriation of the materials gathered by other writers, and especially of the materials supplied in the Dictionaries of Kitto and Smith, there are also very many articles which are the productions of the editors and their collaborateurs. Of the more lengthened and elaborate articles in this volume, we may instance those on the "Canon of Scripture," "Calvin and Calvinism," the "Church," and "Daniel," as being remarkably able. The editors are connected with the Methodist denomination; but so far as we can discover, they are perfectly fair and unbiassed in the statement of views held by others as opposed to their own.

We have entered on a kind of Dictionary era. Encyclopædias and Dictionaries of all sizes, and on all subjects, are frequently issuing from the press. In olden times we were satisfied with Brown's good old Dictionary of the Bible, which ought not to be forgotten, and Buck's Dictionary, and thought ourselves very fortunate in having access to Calmet. What an advancement has been made on these ancient days! Students can now get ready at hand, in convenient Dictionaries, all the information they need on almost every possible subject. They stand quite on the shoulders of their fathers, and *ought* to be much more learned. The age demands this multifarious information. If rightly used, such an Encyclopædia as this American one will be an incitement and a valuable help to *thoroughness* in the acquisition of the "*multum*" which the student ought, by no means, to sacrifice to the "*multa*," the superficial variety. Thoroughness is one of the great wants of the age, and the student is in great danger, from the number of helps within his reach, of contenting himself with simply skimming the surface of things.

The Bibliotheca Sacra. October 1869. Andover and London: Sampson, Low, & Co.

This number of our transatlantic contemporary contains the following articles:—1. "The Resurrection of the Body," an exposition of 2d Cor. v. 1, written with great facility of style. The writer, the Rev. J. Miles of Charlestown, holds that the saint receives from God his spiritual body at the moment he lays down his earthly body. 2. "Man's Intellectual Constitution and the Growth of Society," the seventh of a series of articles by Professor Bascom on "The Natural

Theology of Social Science." This is a comprehensive, able article, well worthy of a thoughtful perusal. The author has a powerful grasp of his subject, and writes from a decidedly Christian point of view. We quote the closing sentence, which brings out the issue to which his discussion leads:—"A revealed religion which furnishes incentives to action, working in the line of all below them, using them, lifting them into higher relations, and giving them the completeness of a new and spiritual life, which exposes the fictitious, superficial growth of man and of society under purely natural forces, and does, with a deeper impulse, what these are only in vain striving to do, shews itself divine." 8. "The Königsberg Religious Suit." This "Religions-Prozess" is one of the most remarkable among the *causes célèbres* of the present century. Dixon, the author of a work entitled "Spiritual Wives"—a work sufficient to cover its author with anything but honour—has dragged up this "Suit," and manifestly gives a very one-sided and unfair account of it. He has, in fact, utterly misrepresented it, and shewn himself herein worthy only of stern reprimand, not only for his disgusting book itself, which ought never to have been printed, because of its whole aim, but also, especially in this case, for the disgraceful way in which he caricatures, under the name of history, the whole proceedings in the case. He has not been left unchallenged in Germany. He has been branded as writing what is simply untrue. The Königsberg sect, originating under the influence of Dr Ebel, were, it is here shewn, good Christian people, who, because they preferred to spend their evenings at their social gatherings in the discussion of rational subjects of scientific, philosophical, theological, and general interest; in the reading of instructive essays or books rather than in the conventional dance, card-playing, and scandal then in vogue, were cried down as sectaries, and their harmless gatherings branded with the vilest epithets. The infamous slanders which obscene tongues and papers circulated in Germany thirty years ago have been resuscitated by Dixon. His conduct, and the spirit he displays, deserve to be held up to the scorn and contempt of men. Dr Ebel became pastor of the largest congregation in Königsberg in 1816. He was an animating preacher, and stirred to new life the dead masses. He was denounced by the rationalists as a mystic and a pietist. Bitter enmity gave rise to gross calumnies against Ebel and Diestel. The ecclesiastical consistory took action against him, and suspended him from his office in 1835. The suit against him continued during four long and weary years, and was brought to a close by the supreme court in 1839, by a sentence of deposition. The proceedings in this extraordinary trial are the "Königsberg suit." They form an interesting chapter in the history of the development of Christianity in modern times in Prussia.

The articles following are: 4. "Mount Lebanon," by Dr Laurie, continued from the preceding number. 5. "The Doctrine of the Apostles," founded on "Die Lehre der Apostel, von Hermann Messner." Messner is one of the theological professors at Berlin, and is editor of *Die Neue Evang. Kirchenzeitung*, which represents the advanced evangelical party in Prussia. 6. "The Brethren of our Lord." 7. "Rival Editions of the Text of the New Testament as

contained in the Codex Vaticanus," by Professor Conant. The editions are (1) That of Cardinal Mai, 5 vols. 1857; New Testament, second edition, 1 vol. 1859; (2) the edition by Tischendorf, 1 vol. 1867; (3.) The edition under the auspices of the Pope, by Cardinal Vercellone and Joseph Cozza in 1868, vol. v. embracing the New Testament. Professor Conant here shews the great service rendered by Tischendorf by his labours in this work of collating MSS. Tischendorf's is "the most reliable representation of the text of the New Testament in the Codex Vaticanus."

The Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review. New York. Oct. 1869.

This number opens with an excellent criticism of Morell's "Philosophy of Religion," shewing its essential anti-evangelical character. We have also here an interesting account continued from the preceding number of "Christian Work in Upper Egypt." The third article presents a comprehensive view of the changes which have taken place within the last fifty years in "Scholarship," through the study of the Sanskrit and other cognate languages. Article fourth is devoted to a review of the "Church Question," i.e. the so-called *churchly* system of theology known as the Mercersburg Theology of which Dr Nevin is the representative. In a review of the ninth volume of Dr Sprague's "Annals of the American Pulpit," there is a historical sketch of the smaller Presbyterian bodies in America—the Lutheran, the Reformed Dutch, the Associate, the Associate Reformed, and the Reformed Presbyterian. There is a paper also devoted to the subject of "Recent Discussions on the Representation of Minorities." The seventh article deals with the "Oberlin Ethics and Theology," i.e. the system of ethics and physiology and the metaphysics of theology which have grown up in Oberlin College under Professors Finney, Morgan, and other teachers there, during the last thirty years. This system is shewn to be in opposition, on many points, to the doctrine of divine grace as exhibited in the Bible. The closing article discusses briefly, but with a vigorous and intelligent appreciation of the whole question, the subject of "Materialism"—the hypothesis that all the substances in the universe are matter in some form, gross or refined. John Stuart Mill, Herbert Spencer, Alexander Bain, Darwin, and Huxley, are the great leaders in the promulgation of this system of Physiological Psychology—a system destructive of all religion, degrading and demoralising.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

Manual of Historico-Critical Introduction to the Canonical Scriptures of the Old Testament. By KARL FREDERICH KEIL, Doctor and Professor of Theology. Translated from the Second Edition, with Supplementary Notes from Bleek and others, by GEORGE C. M. DOUGLAS, B.A., D.D., Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis in the Free Church College, Glasgow. Vol. I. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 38 George Street. 1869.

The appeal of the Reformation Church to Scripture, as the ultimate standard of religious truth, was the signal also for such a systematic and searching study of its contents as it had never experienced before. "The right of search," however, speedily developed the evil incident to a mere selfish and political Protestantism; and there rose those who were ready to deal with the claims of Scripture and of Christianity as they had done with the pretensions of Romanism. English naturalism, rejecting all direct divine interposition with human affairs, found its way across the Channel, and took wider and firmer hold of the German than of its native soil. Hence, from the middle of the seventeenth century, continental criticism assumed a form decidedly and growingly hostile to the genuineness and authenticity, as well as to the divine authority of the Scriptures. The school, represented more or less by such men as Eichhorn, De Wette, Gesenius, Hitzig, and Ewald, who set out to their investigations with the predetermined conclusion that all miracles are impossibilities, and prophecies either mere sagacious anticipations, or *vaticinia ex eventu*, applied their destructive criticism to the canon of Scripture, by discovering or suggesting difficulties in the various books that might be made to harmonise with their own theories, and undermine its credibility as a record of the truth. Scripture itself, indeed, suffered the less, that they frequently fell out with one another; and what they did unite in assailing, and, by their profound scholarship and ingenious manipulation, succeeded in damaging, to an alarming extent in the eyes of many, becomes, on a close examination, reduced to the least possible amount, when we separate what resulted purely from their own rationalistic principles, and what is the genuine outcome of honest and impartial criticism. They were accordingly met in due time, on the side of faith, by men of at least equal scholarship and ability with themselves—by such men as Hävernik, Hengstenberg, Delitzsch, and Keil, who have exposed the one-sided principles of their opponents, and ably and successfully answered their main objections. Scripture is passing through this, as through many previous searching ordeals.

Such is the object in that growing class of works known by the name of Introductions, which have recently appeared both in this country and in Germany. They deal with the credibility of Scripture as a whole, in regard to its claims as a divine revelation; they examine and weigh the various evidences for and against the authenticity and genuineness of its constituent parts; they search for, and bring to the light, the thread that runs throughout, and binds them together in substantial unity of scope and spirit; and they shew how they have been gathered into one, preserved from age to age, and handed down intact to the present day. In this way their proper field is the stratum below that of exegesis, just as the latter underlies that of doctrinal and practical exposition.

Among the Introductions of the character indicated, we regard *Dr Keil's* as especially needed and valuable. It is the most comprehensive of the kind that has appeared, traversing the whole field of historical criticism

and in a clear, methodical way, taking up each book in succession, and dealing with the various questions affecting its authenticity and genuineness. His general positions on each topic are first stated in a paragraph by themselves, which is printed in wider type; and then each of its statements are minutely discussed in notes, with full collations of Scripture passages and expressions in point, and equally full references to other writers. The book, as a whole, is sound, well digested, and exhaustive; and brings down the discussion on both sides to the present hour. Extensive research and labour have been expended in bringing together and condensing its varied stores of information, and much critical ability is shewn in their management. We do not always agree in his line of defence and attack, nor do we think that his conclusions are in every case so clear as he deems them himself. There is a certain hardness of manner that keeps him now and then from doing justice to an opponent, or penetrating deeply enough into the bearings of a question; and an assertiveness of reply that sometimes makes his argument *look* weaker than it is. But these faults seldom appear. *Dr Keil* has made himself master of his subject, and handles his weapons in a truly scientific and telling way, in dealing with opponents. We reckon this as the best of his works that have appeared in an English dress, and believe it will become, as it deserves, a standard "manual" on the subject to Old Testament students. Its value as such has been greatly enhanced by his translator and annotator. *Dr Douglas's* own extensive reading and independent investigations have been largely employed to supplement *Keil's* treatment of individual parts, both by notes of his own, and by additions from Bleek, Vaihinger, and others. He has evidently spared no pains to make the work accurate as well as complete. The quotations of texts and Hebrew words are countless, and yet only in one or two cases have we discovered a mistake, and almost as rarely an obscurity in the language. We heartily congratulate *Dr Douglas* on the successful issue of his labours; as well as the enterprising publishers, who, in a work of peculiar difficulty, have discharged their part with no ordinary care, and with all their accustomed success.

The work itself is divided into two parts:—1. The Origin and Genuineness of the Old Testament as one whole, and in its several parts; and 2. The Integrity of the Old Testament Canon in its transmission to the present time.

The volume before us deals with the first of these, and that only in two of its leading *sections*, namely,—Old Testament Literature in general, and the Origin and Genuineness of its Individual Books, leaving (along with the last four books of the Kethubim), the history of their collection into one whole, and the integrity of their transmission, to the second volume, promised in the spring.

Under the *first section* we have two interesting chapters on the Rise and Decay of Hebrew Literature, of its place among the Shemitic family of languages, and its bearing on a critical study of the Scriptures. These are well condensed and arranged; and the collection of words, idiomatic expressions, and other *usus loquendi* characterising its various stages of development, are wonderfully complete and accurate. Standing midway, in respect to its fulness as a language, between the richly-laden Arabic and the comparatively flat and penurious Aramaic, Hebrew excels them both in antiquity, while it also contrasts favourably with them in the simplicity and purity of its construction, and the adaptability of its forms for the accurate expression of thought. Its limited compass has arisen, not from any want of internal productive power, but from the character and restricted amount of its surviving literature. Its power of supply always equalled the demand. It expresses fully and vigorously the thought of the writer. It adapts itself to every form of composition, and is capable of rising into the sublimest eloquence, the truest poetry, and the subtlest reasoning. It

has the smallness, but also the beauty and richness of the gem; and as such it was the chosen vehicle for rendering the thoughts of God into the words of men. It has no known infancy, but in its earliest productions—the earliest of all existing literature—presents itself as a language already arrived at the vigour of early manhood. There are marks of youth in the opening books (such as מִן of the common gender), and the occasional occurrence of what, to a later age, seemed antiquated forms; but the language is there in its fulness and purity; so much so, that it is back to these, its earliest productions, that its latest writers revert as their classic model. It attained to its full maturity under David and Solomon; but, though it greatly declined in purity towards and under the Babylonian captivity, yet we cannot altogether agree with *Keil*, in his conclusion, that it entirely ceased as a spoken language from the latter period, giving place to the Chaldee, acquired in exile. Both, probably, had a place after their return; and only at a still more recent stage of their history was the Hebrew supplanted by the other. We base this, both on the fact that the three post-Babylonian prophets have fewer Aramaisms than many of their predecessors, and that their language generally has much of its earliest purity. And they so wrote, not so much, as *Keil* says, because it only was accounted the proper language for sacred subjects (else why do Daniel and Ezra make such use of the other?), but because it was still the cherished speech, at least of the better classes, and understood by all. And still farther, we hardly think that a true exegesis of Neh. viii. 8, will support the conclusion of *Keil* (p. 68), that מִתְּרַגְּמָן means, "with a translation," that is, into Chaldee. It is rather, "with an explanation," or exposition, not of the language, but of the contents of the law. This seems clear from verse 2, where we are told the congregation was composed both of men and women, and the following clause is epexegetical, "and (even) of all (of an age) that understood in the hearing."

The *second section*, occupying the remainder of the volume, treats of the Origin and Genuineness of the Individual Books, in the Three ordinary Divisions of the Law, the Prophets (historical and predictive), and the Ketubim (Hagiographa).

In the *first of these*—the Law, or Pentateuch—the principal question that falls to be discussed, is that of the Document hypothesis in its many forms, as maintained by English and continental critics. *Keil*, who holds firmly by the view that Moses is himself the writer of the whole in its present form, discusses in a masterly and exhaustive way, through 130 pages, the history and grounds of the controversy in its various phases. As was natural, the first and strongest evidence that was discovered of the probable existence of several independent writers was the very striking use in Genesis of the divine names, *Elohim* and *Jehovah*, in alternate sections. These sections were at once regarded as originally separate works, and other peculiarities, alleged to characterise them, enabled the process of dislocation to be extended to the other books of the Pentateuch. It was asserted that evidence was found of the presence of from two up to ten different works, and that these were, by a much later editor, thrown together with only very partial regard to their proper order or mutual harmony. The ground, however, gradually became narrowed with most into the notion that there was an original ancient document, that of the Elohist, which at a much later period was edited and largely supplemented by the Jehovist; who is the author, also, of all that is miraculous and supernatural. Tables are given of the different schemes of separation, partly by *Keil*, from Tuch, De Wette, and others; and partly by *Douglas*, from Bleek, S. Davidson, and Vaihinger. *Keil* states the reasons that render their hypothesis untenable, shewing how utterly unintelligible either of the sections would be without the other; how the frequent reference in the one to events only related in the other make their independent production impossible; and

how the seeming contradictions between them arise chiefly from a misapprehension of the passages in question. The root of the controversy lies in accounting for the natural sources of information possessed by Moses in framing the record of Genesis; and we agree in *Keil's* conclusion, that Moses alone composed it, but "made use of ancient documents." That such existed, in some form or another, before Moses' time we can scarcely doubt. The very language of his own books is an evidence that its written form had long existed. Monumental records also shew us that writing was common in Egypt. Much farther back we have the incidental, but suggestive, mention of Judah's signet-ring, which certainly indicates the existence of written characters. But still, the many striking utterances and details recorded in Genesis, the verbal revelations and theophanies of the patriarchal period, the dying words of Jacob, with all their peculiar turns of expression and allusions, could only have been conveyed to Moses in written documents, in order to their reproduction, with all the internal marks of authenticity they contain. It is useless to say that all these, and much besides, were preserved by mere oral tradition. The exactness and minuteness of the Scripture record of that past, and the manifest intention of Moses to inspire his readers with the conviction that what he gives are the very words and pure facts of previous ages, prove that he had a means of knowledge surer and fuller than oral testimony. Of course there remains the possibility of the immediate revelation to Moses of all that past. But God does not reveal where revelation is unnecessary. He reveals up to the amount that is needful, and no farther; just as God everywhere in the Old Testament, and the God Man in the New, began to put forth *divine* power only at the point where human power, or the agencies of nature, failed; as in the miracle-plagues of Egypt, and the loaves and fishes in our Saviour's feeding of the multitudes. Many of these specially important parts of Genesis had already been given as divine revelations. There is no waste of power in God's works, and there will be as little waste of words in His revelations. What He had revealed once in specific words, we may venture to say He would not reveal again, but rather provide means for their safe preservation. Moses gets these words as they were actually revealed at first, and from these and other sources, divine, when needed, God inspires him to make up a true account of antecedent history, and one that should be the basis and key-note of all that followed. Concede this much to the document hypothesis, and there is little remaining of their arguments that will stand examination. We may thus also get some clue to the distinctive use in certain sections of one or other of the divine names; and we certainly can account for the peculiar verbal and idiomatic expressions that characterise particular parts, and constitute a special ground of objection to the genuineness of the whole.

On the whole, the alleged "traces of a later age" have been satisfactorily answered by *Keil* and his translator. Only one, that in Deut. iii. 14,—"unto this day,"—is left in considerable difficulty. The whole verse has a peculiar, *parenthetic* form, and contains words that occur again only in Joshua. It is the verse of all others that has any plausible appearance of being interpolated. On the other hand, *Keil* might have more fully met De Wette's use of the reference (Gen. xii. 6; xiii. 7) to the Canaanite and Perizzite being then in the land, as thereby inferring their expulsion at the time the author wrote, by more than the statement that Abraham's possession of the land was thereby shewn to be only then a matter of faith. For these two passages, at least the first, have evidently a retrospective application, namely, to chap. x., 18 b., 19 a., and give, as it were, a datal determinateness to the spreading abroad of the Canaanites as the appointed pre-occupiers of the land of promise.

The *second division*, that of the prophetic writings, is sub-divided into the prophetic-historical, and the purely predictive; and in each, the books

are taken up separately, and the various arguments for and against their authenticity and genuineness are discussed, as in the Pentateuch. The onward development of the theocracy—of God's moral training of His people—that has its basis laid in the books of Moses, gives the key to the right understanding of these, cementing them together as necessary and ever-rising tiers in the same spiritual building, and shewing why it is that the historical are as truly named prophetic as the others. The one set exhibit the gradual evolution of God's moral purpose in deeds, which the other does in words; and both hold somewhat of the same relationship to each other, and to the development of God's truth, that the miracles of Christ did to his parables. Prophecy, properly so called, explains and impresses on the conscience what the history illustrates to the understanding; and thus both, and all, are didactic. Each book, as each fact, is a link in the chain; and each, thus considered, is found occupying its proper, its needful place, and forming a strong proof of the genuineness and credibility of its several parts. Without this,—the great interweaving and connecting thread of the whole,—Scripture students will have comparatively little to oppose to the attempted disintegration and isolation of its various books. Keil, therefore, properly opens this division with a reference to the theocratic principle that underlies and pervades the whole, conditions the form of the history, and guides in the choice of "those facts, events, and persons, that helped or hindered the course of theocratic development." With this kept in view, he takes up each of these books in succession, and pursues with great ability the discussion of the various subjects of criticism they present. The books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings are thus reviewed in succession. Amongst the points handled at some length is that of the *chronology* in Judges, an interesting and difficult question, which has not yet, at least, been satisfactorily settled. Inclined on the whole to side with *Keil*, we hardly think that the arguments adduced by *Douglas*, in his parenthetical note (pp. 224–226), are altogether conclusive. He differs from *Keil*, who labours to reconcile the dates in Judges and Samuel with 1 Kings vi. 1. The difficulty, perhaps, is beyond solution, especially taken in connection with Paul's statement in Acts xiii. 20, 21. *Keil's* own view, as stated more fully in his (and Delitzsch's) *Commentary on the Old Testament*, Vol. IV. (Clark's translation), contains many strong points, especially as to the chronological parallelism of the latter half of Judges, and the probability of its overlapping the earlier portion of Samuel; and if, notwithstanding Alford's opposition, the reading in Acts xiii. 20, supported by the four oldest MSS., be adopted, and then the inclusion of Samuel's own time with that of Saul be not altogether forbidden by *ἀνατίθω* (ver. 21), we may find a possible way of reconciling the Old and New Testament chronology on the point, and *Keil's* with both.

Space will not permit us to look into *Keil's* treatment of the prophetic books. They are each examined on the same plan as those preceding, and are introduced by an able and thoughtful chapter on the nature of prophecy, and its place in the development of the theocracy. His views are pronounced and well defined, differing from those of Bleek, who here seems scarcely to know his own mind on the subject.

The last part of the present volume takes up only the strictly poetical section of the Hagiographa, namely, the Psalms, Proverbs, Song of Solomon, Lamentations, and Ecclesiastes, and begins with a long and elaborate treatise on the nature of Hebrew poetry, intermingled with what one is rather surprised to find, some questionable remarks on the inspiration of these sacred writings, as if it were of a lower grade or quality than that of the other Scriptures. His language, however, is rather obscure on the subject, and may possibly be misunderstood. The controversy regarding the authorship and age of Ecclesiastes, and the identity of Koboeth with Solomon, concludes the volume. *Keil* himself would refer the book to the

latest canonical age, while *Dr Douglas's* arguments, in a note of his own, are, some of them, of considerable weight, and go to uphold the current view of its Solomonic authorship. But we have said enough, perhaps more than enough, to indicate the character of the volume before us, and our own high estimate of its value; and, we doubt not, it will prove a useful auxiliary to Bible students in many of those departments of criticism that are daily growing in importance.

J. I.

History of the Christian Church. By PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., Author of "The History of the Apostolic Church," Vols. I., II., III. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1869.

Church history has generally been considered a very dry study. We know of one young man, distinguished for his piety, talent, and literary industry, who, on being asked why he did not devote himself to the ministry, gave it as his answer that, although his heart pointed to that work, he could not endure the prospect of passing through that valley of dry bones, church history. This confession expresses the sentiment of many others, we believe; and it must be allowed that, as the subject has hitherto been taught and written upon, there is too much foundation for the charge brought against it. Nothing can be more arid and *j-june* than the ordinary text-books which are in use. Mosheim is, in form and matter, positively repulsive. Milner, with more unction, is prolix and divergent. Neander is a Germain ocean of pietism and pleonasm. Hagenbach is a mere catalogue *raisonnée*. Milner's "Latin Christianity," beautifully as it is written, deals only with a part of the subject. We shall not soon forget the look of mingled anguish and despair with which a student, after looking at this bill of fare, once put the question to us, "But, sir, is there no short work, by the reading of which we might master the whole subject?" Abridgements there certainly are; but, in point of fact, these are more unreadable than the most voluminous histories. In the act of compression the whole sap and substance of church history has been squeezed out, and its "bones are marrowless." All popular histories of the church, as they have been termed, equally fail to serve their purpose. A late eminent church historian, when asked to contribute an article to a popular encyclopedia on the Church of Scotland, which was to be comprised in a very limited space, declared that he would as soon sit down to write the creed and ten commandments within the compass of a sixpence. But there is surely room for a history of the church, manageable in bulk and racy in matter, which will neither alarm the indolence nor tax the patience of ordinary readers. Such a work, we venture to think, is given us in the present volumes.

Dr Schaff is well known by his previous history of the Apostolic Church. In the recently-published autobiography of Dr Krummacker, we find an interesting reference made to our author. The Synod of Pennsylvania had sent a deputation to secure the services of Krummacker, then pastor at Elberfeld, for a professorship in the theological seminary of Mercersburg. This invitation the doctor declined, "But," says he, "I recommended to them, in my stead, Dr Schaff, at that time a private-docent at the University of Berlin. They visited him, found him suitable for their institution, and, after their return, proposed him to the synod. He was appointed as professor at Mercersburg, and continues there to the present day, making his influence extensively and beneficially felt. He has taken with him to America the sound German theology, and has already supplied many congregations there with thoroughly educated pastors." Dr Schaff has since removed to New York. Combining, as he does, the indomitable industry of the German scholar with the practical tendencies of his adopted country,

he possesses peculiar qualifications for the work to which he has now devoted himself; and the volumes before us give ample promise of his success. It is true, they only bring down the history of the church to the days of Augustine, and, as he proposes to extend it to the present day, several volumes must still lie before us. Dr Schaff cannot treat any subject superficially; and in these volumes he has indulged himself by making excursions into what may be termed the outlying fields of church history. We might refer particularly to his somewhat redundant chapter on the hymnology of the ancient church. But this is matter of taste, and one thing is certain, that his minuteness never sinks into tediousness, and the student who prefers graver topics, may slip over the endless canticles of the early fathers. Dr Schaff has succeeded in giving very graphic sketches of these fathers—not mere centos, compiled from other histories, but gathered from original sources, and, in many instances, from their own writings. We have been particularly pleased with the healthy evangelical sentiment, or, let us rather say, the pure biblical theology pervading the whole narrative. Thus, to select one theme, that of ancient monasticism. We see nothing of that unwholesome sentimentalism, now so commonly exemplified in our literary productions, which induces the writer, himself anything but an ascetic, to lavish indiscriminate praise on the followers of a defunct asceticism—depicting them as saints of the highest type, and contrasting them with the forms of modern Christianity. Here, monasticism is traced from its origin to its development, and shewn up in its true colours—as, “upon the whole, a miserable emaciation and caricature” of Christianity. And yet, in his representations of these misguided devotees, there is nothing like coarse invective; he bears witness to the “moral earnestness, which, in even its mistakes and vagrancies, we must admire.” Throughout the work, indeed, by ample references to their own writings, he allows the reader to form his own judgment as to the men, and the times in which they lived. It is impossible, of course, within the narrow compass of a notice like this, to give any adequate idea of the character and contents of these volumes; but we cannot refrain from expressing our heartfelt satisfaction that the history of the Christian Church should have fallen into the hands of one so competent, from his erudition and literary skill, to grapple with a subject of such immense importance, and, at the same time, so thoroughly sound in his theological views, and so capable, from his enlightened charity, of sympathising with all that was good and great in the past life of the church; and, we may be permitted to add, one to whose contributions these pages have been frequently indebted. A singular fact, not unworthy of notice, is stated by our author in the preface. These volumes, it appears, were written by Dr Schaff in his native German, and were translated from his manuscript by his friend, the Rev. Edward D. Yeomans. This friendly help has had a happy effect, combining freedom of thought in the mother tongue with the ease and elegance of English composition. “He has,” says the doctor, “executed the translation with a rare degree of ability, and the most conscientious fidelity, and thus given it a far more English dress than I could have done myself.”

A Word of Comfort for the Church of God. A Sermon, by THOMAS WATSON, Pastor of St Stephen's, Walbrook, London. Preached in the year 1662. London: Marlborough & Co. 1869.

We return our warmest thanks to the editor for having put us in possession of this “scarce and choice sermon, never before reprinted.” It is not included in the ordinary lists of Mr Watson's works; but a copy was procured by the editor at the sale of the library of the late Dean Goode, and has thus been preserved and republished at a very seasonable time. The perusal of the sermon has enhanced our estimate of its author, and

our admiration of the class of divines to which he belonged. Mr Watson was a noble specimen of the Presbyterians who were ejected from the the English Church in 1662. His body of divinity, which is based on our Shorter Catechism, and is replete with sound orthodoxy and genuine piety, was wont to be a favourite and familiar book in Scottish homes. And this sermon, preached on the occasion of his ejection, cannot fail to be interesting to all who would like to know the character of the preachers whom the wise government of the second Charles deemed it necessary to silence, and of the preaching which they sought to suppress. In looking over this discourse, nothing has struck us more forcibly than the total absence of all reference to the circumstances in which it was delivered. Not a word of complaint escapes the lips of the preacher, not a reflection on the harsh intolerance of the government. Not a single sob or sigh extorted by personal suffering; nothing but a gentle Christian ministration of comfort to the Church of Christ in the day of her darkness and affliction. Can anything be finer than the address to the reader, which we subjoin:—
 “Christian Reader—How infinitely happy are they who have a God to go to! The saints have that great Prince (Dan. xii. 1) on their side, by whom princes reign. They are in such a condition that nothing can make them miserable. Take away their money, their treasure is in heaven; banish them their country, they are citizens of the New Jerusalem; cast them into bonds, their consciences are free; kill their bodies, they shall rise again; take away their names, they are written in the book of life. This calls to mind that golden aphorism (Isa. iii. 10), ‘It shall be well with the righteous.’ Nay, *at present*, it is well with them. They are favourites of the King of heaven; the Lord sets them as a seal upon His heart (Cant. viii. 6); He sympathiseth with them in all their sufferings. When the rage of the enemy is kindled, are not God’s *repentings kindled* too? (Hos. xi. 8) and while His heart is full of sympathy, so long His head will be full of care. This tender care of God towards His church militant is the subject of this ensuing discourse. Cordials are kept for fainting. Out of this vial are poured forth—not chymical, but spiritual drops of consolation to animate us. God himself is the church’s life-guard. The Lion of the tribe of Judah marcheth in the head of the saint’s army. This makes “Jerusalem, terrible as an army with banners” (Cant. vi. 4). *Jesus* is our *Emanuel*; then, what need we fear though the earth tremble on her pillars? I shall not further expatiate, but commending this small piece to the blessing of God,—I remain, thy friend and servant in the gospel,
 “WALBROOK, April 19. 1662.” “THOMAS WATSON.”

Dictionary and Concordance of the Names of Towns and Places, and of some of the more remarkable Terms occurring in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. Compiled by WILLIAM HENDERSON, M.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1869.

The advantage of a good Concordance to students, ministers, and all who “handle the word of God,” is now universally admitted. The time has been, indeed, when an apology was deemed necessary for supplying such a help to the ministers of religion, who were expected to be too well acquainted with their Bibles to require such an artificial prompter in aid of memory. But it is a mistake to regard a Concordance in the light of a mere index of Scripture words. The progress of biblical knowledge demands a more minute and scientific acquaintance with the language of holy writ; and, as the avocations of the clergyman in this busy age allow him little leisure for the personal investigations of the critical scholar, the Concordance furnishes him with ready references to passages which otherwise might never have occurred to him. Among the words of Scripture none are more important to know, in their true application and varied connection, than the

proper names of persons and places, together with what are termed appellatives. To these Dr Henderson has confined himself in the comprehensive and valuable work now before us; and, having concentrated the whole of his attention on this department, it no longer forms a mere appendix, as in the case of Cruden's work, but a large volume, expressly devoted to the subject. The author has, with native modesty, expressed in his preface a fear lest, amidst a variety of works of a similar kind, his may be deemed to be superfluous. We have no hesitation, however, after a thorough examination of what he has accomplished, in affirming that the present Concordance possesses qualities not to be found in any other, and supplies a desideratum in our theological libraries. It is very difficult to convey in few words to readers who are not versant in such inquiries, an idea of the importance of such a work as that before us, or of the specific merits which it possesses. We have reason to know, however, that it is the result of long, intense, and persevering labour on the part of the worthy author; and we can assure our readers there are several points on which they will find it worthy of special consideration. First, it is remarkable for its *completeness*, and we are persuaded there is not a person or place mentioned in Scripture which is not traced to every passage in which it occurs. Next, it stands pre-eminent in the quality of distinctiveness. While in other Concordances we have the same name quoted indiscriminately wherever it may occur, we have here the greatest care shewn to distinguish the different persons and places to whom the same name is assigned. Again, though Dr Henderson has not thought it necessary to give us the various arbitrary meanings which have been ascribed to Scripture names, he has supplied brief notices of the persons and places referred to. We have been particularly struck with the fulness of the references to the names and designations of the Supreme Being—"Lord," "God," and their arrangement—not under the connecting words or particles, as in Cruden, but under distinctive meanings of the original terms; and as used, objectively and subjectively, a task, the difficulty and importance of which few can properly estimate. Dr Henderson has followed the plan of giving the references to the Old and New Testament in separate Concordances, a plan which may have its advantages, but which we regret as unnecessary, and as calculated to mislead simple and unsuspecting critics. One of these, in a late criticism on Dr Henderson's work, was led, apparently from not attending to this arrangement, to conclude that the author had omitted all notice of Baalzebub in the New Testament; whereas, if he had looked into the New Testament Concordance, he would have seen, not Baalzebub, but Beelzebub, which Dr Henderson has noticed with *seven* references. To prevent such blunders, and for other reasons, we would recommend that, in the event of a new edition, both Testaments should be amalgamated, so as to bring all the references at once under the glance of the reader. Meanwhile, we most cordially commend this work to all students of Holy Scripture.

A Book for Grandchildren. By Grandfather FELIX FRIENDLY, Author of "Sketches and Lessons for Daily Life." London: Nisbet & Co.

This is one of the best little books for children we ever perused. It has a speciality about it as if it had been written for a real circle of grandchildren, and adapted to special incidents. Hence the quaint and domestic interest which it breathes. It is the natural and elegant talk of a well-read old gentleman, of wide and genial sympathies, who has an interest in everything that comes home to man's business and bosom, and sees all things in their relation to Christ. It seems certain to be a favourite at once as a book for the young; and while it is for children, there is nothing in it of the attempt to write down to the capacity of children which be-

comes childish.' So far from this, while calculated to interest the young, it equally interests all who can sympathise with them, and its beautifully Christian spirit makes it peculiarly attractive.

Reasons of Faith; or, the Order of the Christian Argument Developed and Explained. With an Appendix. By G. S. DREW, M.A. Second Edition. London: Longman, Green, Reader, & Dyer. 1869.

In this work Mr Drew has developed and explained the order of the argument for Christianity, in a form which is ingenious in conception and admirable in execution. To confine the argument within moderate limits, he has purposely avoided entering into details, and contents himself with furnishing, in a brief space, the main points of each branch of the "evidences," referring to various works in which particular parts are investigated at length. The work was originally intended to meet the difficulties and objections of an intelligent friend of the author's against Christianity; and, as that period may be regarded as representing a class of persons whom it is not uncommon to meet with in the present day, when many powerful sceptical influences, scientific, literary, and others, are producing on many inquiring minds, in some instances, a settled scepticism, and in others, at least, perplexing doubts, which it is often difficult to remove, the volume is eminently fitted to be extensively useful. The first edition was published in 1862, and it is the second edition, much improved, which is now before us.

At the first step in his argument, the author takes up the Bible simply as a volume to which the Christian church, that has existed as an institution or society in every civilised land, in every century, summons the attention of men, as being the charter of its authority, and the exposition of what it is intended to accomplish in the world, and which, therefore, may be fairly regarded as having claims on our earnest and candid consideration. This volume, while its subject-matter is of great variety, is yet chiefly of a historical character, commencing at the most remote period, and running on to more than four thousand years, and, indeed, if its prophecies are included, to the close of time, all the various materials of which it consists clustering around, and being interwoven with, its history. In this respect it is strikingly contrasted with the Vedas, the sacred books of Brahminism, and with the Koran, the sacred book of Mahometanism; in which are found abstractions, devout and philosophical, forms of worship, precepts, meditations, but no connected history of individuals, families, or a nation.

The Bible, thus adopting, in the main, a historical shape, invites the reader to test its accuracy and trustworthiness by the same principles by which the accuracy and trustworthiness of any historical work is tested. Beginning with the New Testament, the author applies the historical tests, and finds indubitable proofs of its authenticity, or of the truth of its contents. For example, the circumstances of our Lord's crucifixion, which, as recorded by the evangelists, are intermixed with facts relating to the Roman government in Palestine, to the condition of things then existing in Jerusalem, and to the personal habits of the chief men of the city, are amply verified in the most minute particulars, when tested by other and independent sources of information. Again, the authenticity of the history of Paul related in the Acts of the Apostles is singularly confirmed by a comparison of the minute details and allusions with which it is interwoven to the customs, manners, and events of the times in which he lived, with contemporaneous history, searching geographical and historical investigations, excavated ruins, coins, and monuments recently discovered. Then there is the calm but overwhelming argument in favour of the authenticity of the larger portion of those documents constructed by Paley in his *Horæ Paulinæ*, in which he brings out a multitude of minute, circuitous, and oblique coincidences be-

tween Paul's letters and his biography, as recorded in the Acts, that admit of no explanation except what is furnished by truth and reality.

The author next examines the New Testament in order to ascertain what are its contents, and in tracing its pages, his notice is at once arrested by the fact that its great central object is Christ. This Person, whom the Gospels so fully present, is unlike any other of the children of men. He is wholly free from the blemishes or imperfections to be met with in all others of the human race; and in all his actions and demeanour, in every circumstance in which he was placed, he displayed the most exalted and Godlike character. Such is the impression regarding him produced by the Gospels, even upon those who have denied equally the divinity of his character and the divinity of his mission. Who, then, can this person be, who was so unlike, while yet so identified with the men around him? for at this stage of the argument he is contemplated simply as a human character, as a personage of history. But one thing is plain, that even regarding him solely under this aspect, we are at least bound to attend to what he has declared concerning himself and his work.

Having thus established the authenticity of the New Testament, and exhibited the character of Christ as portrayed by the evangelists, though regarding him as yet only as an extraordinary human person, the author, in prosecuting his plan, advances step by step, making sure his ground as he proceeds, proving, among other things, the authenticity of the Old Testament as he had done that of the New, till he reaches the climax of his argument—a conclusion which carries with it the certainty of the divinity of Christ, and consequently the certainty of the Christian faith to the exclusion of every other system of religion.

The process of severe and masterly logic by which the author advances till he brings the whole argument to a triumphant conclusion, is eminently calculated to captivate and enchain the intelligent reader, and to carry conviction to the minds of the sceptical or the doubting. A more appropriate volume could not be put into the hands of young men for their establishment in the faith, or to arm them for its defence, or to extricate them from the meshes of unbelief; and it has this recommendation that the argument is so compressed that the whole can be read in a few hours.

The Function of the Four Gospels, viewed in Connection with Recent Criticism: A Lecture delivered in the Theological College of the Presbyterian Church in England, October 5th, 1869. By the Rev. PETER LORIMER, D.D., Professor of Hebrew and Exegetic Theology. Published by Request. London: Nisbet & Co., Berners Street. 1869.

If the friends of divine revelation have some reason to feel alarmed at the recent exhibitions of a daring and unscrupulous criticism, which aims at subverting all belief in the supernatural, they have equal reason to congratulate themselves on the numerous champions whom these attacks have called forth in defence and confirmation of the gospel. Indeed, the productions of the former class of writers bear no proportion, in number or in weight, to those of the latter. We are apt to imagine, from the sensation of surprise, or horror as it may be, which these sceptical writings have created, and the noise which they have produced amidst the calm of Christian loyalty prevailing around us, that they possess an unwonted power of argument, and must be armed with some deadly weapons of assault; while, in point of fact, like Fenian conspirators, they owe their notoriety more to the very wildness of their attempts than to anything real or substantial in their resources. It is extremely doubtful if these authors would have secured fame in any other field of literature; they have exalted themselves in virtue of the very sacredness of the writings which they depreciate; and,

like the ancient incendiary, have sought an unenviable immortality for their names by setting fire to the temple. On the other hand, we have been struck by observing the vast array of talent and learning, which, as shewn in the lecture before us, has been concentrated on a single branch of the Christian evidence, that, namely, which is drawn from the character and life of Jesus himself. "As usual," says Dr Lorimer, "the line of defence has been suggested by the tactics of the assault." "The life of Jesus," by Strauss, called forth immediately "The Life of Jesus Christ," by Neander, and the beautiful treatise on the Sinlessness of Jesus, by Ullman—a truly original and valuable contribution to the cause of truth. Other eminent Germans have followed in the same direction, especially Lange, in his "Life of the Lord Jesus Christ;" Baumgarten, in his "History of Jesus;" Ebrard, in his "Critique of the Gospel History;" Dorner, in his "Essay on the Sinless Perfection of Jesus Christ;" Uhlhorn, in his "Modern Representations of the Life of Jesus;" and Schaff, in his striking and effective work on "The Miracle of History." Protestant France has contributed a noble work to the same service from the hand of her most brilliant writer, Pressense's "Jesus Christ: His Time, His Life, and His Work;" while Holland and America, and our own country, without having produced anything on so large and complete a scale as some of these works, have all made valuable, partial contributions to the same cause, by the pens of Oosterzee, Nichols, and Young—not to mention others." This excellent lecture, delivered at the opening of the English Presbyterian College, is the first of a course in which Dr Lorimer proposes to follow in the same direction. After adverting to the functions of the four Gospels, he proceeds to speak of the present stage of the controversy, shewing how the deniers of the authenticity of the Gospels have been driven up, by the force of historic evidence, supplied by recent discoveries, nearer and nearer to the apostolic age; and he concludes by exhibiting, in glowing terms, the evidential light flowing from him who is the embodiment of the truth, the Lord Jesus himself, to which primitive source of conviction, the evidences, after describing a cycle, have again come round. This lecture will enhance the reputation of its author, being distinguished by an able and clear-sighted exhibition of the argument, and by that thorough appreciation of its difficulties which can only be acquired by mastering all that has been written *pro* and *con* on the subject.

Grace and Truth, under Twelve different Aspects. By W. P. MACKAY, M.A., Minister of the Gospel, Hull. Edinburgh: James Faylor. London: Nisbet & Co. 1869.

This is a well written book, devout in spirit, ingenious in execution, and original in thought. If delivered in the form of discourses, they must have been singularly captivating, from the liveliness of their style and the homeliness of their illustrations; for even in the quietude of the closet we have perused them with sustained interest. The author has evidently studied to present the truths of the gospel under aspects fitted to arrest popular attention, and with a special eye to the tastes and habits of thought which distinguish Englishmen. In this, we think, he has succeeded to admiration. We have been particularly struck with the author's powers in what may be called the practical and experimental department of Scripture hermeneutics. As specimens of what we mean, we might refer to his remarks on the phrase, "born of water," and to the history of the Canaanitish woman. The conversations, real or imaginary, by which he enforces his points tend to relieve the monotony of didactic teaching; and altogether, while there is no attempt to conceal the more offensive aspects of the truth, the work is fitted to recommend it to general acceptance. As an example of the

freshness and originality of the author's views, we might point in particular to the chapter entitled, "Under the Sun,"—an ingenious key for the solution of the difficulties in the much canvassed book of Ecclesiastes.

Admiring, as we do, the general tenor and spirit of this volume, we regret to discover certain strange doctrinal statements, for which, considering the religious body to which the writer belongs, we are quite at a loss to account. Dr Mackay (for he can now add M.D. as well as M.A. to his name), is a minister of the Presbyterian Church in England. It is surely no part of the creed of that church that "Christ was born of the Spirit, as the Son of God, in *incarnation*" (p. 82); that "every Christian has an evil nature within him" (p. 130); that "regeneration must precede justification;" in other words, that God only justifies those who have been previously made new creatures by receiving "the life of Christ" (p. 72). We can understand how such expressions may be modified and explained in accordance with the truth as taught in our standards; but it throws a veil of mysticism over its familiar features, which makes one startle and stare a little before recognising the likeness. What, for example, can be made of the following piece of transcendentalism:—"It is not I (literally no longer I), but Christ liveth in me; no longer Saul the Pharisee—Saul the pretender to, and striver after, righteousness by law—but one who has submitted himself to God's righteousness; *one who has submitted himself to be put out of existence judicially, that is to say, in God's reckoning*; and is now known only as the one who is living in Christ, living unto God" (p. 170). Can this mean that the justification of the believer took place when Christ died and rose again? or are we to suppose that he is justified by partaking of the resurrection-life of Christ? This would be the Sandemanian theory, long since exploded. Instead of regarding the language of Paul, in its usual acceptation, as teaching that, in virtue of union with Christ through faith in the cross, he was now, as it were, crucified with Christ; being dead to the law as a creditor; dead to sin as a master; dead to the world as an enemy, Dr Mackay understands the apostle as speaking in the past tense, or, as he says, in the perfect passive; not "I am crucified," but "I have been crucified" with Christ. In other words, when Christ was crucified I was crucified. We can only regard this as an unhappy dislocation of the order of the gospel, and fitted to obscure the plain doctrine of justification by faith. Had our space permitted, we might have had something to say to Dr Mackay regarding his views about faith, which, if we rightly apprehend some passages in his book, he would represent as nothing more than a belief that Christ is ours because God offers him to our acceptance in the gospel. We humbly think he cannot be ours till we accept of the gift, "A man is saved," he says, "on account of Christ having died in his place; he knows that he is saved because God tells him in his word. He believes God." There is a sad jumble here. The meritorious ground of salvation is, no doubt, the death of Christ, but if the question is, "What shall I do to be saved?" the gospel reply is, not that a man is saved because Christ died in his place, but, "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved." "By grace are ye saved, through faith." And where does God tell any man in his word that he is saved. And yet we cannot charge our author with being wilfully unsound, for within a few sentences of the above, we rejoice to find him urging the necessity of faith, in the good old terms in which it has ever been represented by evangelical divines:—"I believe in Him—not merely in his historical existence—but I trust Him; I receive, I rest upon Him alone for my salvation" (p. 68).

Stealing no Theft, and Killing no Murder ; or, our so-called Commercial Respectability Unmasked. By ONE OF THE MILLION. Edinburgh : Printed by John Greig & Son. 1869.

A seasonable tractate on the mercantile iniquities of the time, written evidently by a shrewd observer of what is going on ; a man of business, but at the same time a man of reflection, who brings the evil-doers whom the law may not reach before the tribunals of Christian principle and honourable feeling ; calling things by their right names, and neither mincing nor disguising the matter. It opens up a very sad and startling view of our social economy, and we hope may lead to its cure.

The Gates Ajar. By ELIZABETH STUART PHELPS. London : Sampson, Low, Son, & Marston. 1869.

Men, Women, and Ghosts. A Collection of Stories. By ELIZABETH PHELPS. London : Sampson, Low, &c. 1869.

Those who are fond of a sensation or two of something beyond the limits of our commonplace life, will be fully gratified by these little volumes. Amidst much that is dreamy and dubious, Miss Phelps has furnished some beautiful tales, dressed up in the true American style. "*Gates Ajar*" deals with the subject of recognition in a future state, as it has seldom been dealt with, and it may form the subject of discussion in our pages hereafter. Of the last-mentioned work we shall only say it is the product of true genius. Miss Phelps is, in fact, our transatlantic Sterne.

Heads and Tales ; or, Anecdotes and Stories of Quadrupeds, and other Beasts, chiefly connected with Incidents in the Histories of more or less Distinguished Men. Compiled and Selected by ADAM WHITE, late Assistant in the Zoological Department, British Museum. London : Nisbet & Co.

We are glad to meet with our old friend Mr Adam White, to whom, in former days, we were so much indebted as our guide through the British Museum, with the zoological treasures of which he was so well acquainted, and all the varieties of which, existing between "*heads and tales*," he was always so ready to explain for the benefit of his friends. The fruits of his experience and researches in that department he has embodied in this volume : and these being connected with distinguished characters, and with anecdotes drawn from a very comprehensive field of reading, the result is a compilation of no ordinary interest. We have no hesitation in specially recommending this collection as well adapted to youthful readers. It is infinitely better than the useless and fanciful trash now too often palmed upon them in the shape of entertainment. It will repress the spirit of cruelty to animals, often one of the earliest indications of a heartless and inhuman disposition, and inspire a wholesome sympathy with all God's creatures.

Church Doctrine and Practice: A Series of Sermons. By the Rev. JAMES A. SELLAR, A.M., Incumbent of St Peter's, Edinburgh. William Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh and London. 1869.

These sermons, which are short, are tastefully written compositions—elegant, without tinsel or meretricious ornament; in doctrine they are strictly orthodox; and their aim is the enforcement of sobriety, righteousness, and godliness. The subject of the first discourse is “The Lord our Righteousness;” and from this aspect of the Saviour’s character, the spring of all our hopes, and the centre around which they cluster, all the other discourses take their colour and complexion. The volume will doubtless be much appreciated by such as enjoy the ministry of the author, and it may be read with advantage by others. On the Sabbath it will be a valuable companion and a useful monitor on many important matters relating to divine truth and Christian deportment.

Life of James Hamilton, D.D., F.L.S. By the Rev. WILLIAM ARNOT, Edinburgh. James Nisbet & Co., London. 1870. (Pp. 600).

An early copy of this most interesting volume comes into our hands, in time bordering so closely on the extreme and final exigencies of the press, to permit of little more than our signalling its arrival. We regret this the less, that we have it in view to devote an article to a full examination and estimate of it in our next number. That this inevitable delay on our part, or on the part of any reviewers whatsoever, could injuriously affect the circulation of the book, no one that has ever heard the name of “James Hamilton” can conceive to be possible. The subject of the Biography, and the competence of the Biographer, are too well known to render any article or any notice of ours necessary to secure acceptance to Mr Arnot’s “Life of James Hamilton.” The number of the years is not now small since Mr Arnot embalmed the memory of James Halley; and his right hand has not forgot its cunning in dealing with the “myrrh, and aloes, and cassia out of the ivory palaces,” wherewith, in measure, the garments of the royal priesthood, under Christ the priestly King, are perfumed. How rich in treasured holy memories the Church of Christ in Scotland has grown since that first memoir from our author’s pen! and now he has had the honour, and the mournful joy of “photographing” one of the finest spirits that ever breathed among us. How could the accomplishment of this work be to him other than a labour of love emphatically? And how can the perusal of it be, to all who take heed how they read, other than a means of grace—an occasion of spiritual instruction and great delight? It was never less necessary for us to recommend a volume to our readers.

“*The Oil of Joy for Mourning.*” By the Rev. GEORGE PHILIP, M.A., Free St John’s, Edinburgh. John MacLaren, Edinburgh. Pp. 29.

We lately had occasion to characterise Mr Philip’s admirable little volume, entitled “Triumph.” And we shall merely say that this discourse,—suggested by the death of that man of rare refined Christian character, and high professional celebrity, the late greatly beloved Dr Begbie,—exhibits the same characteristics of fine, clear thinking, excellent presentation of high Christian thought, and delicately beautiful and constantly recurring illustration. To mourners it is eminently fitted to be as the oil of joy, and as the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness.

London and Calcutta Compared, in their Heathenism, their Privileges, and their Prospects: shewing the great claims of Foreign Missions upon the Christian Church. By JOSEPH MULLENS, D.D., Foreign Secretary of the London Missionary Society, and for Twenty-two Years Missionary of the Society in Calcutta. Sixth Thousand. London: James Nisbet & Co., 21 Berners Street. 1869.

The design of this interesting essay is to advocate the necessity of more strenuous, united efforts in behalf of foreign missions; and its plan seems to have been suggested by a strange statement of Dr Pusey, to the effect, "that it would have been a blessed thing for thousands of people in England to have been born in Calcutta, for there they would have some chance of being brought within the means of grace; whereas in England they were entirely neglected." The utter falsity of this sentiment Mr Mullens undertakes to shew. Of London and of Calcutta he has given us lively panoramas; but he deals mainly with facts and statistics, and has given a compendious view of the whole field of home and foreign operations. Of both of these, being evidently a man of a cheerful and hopeful nature, he speaks in terms of the brightest anticipation. To such as take their measure of foreign missions from the few converts they have produced, or from the sneering reports of worldly-minded travellers, we would recommend the following sentences, which we make no apology for here inserting:—"One mighty victory has been gained by Christian missions which has been little thought of, but which in my judgment is scarcely less valuable than all others put together. I mean the healthy and elevated state of public opinion which, wherever long at work, they have produced in communities at large. . . . It is felt most deeply of all in India. Apart from all converts, a mighty change has already been produced in the knowledge and convictions of the people at large. Everywhere do the Hindoos confess that an idol is nothing, and that bathing in the Ganges cannot really wash away sin. Everywhere are they learning that to us there is but one God, the Father, and that the Saviour of the world is the Lord Jesus Christ. Caste is increasingly felt to be a burden. And the new school, numbering in Bengal many thousands of adherents,—some Brahmists, many more not Brahmists, but all holding theistic opinions,—are seeking a better way, and are anxious to cast aside the grosser rites and beliefs of Hindooism, without suffering the public penalties hitherto involved in so doing. Thus a powerful grasp has been laid upon the national idolatry to keep it back, while the empire moves forward. Thus a healthy change on a large scale has taken place in the knowledge and feelings of the people generally, while direct conversions from the middle classes have been comparatively few, and the native churches in the cities have not grown large. The very cohesion in the elements of public and social life, which has kept India back, will make the ruin of Hindooism the more complete when the wedge of the gospel has been driven farther home.

"All this should elevate our idea of the results already secured by Christian missions, and lead us to sustain and enlarge them with alacrity and thankfulness. If we take no account of other results, this change alone would compensate us for the labours of the past, for the suffering endured, the self-denial borne, the expenditure incurred. The impressions made, the convictions produced, the new and active thought awakened, tell us of possibilities in the future to which the gains of the past are poor. With our skilled agencies, all shaped by experience; with plans well tried; with our versions and our literature in every tongue; with China opened widely in answer to prayer; with India deeply moved; with Africa free; with Polynesia raised and civilised; with Madagascar purified by fire,—what tokens have we received of manifest blessing, of divine approval and of divine help! The old systems have fallen, or are paralysed, or are trembling with fear; and

the young life of the world is drawing towards freedom and truth. Our results are incomplete; they are but an earnest of successes to be gathered in the future; and the full reward will be reaped more truly as the years go by. But how noble that reward will be!" (Pp. 186-188.)

The First Christian Apology. A Sermon, Preached in Regent Square Presbyterian Church, October 10, 1869. By the Rev. J. OSWALD DYKES, M.A. London: James Nisbet & Co.

We have read this noble sermon with the highest satisfaction, and cordially recommend it to the notice of our readers. It was felt by all who heard it delivered to be worthy of the high reputation of the author, and of the important occasion on which it was preached; and it loses nothing of its interest and effect by being read in print. The subject was well chosen for the inauguration of a ministry in the metropolis of the world, and the ability of the treatment was equal to the seasonableness and weight of the subject. The sermon has the ring of a manifesto, and, unlike most sermons, speaks home with equal power to the belief and unbelief of an age—nobly chiding the narrow-minded fears of the one, and forcefully rebuking the intellectual arrogance and false philosophy of the other. "What the author had in view," he tells us in a prefatory note, "was to reduce to its simplest issues the question betwixt belief and unbelief, and point out the incidence of that evidence upon which belief must mainly rest. In choosing to open his ministry in a new field with such a subject, it was also his desire at once to protest against that narrow dread of modern research into Christianity, which is at present assisting to alienate from evangelical religion reflecting and studious men, and, at the same time, to assert his personal conviction that the faith of Christ has a basis in supernatural facts too secure for any research to shake it." The preacher has kept both these bearings of his subject steadily in view throughout, and he has dealt with both in a style of much originality, lucidity, and power.

The Lord's Prayer. Lectures by Rev. ADOLPH SAPHER, B.A. London: James Nisbet & Co., 21 Berners Street, 1870.

The Lord's Prayer must ever command the devout and reverential attention of the Christian. So simple is it that the infant is often taught to lip it on its mother's knees, and yet it is so fraught with profound and mysterious lessons, that we must confess ourselves, with Luther, to be only learning its petitions in our life, while it will take eternity to give them their answers. Of this divine prayer, the volume before us is one of the best of the many expositions which have been written upon it by learned and pious expositors.

These lectures, which were delivered by the author in the ordinary course of ministrations to his congregation, have been published in compliance with a desire expressed by many of his hearers. "There can scarcely," he says, "be a more comprehensive subject, for this model of prayer embraces every doctrine of Scripture, and every aspect of Christian life. I have endeavoured to explain it in connection with the revelation of God in Christ, in the *Pentecostal light of the Epistles*, convinced that only thus its true and full meaning can be found."

Into the spirit of his great theme, the author enters with the comprehension and grasp of a powerful mind; and its high and august mysteries he luminously unfolds, presenting them often in beautiful and striking lights, and in a style which, while without elaboration, is remarkable for its perspicuity and force. His theology is the masculine and healthful theology

of the Reformation, and of the English Puritans of the seventeenth century, with whose works he is familiar, and to a knowledge of which he has added an acquaintance with the most eminent German theologians, but without contracting from them any heretical taint. The lectures may thus be read with pleasure and profit by the most enlightened, as well as by the less informed.

The author's answer to the difficulty which some have felt in using this prayer because they did not recognise its evangelical character, or find in it either the name of Jesus, or any special reference to the atonement, is brief but complete, confirming the observation of one of the fathers of the church, that "the Lord's Prayer is the gospel abbreviated."

The arguments advanced by the author in support of the doctrine of the personal reign of Christ on the earth during the millennium, do not carry conviction to our mind; but into this subject we do not now enter, and we would rather dwell on the points on which we agree with the author, than on those on which we differ from him, in a work which commends itself so highly to our approval. Among other excellencies of the volume, is the manner in which it exhibits the exalted morality of the gospel, which is not in a mere didactic form, as a heathen moralist would present moral duty, but always in combination with, and as springing out of, evangelical truth; a style of preaching which, as has been amply shewn by the history of the church, has ever produced a much higher standard of moral excellence than where moral duty has been expounded and enforced apart from evangelical doctrine. It is gratifying to meet with a volume so rich in sound, vigorous theological thought; and we hope that it will obtain the large circulation which, from its genuine merits, it so well deserves.

The Faithful Witness: Being Expository Lectures on the Epistles to the Seven Churches of Asia. By R. W. FORREST, M.A., Minister of the Lock Chapel. London: William Hunt & Company, Holles Street, Cavendish Square. 1869.

The author of these lectures very properly rejects the interpretation which has been strenuously advocated by many learned men, that the Epistles to the Seven Churches of Asia are a prophetic picture of the church to the end of time; and, regarding this as a complete misapprehension of the meaning, he understands them as being strictly historical, referring solely to the condition of these churches at the time when they were written, but as intended to be of permanent value by furnishing lessons adapted for the warning, instruction, and encouragement of the church of Christ in every age. He has carefully studied his subject, and he judiciously and forcibly unfolds the sense of these ancient epistles. His divisions are natural, and his illustrations appropriate and edifying. Belonging to the evangelical section of the Church of England, he gives no uncertain sound on ritualism and rationalism, against which he lifts up his honest and fervent protest. The discourses are faithful, animated, and rousing, abounding in earnest appeals to the conscience and the heart.

"*Earth's Care and Heaven's Cure.*" By REV. JOHN PHILIP. Andrew Elliot, Edinburgh. Pp. 140.

This little volume abounds in thoughtful considerations, presented with great Christian wisdom, kindness, and cheerfulness to the heavy-hearted. We wish it a large circulation, and are glad to find it already in the "third thousand."

Words of Comfort for Parents Bereaved of Little Children. Edited by WILLIAM LOGAN. With a historical sketch by the Rev WILLIAM ANDERSON, LL.D., Glasgow. London: James Nisbet & Co., Berners' Street. 1869.

That God's plan of redemption embraces all who die in infancy—that all of them are "predestinated to the adoption of children," is nowhere expressly affirmed in the Scriptures, and yet the inspired Word, from its tenor and spirit, does not leave us to grope our way in hopeless blindness as to this part of the government of God, but imparts a feeling of security and consolation by plainly teaching that the heavenly garner will be largely replenished with children. None of the prophets and none of the apostles have told us so much as Jesus respecting a future state, and respecting the characters that are going to the two separate regions of that state—to the realms of everlasting happiness, or to the depths of utter despair. Yet, while thus free in his utterances on these awful themes, He seemed, whenever He spoke of infants, whom He took up into His arms and blessed, to see in them only the fruit of his soul's travail; and never did a word escape from His lips concerning them but such as tended to inspire the fondest hopes as to the everlasting wellbeing of these helpless objects of human tenderness, whom though they do not feel, and the more because they do not feel, their need of salvation, and cannot cry for mercy, He compassionates and saves.

In the volume before us, the words of comfort, intended for parents bereaved of little children, consist entirely of extract, partly in prose, and partly in poetry, from numerous eminent theological and other authors. Being presented in the form of detailed extracts, it necessarily wants continuity of thought and argument. But it has the advantage, which, for the object proposed, will probably be generally considered more than compensatory, of throwing a brighter and more attractive effulgence around the theme, by bringing together and presenting in one combined view the matured thoughts, not of one, but of many minds upon it. This is a new and revised edition of the work, being the sixth edition, and the fifteenth thousand. It has been proposed, in compliance with a wish, very generally expressed, that the book should be provided at a price which would make it more accessible to the people than the larger volume. "Care has been taken," says the editor, "to preserve whatever was essential to the original purpose of the compilation; and while the collection, thus remaining substantially as it was, a new feature has been introduced by placing in a separate section those prose extracts which, though kindred in their character, do not specially refer to the death of children. Besides the original articles, by distinguished authors, furnished to former issues the present edition contain several contributions which have not appeared in any of the previous collections. These include an original paper by the Rev. Dr John Ker, Glasgow; and selected articles by the Rev. C. H. Spurgeon, Rev. W. Morley Punshon, M.A., Rev. John Riddell, Moffat, Rev. Dr Theodore L. Cuyler, New York, and Rev. H. Harbauch, M.A., United States."

The historical sketch of the question of the salvation of deceased infants by the Rev. Dr Anderson, which appeared in the former editions, is here abridged, only a summary account of it, with quotations of principal passages being given. We observe that, while Dr Anderson, in advocating infant salvation, asserts his belief equally that the offspring of ungodly parents shall all be saved, he at the same time adds, "though not with a salvation so glorious as that of the offspring of the saints." We rather think that the doctor has no good authority for this last affirmation. Thus to limit the sovereign and righteous God appears to us to be opposed at once to the teaching of inspiration and to the analogy of divine Providence, which exhibit God as choosing his instruments, whom he specially employs

in his service on the earth, where and when he pleases, not investing the household of the saints with a monopoly of supplying those that be wise, and that turn many to righteousness, and who shall shine as the brightness of the firmament and as the stars for ever and ever. We have, therefore, no reason to conclude that in the economy of the better world beyond the grave, infants, who certainly must there mature and undergo a training in order to their taking part in that economy, are fashioned and furnished for a higher or an inferior ministry, or for a higher or an inferior state of glory, just as they have or have not been the children of the saints.

The wide circulation which this volume has already obtained affords ample testimony to the estimation in which it is held. It has hitherto done good service by comforting many a bereaved parent, to whom the question of the salvation of infants has presented itself with the deepest and most anxious concern, and we hope that it will still continue, in its beneficent mission, to illumine with heavenly peace and holy joy many a dark and sorrowful dwelling.

He that Overcometh; or, a Conquering Gospel. By W. E. BOARDMAN.
London: James Nisbet & Co., 21 Berners Street. 1869.

The object of the author in this volume is to exhibit the importance of a practical demonstration of the supernatural power of our religion, as dwelling in the heart, and as exhibited in the whole deportment, in every relation and occupation, of life.

The work is divided into three parts—Life, Work, and Results; and under each chapter it contains much excellent matter, perspicuously and forcibly expressed. It is interspersed with the narration of a variety of incidents or facts in the history of various persons, the most of whom are unknown, intended to illustrate or to enforce from the lessons of experience some truth or truths which the author wishes to impress upon the mind.

In the chapter on "Groundless Restrictions," are some excellent remarks on the duty incumbent on Christian men in different professions, the artisan, the soldier, the merchant, the physician, and the lawyer to ask wisdom from God in their respective callings. But the author, we think, encourages too unreservedly the hope that worldly success or worldly good things are to be obtained in answer to prayer. He narrates what happened to three persons who adopted this pious course—to the Christian attorney who, in answer to prayer, found in a certain house an old tin box of papers, which, by proving certain facts, settled a case of contested property with which he was entrusted; to the merchant, who, in answer to prayer, always succeeded in obtaining money to pay his bills; and to a celebrated German oculist, who, in his straits, whether for money or success, always found what he sought in answer to prayer.

Now, it is no doubt true that in everything, by prayer and supplication, we are to make our requests known to God. But God nowhere in his Word has promised that his people may have the command of the good things of this life—money or success in business—simply by means of prayer; and, therefore, to expect that prayer, apart from other conditions, is a ready resource for obtaining them, is mere fancy and delusion. As this world is a state of discipline, God's dispensations towards his people while on earth are often intended to subdue their corruptions, their pride, their rebellion, their self-dependence, their earthly-mindedness, and to help them forward in their preparation for heaven; and, therefore, it would clearly not be well for them to obtain every worldly good which they sought for by prayer. To encourage such a hope is authorised neither by the Scriptures nor by experience, and can only produce injurious effects. The hopes thus created will certainly be often disappointed, and such disappointments will tend, especially on the minds of the young, to create a revulsion of mind

against religion, and to lead them to the conclusion that they had been cheated by false representations. Diligence in business, accompanied by prayer, may be followed by worldly success, and, in that case, the Christian has reason for gratitude to God who has prospered his path. His diligence combined with prayer may, however, not be so followed; and, while in that case nothing has happened contrary to what the Scriptures have taught him to expect, he may, under this salutary discipline, learn many profitable lessons.

The Development of the Idea of Chemical Composition. Inaugural Lecture delivered on 3d November, 1869. By ALEXANDER CRUM-BROWN, M.D., D.Sc.; Professor of Chemistry in the University of Edinburgh.

We gladly welcome the inaugural lecture of this distinguished young chemist, now professor of his favourite science in the University of Edinburgh. Though our journal is not devoted directly to the promotion of scientific pursuits, it has no object but what is in perfect harmony with them. We have always scorned the idea of the possibility of antagonism between true Science on the one hand, and true Religion or valid Theology on the other; and when Science is pursued in the spirit of this lecture, it can never prove to be other than the handmaid of divine truth, which, indeed, legitimate science also in another light is, as truly as legitimate theology. We have been especially pleased with the liberality and wisdom of the following sentence of the lecture:—"Chemistry can obtain a *theory* only when it ceases to exist as an independent science,—when it is absorbed in dynamics, the one science of matter and energy." This witness is true. And when this most desirable eventuality arises, the now enormous resources of modern mathematics will be immediately applicable to chemistry; and in chemical composition we shall then have *discoveries* (probably endless), not on the principle of clever suggestion and fortuitous or felicitous experiment, but of such legitimate *prophecy* as first pointed the telescope to Neptune—or set Sir William Rowan Hamilton to construct the conditions of Conical Refraction. We read with pleasure our author's able paper in the *Edinburgh Transactions* on "The Application of Mathematics to Chemistry." We came then to the conclusion that the time had not yet come, and that if Dr Crum-Brown has not done more in that reference, it is because the state of the Science of Chemistry does not permit. Hitherto the application of *symbol* to chemistry has been little more than a short-hand writing. *Mathematical* symbols are characterised by laws of thought, and they are instruments of thought and of scientific prophecy. We trust Dr Brown may be long spared and prospered to help on that noble "application," which so competent a judge as Professor Kelland testifies that he has well begun.

Memoir of Rev. William C. Burns, M.A., Missionary to China from the English Presbyterian Church. By ISLAY BURNS, D.D. London: James Nisbet & Co.

The postman has brought us this book, whether in time for the printer to say so we scarcely know. It is our purpose, however, to review it in full in another number, God willing. The graceful pen of Dr Islay Burns is well known. So also are the strong, manly intellect, the burning piety, and the romantic apostolic labours of William Burns, his sainted brother. There can be no doubt the book will have a large circulation, and be worthy of it.

Just as we are going to press, a large packet of books, chiefly Christmas gifts, has come to hand, containing, among others, the Messrs Nelsons' gorgeous volume, "Earth and Sea," and their splendid "Children's Paper," glittering in gold and silver; also from Messrs Bell & Daldy, "Buckland's Bridgewater Treatise," &c., &c.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW.

APRIL 1870.

ART. I.—*Our Lord's First and Last Discourses.*

THE two longest and most systematic of our Lord's recorded discourses are those which occur respectively at the beginning and at the close of his public ministry. It is not usual to compare these discourses with each other; but their mutual relations are of a very interesting and suggestive kind. They mark out significantly the first and last stage of our Lord's teaching, and shew to us that while there is very marked progress in that teaching, it is by expansion, and not by addition; by internal growth, and not by external correction and enlargement. This is a truth which is denied by many at the present day. They assert that the first conception of Christ's plan differed so widely, not merely in form but in essence, from the after execution, that we cannot trace any identity between them. He gradually perfected his scheme under the modifying force of circumstances. At first his views were comparatively narrow and local; but as he became more successful in the dissemination of them, the circle of his vision widened, and embraced within it grander objects of ambition. Not only did he enlarge his first ideas, but he corrected and readjusted them to suit his altered position and new experience. It need hardly be said that there is nothing in the gospels to justify such an utter misconception of Christ's teaching as this. We see in his life the harmonious development of a perfect seed in childhood; in his works a gradually and consistently unfolding series combining into one beautiful and symmetrical whole as an epiphany of him; and in his teaching a course of

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doctrine as naturally progressive as the growth of an organic structure, each special aspect of the truth presented admitting of a perfect combination with the others, both in its parts and as a whole. Known to Jesus were all his works and words from the beginning; the fullest growth of his doctrine, and the world-embracing reach of his faith, were contemplated by him from the very first, so that there was no room for surprise, no reason for modification. It is true, indeed, that the attentive reader discerns a very wide difference between the teaching of the opening and the closing ministry. He feels himself, in regard to the latter, in a new world, surrounded by more wonderful objects, and hearing a new language, expressive of deeper thought; but to this new realm he has been insensibly conducted by successive steps, as it were, and by gradual acclimatisation. And even when the connection between the old and the new teaching cannot be traced on the surface, it can be found in their essential relationship, just as the old physical world is united with the new by continuous land beneath the ocean. The change is caused, not by the introduction of new elements, but by the expansion and maturation of the old. It is a difference of degree, and not of kind; resulting, not from something of a new nature being superadded, but from the filling in of what was sketched in outline at the beginning. Very widely does the butterfly, flitting from flower to flower in the summer sunshine, with its blazoned wings—itsself an animated blossom—differ from the unsightly caterpillar crawling over the leaf; and yet this is no metamorphosis, as it is erroneously called, no transformation of one creature into another. The caterpillar contains within itself the rudiments of the future butterfly in all its parts; it becomes the butterfly, not, as commonly supposed, by a monstrous and unnatural transformation, but simply by "*casting its skin*, and unfolding parts previously concealed and immatured: first the limbs, by and by the wings, opening more and more till the idea of the perfect insect is attained." Very widely does the beautiful head of the hyacinth, with its fragrant curls of white, or rosy, or purple blossoms, differ from the scaly, dead-like root; and yet the whole hyacinth is seen in miniature in the inside of that root, and all the after beauty and fragrance of the plant are but the unfolding and perfection of this germ. And just as the butterfly is in the caterpillar, and the lily in its bulb, and the oak in the acorn, and the branch and leaf in the bud, and the fruit in the flower, so in the sermon on the mount we see the germs which blossom so beautifully, and fruit so richly, in the last discourse in Jerusalem; and each branch or leaf in this tree of life, whose leaves are for the healing of the nations, is an image of the whole tree. The first discourse is a magni-

ficient porch that leads into the magnificent temple of the last discourse ; and each living stone in porch and temple is carved after the similitude of the whole building. In the first discourse we walk, as it were, about Zion, and mark its strong bulwarks and beautiful palaces from the outside ; in the last discourse we are ushered into the interior, and tread the golden streets, and drink of the crystal river, and eat of the fruit and sit under the shadow of the tree of life in the midst of it. But inside and outside are facsimiles of each other, moulded after the same pattern. In this perfect system of teaching, the whole has a representative in every part, and every part is a symbol of the whole. It is this remarkable unity and consistency of every part that gives to Christ's teaching an organic individuality which enables us to identify it at every stage of growth, to recognise in the first utterances the complement of the truths which constitute the fully perfected and matured doctrine, and to combine his discourses in the most manifold forms, and trace out the most intricate relations between them in our sermons and commentaries.

Such is the unity between the first and last discourses of our Lord—not *designed*, but *essential*—not because they are artificially constructed, but because they are natural developments, characteristic expressions of Him whose living objects in creation grow from the seed to the full corn in the ear—not by external additions, but by internal expansion ; and who himself, in his human life, grew in wisdom and in stature, and in favour with God and man. Let us now see the differences in *form* that exist between discourses so essentially related. These differences are first, of *locality* ; secondly, of *audience* ; thirdly, of *subject* ; and, fourthly of *results*. They mark the internal progress of doctrine, and are as closely connected with it as the form of an animal or plant is with its inward growth. The expanding truth finds its own proper mode of expression as regards scenery and circumstances.

1. Let us look, then, in the first place at the difference of *locality*. Our Lord's first discourse was delivered in the open air, probably on the flat summit of the hill near the sea of Galilee, called the Horns of Hattan, which tradition has identified as the Mount of Beatitudes, on account of its peculiar situation, fulfilling all the conditions of the gospel narrative. This circumstance connects the discourse with the giving of the law by his prototype Moses. But the scene on Sinai was bare and desolate granite, destitute of every animal and vegetable form such as in Egypt the Israelites had seen worshipped, and bringing back their thoughts to the first morning of creation, and down to the very foundation of all things ; whereas the Mount of Beatitudes was a green and fertile spot,

teeming with the fairest objects of animal and vegetable life and suggestive of the fulness and richness of earth's maturity. The law on Sinai was proclaimed amid the sublimest and most awe-inspiring of physical sights and sounds, with outward displays of indignation and wrath ; the sermon on the mount was uttered under the calm blue Syrian sky, and in the glowing eastern sunshine, every sight and sound breathing of settled peace and security. On Sinai, the natural and spiritual world seemed to blend together in inanimate things ; and nature, as it were, became divine in its association with the deeply and fearfully religious. The natural rose into the region of the supernatural. On the Mount of Beatitudes the natural and the spiritual blent together, not in a thing but in a person ; heaven and earth coalesced in the human form of Jesus. In the one case, the supernatural was outside, in the awful sights and sounds of nature, seen and heard by all ; in the other, it was inside, in the quiet, lowly form of a man, and was recognised only by faith. On Sinai, God spoke by the mouth of another, and remained himself far off, invisible, unapproachable, in the secret place of thunder, in the thick gloom—a vague infinity—a darkness without a similitude ; but on the Mount of Beatitudes, he drew near and appeared in the form of the man whom he had made in his own image, and spoke audibly, not by the mouth of another, but by the mouth of his Son, by his own mouth. But passing from this comparison, which shews that in outward scenery, as well as in inward meaning, the sermon on the mount was intended to be a repetition, on a higher platform, of the giving of the law on Sinai, the question suggests itself to us, Why was our Lord's first discourse delivered in the open air, amid the sights and sounds of nature ? It was of set purpose, and not by accident, that the law was given on Mount Sinai ; no other scene would have been so appropriate ; the people were led to that very place, for that very purpose. And so we may suppose that there must have been equal suitability in the scene of the sermon on the mount ; that Jesus delivered it in that spot, not simply because he happened to meet there a large multitude of people. Does not his presence in the midst of nature significantly indicate that in him all nature was summed up and represented ? that in him the fulness of the creature and the fulness of the Creator met in reality ? Does it not prove that nature is not *all nature*, as the materialists say, or *all God*, as the pantheists say ? God here had come out a separate and distinct being from the deep silence and reserve of the universe, from behind the veil of dumb, dead material things, and shewed himself to men openly, and talked to them, not by the inarticulate, unchangeable signals of nature, but in their own human language, expressive of

their own human thoughts and feelings. But further still, does not the preaching of the sermon on the mount, in the midst of natural scenes and objects, indicate a minute, tender, watchful regard for nature? We look upon the love of nature as an essential feature of modern times; the great peculiarity of modern poetry. But it is as old as Christianity, though it lay long dormant in it, and has only in these last days been expanded and revealed. Like everything beautiful in modern culture and thought, the germ of it may be traced to the character of our Lord. The great Head of renewed humanity, concentrating in himself all possible forms of mental, moral, and physical beauty, opened up for us, not only the sanctuary of the world within, the domain of human feeling and human thought, but also the sanctuary of the world without, the domain of natural sights and sounds, whose beauty and significance he illustrated in his parables and miracles. The gentle yearning love of nature is first found in him. We see nothing of it in heathenism; we see something, indeed, of it in the Old Testament, but very faintly, and only in the book of Job and the Song of Solomon. The Hebrew writers alluded to the objects of nature, only and purely to express their higher thoughts of God—as a kind of pictorial language of trust, prophecy, or prayer—never from the sense of their individual beauty. Purpose, significance, loveliness, natural harmony in the visible creation, had no intrinsic interest, and no fascination for the imagination, unless they bore directly on the moral and spiritual relations with God. They studied the universal beauty of life only in God's will, instead of studying God's will in the universal beauty. But Jesus loved nature for its own sake, dwelt upon its beauties with a satisfied eye, and spoke of them with the intimate acquaintance and the loving admiration of one who knew them because he had made them, and pronounced them all to be "very good." He entered into the heart of natural life—into the simple life of the flower, or the bird, or the stream, and rose through this vividness of sympathy with nature to the spiritual meanings or symbols which it suggested. Every word in his allusion to the lilies of the field is a picture. What loving regard is there even in the *one*. Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like *one* of these, how much less so than a whole cluster—than the whole crimson field then spreading before his eye! But further still, does not the revelation of his law in the midst of nature, significantly indicate that moral and physical law are alike derived from him—the one being the expression of his nature, the other of his will? The rule by which man's life is to be regulated is founded upon the rule by which all things are made and governed. The ten commandments are not temporarily, but

permanently engraven upon tables of stone. A remarkable harmony exists between the moral and physical laws of the universe. They never interfere with or neutralise each other, but always run parallel, proving that they spring from a common source, and point to a common issue. Everywhere we find that the laws of the unwritten revelation of nature give their sanction to the laws of the written revelation of the Bible. How emphatic and unmistakable, for instance, are the sanctions with which the physical laws of health and organisation hedge round the divine statutes of chastity and temperance—punishing with terrible disease and misery those who violate, and blessing with vigorous health and buoyant cheerfulness those who obey them. The tenth commandment is directed against covetousness; and all Scripture, as well as the sermon on the mount, is one great commentary upon it, denouncing the love of money as the root of all evil, teaching us that we cannot serve God and mammon; that a rich man cannot enter into the kingdom of God; that a man's life consisteth, not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth, and commanding us to take no thought for the morrow. How unequivocally does nature add her emphatic "Amen" to these doctrines and precepts, by declaring throughout all her dominions and all her seasons, that "while we sigh for independence, and pursue it with our whole heart, we cannot be independent;" that while we accumulate, adding house to house and field to field, there can be no accumulation of real riches, of the daily bread, without which we must perish, of the blessing that maketh rich and addeth no sorrow thereto. Thus we see that the field of nature was an appropriate scene in which to deliver the sermon on the mount, for it typified that law is a necessity of things,—necessary in order to process, harmony, and stability in any system; and everywhere around, in the fowls of the air and the lilies of the field, there were innumerable striking illustrations of the truths which he uttered.

But our Lord's last discourse, on the other hand, was delivered in the haunts of men, in the upper room at Jerusalem. We notice here a feature which is characteristic of the teaching of Jesus, as recorded in the Gospel of St John, and which must strike even the most careless reader of it. The synoptic gospels represent him chiefly as speaking to the people in the open air, by the sea-shore, in the wilderness, or on the mountain top; but the Gospel of St John represents him as teaching them in the temple and synagogue, in the private assembly, and in the dwellings of men. It commences almost with the question of the first disciples, "Rabbi, where dwellest thou?" and the answer of Jesus, "Come and see." "They came and saw where he dwelt, and abode with him that day." It tells us

of the stolen interview of Nicodemus with him in his house at the dead of night,—of the marriage feast at which he was present in Cana of Galilee,—of the miracle at Bethany,—and the supper in the house of Lazarus,—and ends with the confession of Thomas when Jesus came, the doors being shut, and stood in the midst of the assembled disciples. The subjects of converse in this gospel were more suited to the dwellings of man than to the lonely wilderness; they were more particular than general, more homely than world-wide, more human than belonging to nature. Especially do we find this characteristic distinction in the last discourse in the upper chamber. There is a deep congruity between its scene and its subject, which will be more apparent as we go on. It brings the truths of the gospels nearer to the homes and the hearts of men. Its illustrations are derived from human works, and ways, and feelings. It speaks of the trellised vine on the threshold, of the door and the bread, and the relation of master, and servant, and friend, and the sorrowful hour of maternal anguish transformed into joy. It speaks of love, and not of law; of a person to know, and not of a rule to obey; of an inward, and not of an outward life; of meditation, and not of action. It brings before us the affecting picture of the washing of the disciples' feet, so richly suggestive of far-reaching spiritual meaning. It is only in the quiet hush of the human dwelling, with every distracting sight and sound removed, that the mind and heart could take in the profound truths of that marvellous discourse, down whose great deep of wisdom eighteen centuries have looked and never seen the bottom. It is only a spirit quickened and elevated by the sacred humanities of home, that could, in some measure, comprehend those tender and solemn words, so full of majesty and love, of divine sorrow and joy—"words for the saddest moments, the loftiest moments, the last moments of life." On the mountain-top those still small voices would have been hushed and lost; the measureless sky, and the wide expanse of earth around, would have deprived them of their point and pathos—would have combined to overbear them with their louder sounds, and their more obtrusive pictures. Laws and parables for the mountain and the corn field, but personal truths of love and life for the beloved disciple lying on the bosom, and the innermost circle of home!

2. Another point of difference between our Lord's first and last discourse was the different character of the *audience* to whom they were respectively addressed. The sermon on the mount was preached to a large crowd, composed of very mingled elements, that had gathered around Jesus, attracted by the report of his miracles. Like the multitude that

flocked to John the Baptist in the wilderness, there were in this concourse representatives of all classes and conditions of society. They were from Galilee, and Decapolis, and Jerusalem, and from beyond the Jordan, and even from the regions beyond Tyre and Sidon. There were Jews and Gentiles, those who were instructed in the law of Moses, and those who were educated in the mythology and philosophy of paganism. There were Pharisees, deeply versed in all the sacred literature of the Jews, and leading a life of severe and ostentatious piety; and there were doubtless many of those publicans and sinners whom the Pharisees despised—unhappy pariahs of society, left entirely to themselves to work out their own evil nature, without the least help or warning from those who should have taught them, knowing nothing or worse than nothing of the laws of righteousness—of the life beyond the grave, of the power, the holiness, the mercy of God. But whatever differences of detail might exist among them, the character of the whole audience was that of a people of narrow knowledge, of uncultivated minds, of dull spiritual perceptions. They were very much in the same condition of spiritual and intellectual infancy as the children of Israel when they came to Sinai to hear the law. And to this necessity of the case, the manner of Christ's teaching was admirably adapted. He used the simplest and most condescending illustrations to reach their minds and hearts. He taught them the first principles of moral righteousness, the elementary and introductory truths of the kingdom of heaven. He did not give them a series of abstract proposition,—speak to them in the technical terms of morality and theology. They were those who were "without," and therefore to them all the words of the sermon on the mount were spoken in parables or proverbs,—forms of address most likely to be taken hold of by the most careless, ignorant, and inattentive mind. These parables or proverbs were the lively realities of nature and society around them. They were borrowed from what was going on under their eyes at the moment. They brought up vividly to their minds the visible practical matters with which they were constantly familiar. They implied more than they announced, contained a wide meaning within narrow limits, and an unseen truth in a pictorial form; and, therefore, were not only easily remembered and recalled by outward associations, but were fitted to rouse reflection, and to fix in their mind some principle of thought or conduct. They were seeds of truth, as it were, suggesting much that it would take long to tell, sown in the memory to grow up afterwards, and expand their germinating fullness in the heart and life by means of reflection. No method of bringing home spiritual truth more

favourable to the state and case of the ignorant, unsusceptible multitude could have been devised than that which our Saviour employed in the sermon on the mount. Its short sententious proverbs or sayings, its parables of the city set on a hill, of the light of the world, of the candle shining on the candlestick, of the fowls of the air and the lilies of the field, of the nature of the fruit corresponding to the nature of the tree, and of the houses built on the sand and on the rock ;—all these were calculated to win the most hardened and ignorant to the apprehension of the truth. Those who were at all earnest about spiritual truth would be arrested and have their curiosity excited ; they would be induced to follow Jesus, and ample opportunities would be given to them afterwards for inquiring and understanding what was meant by the things which had at first so deeply interested them ; while those who remained careless and unconcerned would be left as they were before, blind, and deaf, and spiritually dead. In short, the sermon on the mount was the crucial test to discern at the outset of Christ's ministry between those who were worthy to be his disciples and those who were not,—the magnet to draw sympathising hearts after him from the midst of an unsympathetic world.

Our Lord's last discourse, on the other hand, was addressed to the disciples—the little flock whom he had chosen out of the world, and trained by word and deed for the great and gracious ends of his kingdom. The fickle crowds that thronged him, attracted by the mighty works which he wrought, *mechanically* impressed by the authority of his words, melted away from him as he became more and more obnoxious to the ruling powers. Many of the disciples who heard his word gladly at first, were offended at the hardness of his later sayings, and went back and walked with him no more. The chaff was sifted from the wheat by the tribulation of doctrine and trial ; the last remaining element of incongruity and worthlessness was blown away in the treacherous departure of Judas ; and now, in the presence of the eleven—the only faithful among the faithless—the audience fit, though few—he uttered his parting words. To the multitude these words would have been incomprehensible ; to the disciples themselves when they first came to Jesus, they would have sounded mysterious and oracular. But the training which they had received during the interval had qualified them in some measure to understand them. To those without he spake in parables, but to the disciples it was given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven. The soil of their hearts had been gradually prepared and quickened for the reception of the higher truths now to be sown in it ; light had been given to

them according to the opening of their eyes. The connection between them as master and disciples was gradually passing into that of Saviour and believers; the outward hearing and following into the inward faith and the spiritual union. A consciousness of Christian fellowship was slowly dawning upon their minds. Their thoughts slowly orbed out into a greater thought than they could compass; and conjecture grew from glory to glory, up to the very Godhead. They were like one sleeping in a chamber beside the sea facing the east; at first he sees the faint dawn on the window pane when day and night are just at parting, and on the sea-horizon a little line of grey light which slowly broadens and crimson and grows into half an orb, dilating then into a crucible with a heart of fire, and the waves ripple in the increasing brightness; but many minutes elapse ere, fully awake, the sleeper knows the risen sun. Amid much sore perplexity, and dimness of apprehension, and carnality of heart, the conviction was growing within them, that he who went in and out among them was more than a teacher—stood in a closer relation to their own souls, and to all the human race, than that of one whose separate life is related to that of others by the effect of what he teaches, or gives, or does. Now and again, indeed, the sad but gentle upbraiding dropped from his lips, as when he said to Philip, "Have I been so long time with you and yet hast thou not known me?" But yet, once and again, the Father revealed to them, by the anticipative influence of the Spirit, what flesh and blood could not know, as when Peter said while others were revolted by the doctrine, "To whom can we go but unto thee, for thou hast the words of eternal life." And thus quickened and prepared by the fellowship of Jesus, those disciples who stumbled at the alphabet of his teaching, who understood but very partially and imperfectly the elementary doctrine of the sermon on the mount, were able to say, at the most advanced stage of revelation, when our Lord in his last discourse asserted his highest offices, and opened up the mystery of his work of salvation: "Lo, now speakest thou plainly, and speakest no proverb. Now are we sure that thou knowest all things, and needest not that any should ask thee; by this we believe that thou camest forth from God."

3. This leads us to speak of the third point of difference between our Lord's first and last discourses, viz., that of *subject*. The sermon on the mount is a beautiful illustration of that law of nature, as well as of revelation, which forbids the sudden unexpected introduction of any object or truth, and demands that the way be prepared for it by prefigurative objects and anticipatory truths, by shadows cast before prophetic of its

coming. Like nature, the Bible witnesses in behalf of order and gradual progression. Our Lord's own appearance in the world was not abrupt and without relations to previous history. It was the fulfilment of type, and prophecy, and promise, and of an expectation which ran like a golden thread throughout the whole national life of the Jews. A voice had been heard crying throughout all the wilderness of the past, "Prepare ye the way of the Lord; make straight in the desert an highway for our God." The glory that shone in the face of Jesus shed a gradually brightening dawn upon the darkness of all the previous ages. He had a forerunner not merely in John the Baptist, but in every typical personage back to Adam; and the conditions of the Jewish world when he appeared were therefore those into which his appearing exactly fitted. And as with his own personal coming, so with his teaching. It was not abruptly severed from what had before been engrossing the minds of the people. So far was this from being the case, that the sermon on the Mount, like the whole gospel of Matthew in which it occurs, is the link that connects the Old Testament with the New, the law and the prophets with the personal teaching of Christ. The great thoughts which it contains had their roots at the very gate of the garden of Eden. It contemplates its audience as inquiring Jews. It not only breathes the spirit of former dispensations, but is cast into their very mould, and comes out with their old outlines clearly and sharply cut. Its language of blessings and woes, of rewards and punishments, is founded upon the language addressed to the fathers, and so familiar to us in the covenant of Abraham and David. It refers at every step to the former Scriptures, and proves that Jesus came not to destroy that law which was a transcript of the divine perfections, and was given to man as a guide to righteousness, but to fulfil it,—to brush away from it the thick dust of the traditions of the elders which for centuries had obscured its meaning and made it of none effect. In this respect he could say, "My doctrine is not mine, but his that sent me"; his teaching did not originate ultimately in himself, but came from his Father. He expounded the law of his Father rather than added to it; interpreted its deep meaning and wide application; turned men's eyes from the mere outward letter to the inward spirit and truth. In the hands of those to whom it was originally given, it was a shut telescope through which dim and narrow views of the spiritual realm were obtained; but he expanded and adjusted it to the true focus, and revealed through it the kingdom of heaven in clear outline and bright perspective. Fresh from the baptism of John, which he suffered, though he needed it not, that he might fulfil all righteousness, he came to the Mount of Beati-

tudes to clear from old perversions and to enforce with new sanctions that commandment which was holy, and just, and good, under which he himself was made, and to whose decisions he condescended to refer every action of his life. Lawgiver of the universe, King of Israel, he came to the multitude with the authoritative, "I say unto you," earned by his own submission and obedience, to establish the kingdom of heaven upon the commonwealth of Israel; to lay down its laws upon the basis of the laws of Moses; and to invite the peculiar people, the chosen nation for whom it had been prepared as a birthplace and home, to become its holy and happy subjects.

In the sermon on the mount he teaches truths concerning the *kingdom* of heaven, and not concerning the *King* himself; brings forward the code of laws, and not the royal person. In this, too, he obeys the law already referred to, which forbids all abrupt introductions and transitions. As he came by gradual prefiguration and preparation into the world, so he revealed himself to men in his human form, not in a sudden blaze of divine glory, dazzling men's eyes, and taking their hearts captive by superhuman violence. As he came without observation, so he did not cry nor lift up, nor cause his voice to be heard in the street. He kept *himself* in the background and subordinate to the *kingdom* of heaven. That was the object which was presented at first to the minds of the people rather than his own person; that was the good news which he was anointed to proclaim. The key-note of his first discourse was the same as that of the Baptist's preaching: "The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand; repent ye and believe the gospel." It was the laws of this kingdom that he laid down for all men to obey; it was the parables of this kingdom that he delivered, all beginning with a phrase which expressly defines them as illustrations of the kingdom of heaven,—the kingdom of heaven is like a sower; like unto a grain of mustard seed; like unto treasure hid in a field; like leaven which a woman took, &c.: thus shewing that all visible things are the shadows and signs of invisible things, having the same divine Author and the same purpose. It was the miracles of this kingdom that he wrought, as powers actually exercised in acts of dominion over nature, and of deliverance and blessing to the bodies and spirits of men. It was for the preaching of the gospel of the kingdom that he sent out his disciples, endowing them with the mighty powers thereof, charging them to tell no man that he was Jesus the Christ, and himself withdrawing from the multitude when the proofs of his Messiahship were irresistible, and he was about to be taken by force and made a king. His purpose

in all that he did and said at first was to kindle a belief in that kingdom of God which was not meat and drink, but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost; and thus hiding himself behind the veil of the kingdom, he gradually, by words such as man never spake, and deeds such as man never wrought, drew the eyes that looked for the kingdom to his own person. And like the sun which shines behind a cloud, and which at last bursts through and transfuses it with its radiance, until sun and cloud are identified, so his glory, at first concealed by the kingdom, burst through at last, and made it felt by all who believed, that the kingdom and the person were one and the same.

And thus we come to the grand feature which distinguishes the last discourse from the sermon on the mount. In this discourse Moses and Elias that talked with Jesus disappear, and we see no man save Jesus only. The kingdom and the law retire into the background, and the person of the king and the lawgiver is brought conspicuously forward, for all eyes to see, and all hearts to love. He takes for his text the wonderful opening words, "Let not your hearts be troubled, ye believe in God, *believe also in me,*" and preaches a wonderful discourse about himself and the relation which he bears to the spiritual life of his people. The distant and formal connection through covenants, and promises, and laws, and the preaching of the kingdom, becomes now the new and vital union with a living person. Jesus himself is the one object of faith, the one moral centre of the spirit. He says, "I am the way, and the truth, and the life, no man cometh unto the Father but by me." "Abide in me and I in you." "Without me ye can do nothing." Such language, embodying the highest verities of the Christian faith, the most vital of spiritual realities, shews to us how far we have advanced from the sermon on the mount, with its language and associations of the Old Testament; shows to us that Jesus no longer addresses inquiring Jews but thoughtful Christians. Such language was never before heard. We are so familiar with it that it has lost all its strangeness, but then it was without precedent in the world. Nothing in the teaching of the scribes and Pharisees, nothing in the philosophy of heathen schools, prepared the way for it; there was nothing like it in the Old Testament. It would have been utterly foreign to the sermon on the mount; but now in its own place, it seems natural to the disciples. They listen to it, and feel something of its truth and power. "The sermon on the mount presented the law of God as the guide to righteousness; the last discourse presents Jesus as the object of faith." But the law and the gospel, the kingdom and the person, meet in one focus in these last unfathomably deep sayings. The germs of the first

are fully expanded in the last discourse. The law given in the one, whose universality and spirituality are revealed in such a way that man cannot keep it, is the schoolmaster that leads to Christ in the other. What the one wanted the other supplies. The first discourse proclaims a series of commandments and duties without announcing any condition or promise of assistance; the last reveals to us the provision made for enabling us to fulfil these duties. Jesus at length shews *Himself* to be the living efficacious point of union between religion and morality. The sermon on the mount prescribed the regimen; the last discourse provides the remedy. The sermon on the mount utters the commandment, "Enter ye in at the strait gate; because strait is the gate and narrow is the way which leadeth into life, and few there be that find it;" the last discourse shews how it is to be obeyed: "I am the door; by me, if any man enter in he shall be saved, and shall go in and out and find pasture." The sermon on the mount says, "Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down and cast into the fire;" the last discourse says, "I am the vine ye are branches; he that abideth in me and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit." The sermon on the mount says to us, "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you;" "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them, for this is the law and the prophets;" the last discourse says, "A new commandment I give unto you that ye love one another; as *I have loved you* that ye also love one another;" "If they have persecuted me they will also persecute you." The sermon on the mount says, "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth;" "Take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink; nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on;" "Take no thought for the morrow;" "But seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you;" the last discourse says, "Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you; not as the world giveth give I unto you. Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid." The sermon on the mount says, as the sum of its commandments, "Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect;" the last discourse says, "He that hath my commandments, and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me; and he that loveth me shall be loved of my Father, and I will love him, and will manifest myself to him." The sermon on the mount says, "Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you;" the last discourse says, "If ye shall ask anything in *my name* I will do it." "Verily, verily, I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall ask the Father *in my name*, he will give it

you." In the sermon on the mount he says to the multitude, "Whosoever heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them, I will liken him unto a wise man, which built his house upon a rock; and the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house; and it fell not: for it was founded upon a rock." In a later discourse he says to Simon Peter, who confessed, "Thou art the Christ, the son of the living God," "Upon this rock,—that is, the rock of Peter's confession of faith,—I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." In a still later discourse he says, "My sheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me; and I give unto them eternal life; and they shall never perish, neither shall any man pluck them out of my hand." And in his last discourse he says to his Father, "While I was with them in the world, I kept them in thy name; them that thou gavest me I have kept, and none of them is lost." And, finally, the sermon on the mount says, "Agree with thine adversary quickly, whiles thou art in the way with him; lest at any time the adversary deliver thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the officer, and thou be cast into prison. Verily I say unto thee, Thou shalt by no means come out thence, till thou hast paid the uttermost farthing;" in the last discourse we hear him saying, when handing round the sacramental cup, "This is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins." By these few examples, chosen at random, we see how the last discourse beautifully fits into the first, and fills up all its requirements, so that the two together make up one perfect whole, shewing plainly to us the way of God's salvation. And as the sermon on the mount links on to the past dispensations of the Old Testament on the one hand, and to the closing discourse of the Gospel on the other, so the last discourse in its turn links on to the future dispensation of the Spirit, that takes of the things of Christ, and shews them fully and clearly to us, and to the preaching of a risen and glorified Redeemer, and to the life of Christ in the soul of the believer and in the church. And thus the Bible, from Genesis to Revelation, united by these progressive links of doctrine, becomes one great and glorious unity, which for faith and practice cannot be taken asunder,—the word of truth of Him who is himself the Word of life; and who has solemnly said, "Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law till all be fulfilled."

4. The fourth point of difference between our Lord's first and last discourse lies in the nature of their *results*. The sermon on the mount led to no direct act of worship. It was not followed by praise or prayer. True, indeed, the Lord's prayer is embodied; but it is part of the teaching, and not a separate

act of worship. It was addressed to the disciples, and not to God. It was a law laid down for their guidance, in common with the other laws of the kingdom of heaven which our Saviour promulgated. It was a summary of the decalogue, the ten commandments turned into prayer; each precept of the one corresponding to a petition of the other; God commanding his creatures to keep each of his statutes and judgments and do them; his creatures responding in regard to each, "Lord, incline our hearts to keep this commandment." It was the answer which Christ gave to his disciples when they said to him, "Lord, *teach* us to pray." The language of this request indicates that they had not yet received that revelation of God which is the foundation of prayer. Their altar had on it as yet the inscription, "To the unknown God." The Being whom they ignorantly worshipped was as yet a vague and dim abstraction. They had the Scriptures and the temple, but the living Word had gone out of the one, and the Shechinah cloud had departed from the other; and therefore both had lost their meaning. They were like coloured lamps on the morning after an illumination, in which the lights that illumined and glorified the transparencies have been extinguished. A veil of unbelief had been drawn over the hearts of the people, and the God to whom they offered an external, superstitious, and mercenary worship, was not the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. In the midst of this spiritual darkness, their praying instincts may have remained, and may have often been called forth in times of danger, difficulty, and sorrow, but they groped about blindly, clinging to unworthy objects of desire, and stretching out to those who by nature were no gods. Such being the condition of the multitude to whom the Lord addressed the sermon on the mount, it is obvious that they were not prepared for true worship, for genuine prayer. Had Christ prayed for them or with them, his act of worship would have been like one speaking in an unknown tongue. They might have felt some desire to associate themselves with him in such an act: but they would be conscious of a natural ignorance, inability, and fear preventing them from carrying out the impulse. They did not know to whom to pray; they had no assurance that the secret appeal of their souls would be heard. The nature of the living God must first be unveiled before true prayer can be called into life. God must manifest himself as one who is seeking his creatures who have strayed from him, and treating them as his children who have lost the knowledge of him. And, therefore, all that Christ does in the sermon on the mount, is simply to give to them the *law*, as it were, of prayer, to enforce the *duty* of personal, secret prayer. He commends them to the simple, earnest, and importunate in

prayer, and to cherish a general faith in God's will to give good things to them that ask him. He says to them, "Dismiss all heathen and Pharisaic notions on this subject. Go simply to God as your Father: "Ask and ye shall receive;" and then gives to them a ground plan of prayer, which they are to fill in, and on which they are to build at large. He removes all preliminary misconceptions and difficulties from the *duty* of prayer; but the deeper knowledge regarding the *privilege* of prayer he reserves for his later teaching. He had many things to tell them concerning this momentous subject, but they could not bear them at that early stage of instruction. And till this higher revelation be given, he offers up no prayer in their presence; they engage together in no song of praise. The revelation of the law of God which he has given them leads to obedience; but it is only the revelation of a personal God and a personal Saviour who loves them, and whom they love—which he has yet to give them—that can lead to worship. We obey the law, but we worship the lawgiver.

Our Lord's last discourse, on the other hand, was followed by both praise and prayer. The most wonderful sermon that was ever preached was followed by the most wonderful prayer that was ever offered; a prayer in which the great High Priest of mankind consecrates himself as the victim about to be offered up for the sins of the world; and intercedes for his own disciples, and for all who are to become partakers by faith of the benefits of his death. St John alone records this sublime prayer in which our Saviour's public ministry on earth culminated. But St Matthew and St Mark inform us that when the whole service of word and ordinance in the upper room was ended, our Saviour and his disciples *sang an hymn*, and then went out unto the mount of Olives. This hymn was doubtless the second part of the Hallel, or song of praise, consisting of the 117th and 118th psalms, with which the Jews were accustomed to conclude the feast of the Passover, and which in Scotland is almost always introduced into some part or other of the sacramental service. Wonderfully appropriate to the circumstances of Christ were the closing words of that hymn: "The stone which the builders refused is become the headstone of the corner. This is the Lord's doing; it is marvellous in our eyes. Save now, I beseech thee, O Lord: O Lord send now prosperity. Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord. Bind the sacrifice with cords, even unto the horns of the altar." He was about to put marvellous meaning into these words by the last scenes of his own life. He was on his way to be despised by the builders of the Jewish faith, and by his death of shame to become a stone of

stumbling and a rock of offence to them; but through that very rejection and death to become the sole foundation laid by God, the chief corner-stone of every structure of true faith and righteousness. The sacrifice was about to be nailed to the accursed tree by wicked hands; and the seed of a new world, thus sown in death, was to spring up unto holiness and everlasting life. Well, therefore, has it been said, "This hymn is at once prospective and retrospective. It is the plaintive lament of an expiring dispensation, and the birth-cry of a new age."

In our Lord's last prayer and song of praise, we have the first acts of Christian worship. That prayer and song of praise are like the stones, technically called "ties," which project from the gable end of an unfinished row of houses, indicating that other houses are to be added; or like the threads of the warp in a loom, which pass beyond the part of the web already finished, and tell us that more is yet to be woven in. The tender address to Peter: "Feed my sheep," "Feed my lambs," is the "tie" that projects from the finished gospel, and binds it to the preaching of the gospel that is to follow. The seeming hyperbole with which St John ends his gospel,—*"And there are also many other things which Jesus did, the which, if they should be written every one, I suppose that even the world itself could not contain the books that should be written,"*—is the "tie" that connects the story of Jesus with Christian literature, which may be worked without risk of exhaustion, until Christian books and libraries shall literally fill the earth. The words which Christ addressed to Thomas,—*"Blessed are they that have not seen and yet have believed,"*—form the "tie" that unites into one fellowship the apostles who had seen, and heard, and handled the Word of Life with all those in succeeding ages, who, having not seen Christ, yet love him, and believing in him, rejoice with a joy unspeakable and full of glory. And here our Saviour's last prayer and song form the "tie" which binds the manifestation of Christ in the Gospels with Christian worship. Jesus himself instituted Christian worship as he instituted the ordinance of the Lord's Supper, which is the most sacred and effectual bond of worship; was the first to kindle that hallowed fire on the altar of the church which has never since been allowed to go out, and never will be. With his own lips he offered up the first Christian prayer; with his own lips he sang the first Christian hymn of praise. He placed the whole subject of worship upon a new foundation. He revealed the Father to the disciples by his own perfect Sonship, so that seeing him they saw the Father. By his own love towards them, and his own tender care for their welfare, he laid bare to them the inmost heart of God, and shewed them that what he was God was to them. He acted

out in his own dealings with them the spirit of the Father. All the grace and truth that they saw in the earthly life of Jesus was but the reflection of the grace and truth of God himself. He revealed to them how God could give them their daily bread, by his own miraculous multiplication of the loaves and fishes in the wilderness; how willingly God forgives sin, by his own forgiveness of those who sinned against him, and his dying prayer for his murderers; how powerfully God delivers from evil, by his own casting out of devils, and deliverance of the miserable victims of this bondage. The whole will and heart of the Father were thus clearly and incessantly declared by the Son on earth. And, therefore, when reviewing what he had done for them he said, "Oh! righteous Father, the world hath not known thee; but I have known thee, and these have known that thou hast sent me. And I have declared unto them thy name, and will declare it; that the love wherewith thou hast loved me may be in them and I in them." This revelation of the Father by the Son was the ground of prayer to his disciples. They prayed to such a being as they had learned in some measure to know and love, and who had become their own Father because Christ had given them power to become the sons of God. "I say not unto you that I will pray the Father for you; for the Father himself loveth you, because ye have loved me, and believed that I came out from God."

But Jesus not only revealed to them the Father, to whom their prayers were to be addressed; he also revealed to them the *name* in which they were to be offered. Of all his previous intercourse with them he could say, "Hitherto ye have asked nothing in my name." They were instructed in the duty of prayer; they were taught to whom to address prayer; but as yet they knew not in what name to offer it; they knew not how to approach God with acceptance. But now in his last discourse Jesus shews to them that he himself is the way to the Father: "No man cometh unto the Father but by me;" "If ye shall ask anything in my name I will do it." The whole character of prayer is now derived from the consciousness that through Christ the disciples have freedom and right of access to the throne of grace. It is for the sake of Christ that God hears and answers them. He is the channel of communication between God and them. He stands forth expressly as the Mediator; the connecting bond between them and the Father in heaven; the living ladder by which the soul ascends and descends, making of prayer, not a solitary act or succession of acts, but a continual going forth of the spirit after its heavenly Father. Not, therefore, till Christ is revealed, does prayer become efficacious and real. The central idea of prayer is that of privilege gained by mediation. The

person and redemption of Christ is the foundation on which it rests. But the divine revelation needed for perfect prayer is still incomplete. The manifestation of the Father, to whom prayer is to be addressed, points to the manifestation of Christ, in whose name it is to be offered, and for whose sake it is granted ; and this manifestation of Christ in its turn points to the manifestation of the Spirit, who inspires it, and aids the infirmities of the praying soul. But the Holy Spirit was not yet poured down, because Christ was not yet glorified. After his ascension the Holy Spirit was to be imparted to guide them into *all* truth ; and then the highest idea of prayer would be realised. By combination with the doctrine of the Trinity—the Father hearing, the Son advocating, the Spirit assisting—it would be indeed the worship of God in spirit and in truth ; the Divine Mind communing with itself through finite wants, through the woes and weaknesses of men ; “ God’s breath in man, returning to his birth.”

And as with prayer, so with praise. The hymn which Christ sang was the last Jewish and the first Christian song. It combined the song of Moses and the Lamb into a new song, suited to a new manifestation of divine mercy. The one constituted, so to speak, the warp into which the other was woven. The one was founded in type, and the other in reality, on the sacrifice of Christ. The burden of the song which Christ taught his disciples to sing was redemption, not from Egyptian bondage or Babylonian captivity, which topics formed the basis of the songs of praise under the old covenant, but from the curse of a broken law, from the guilt, power, and pollution of transgression, from impending wrath and everlasting misery, all which are ascribed to the atoning death of Christ. Formerly the disciples praised God for his holiness, wisdom, and power, and his goodness to Israel as his chosen people. Now they sing of the mercy of God in Christ to all mankind. They tune their harps to sing of higher themes than ever their fathers sang ; of brighter views of God’s glory in the face of Jesus Christ, and richer experiences of his grace. And thus we are brought to the source of all true worship, of praise and of prayer ; the *worthiness*, not of the law, which is the ministration of death, and makes nothing perfect, but of him who hath redeemed us from the penalty, and enabled us to fulfil the righteousness of the law. We must always connect worship with *worth*, from which the word comes ; and if ever we are to be worshippers in spirit and in truth, it must be through a sense of the infinite worthiness of the object of our worship. The body of the slave may be bowed by force or fear ; but the spirit of a man, above all the spirit of a child, can only be bowed by a glad, loving sense of the unspeakable worthiness and glory of the God and Father of our Lord and

Saviour Jesus Christ. And the more we estimate the cost of our salvation, and the love of Him who spared not his own Son, the more true and earnest will our worship be. And this is the reason why the worship of heaven is so perfect, because it has for its stedfast ground and never-failing spring an altogether perfect, an altogether adequate, sense of the unutterable worthiness of Him that sitteth upon the throne, and of the Lamb: "*Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory, and honour, and power; for thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are and were created.*" "*Worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honour, and glory, and blessing.*"

But all that bears witness of the true God, and Jesus Christ whom he hath sent, not only tends to draw us closer to him, but also to our fellow-worshippers. "The nearer we are drawn to the common centre of attraction, the nearer are we also thereby drawn to one another." Private individual worship thus merges into public associated worship. And for this, too, provision is made in the last wonderful prayer of our Lord: "Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word, that they may be one; as thou Father art in me and I in thee, that they also may be one in us; that the world may believe that thou hast sent me." Under the Old Testament dispensation the worship was almost entirely individual. The rules of sacrifice were principally made for single persons, and were commonly prefaced with the words, "If *any man* of you bring an offering unto the Lord." Neither the tabernacle nor the temple were places of meeting. They contained the one national altar, on which the whole people regarded as one man on the day of atonement, or each Israelite separately, as occasion presented itself, offered up the customary sacrifice. There was no provision for united worship, such as we have, under the Levitical law. That law supplied no principle of cohesion; it regarded the people, not as one great brotherhood, but as individual units, needing to be constrained and restrained as regards their duty to each other. But the gospel of Jesus, on the other hand, furnished a principle of aggregation that gathered the dispersed of Israel into one. Love to a person could do what obedience to a law could not do. There was no personal element in the old dispensation to form a nucleus around which individual and social affections might cluster. But this want was supplied by the New Testament dispensation. The Son of man appeared, in whom the law and the prophets were fulfilled and impersonated. In him we are united to God and to one another; love the Lord our God supremely, and each other with pure hearts fervently. In him are reconstituted the relations between man and God, and between man and man, which sin destroyed. In him

selfish isolation is lost, and true individuality is found; the lower life that centres in self becomes the truer and higher life that is lived in another. Love supplies the place of law, and casteth out all fear, because it is the fulfilling of the law. And this union with Christ, which makes the believer no longer the isolated unit that he is in a state of nature, but a member of that spiritual organisation which is Christ's body, partaking of the corporate life that flows from the head and heart of redeemed humanity, is the basis of social worship. Strictly speaking, and in one sense, there can be no individual worship under Christianity. Its worship must be common, because its salvation is common; because the ground of the personal is the ground of the general salvation. It must have all things in common; neither can any one say that ought of the things which he possesses is his own. Even into our most secret devotions, when we shut to the door, and pray to Him who seeth in secret, we must carry with us the sympathies of the race, and bare before our God a heart that can take in the world in its wide reach of intercession and fraternal regard. We are not to pray for ourselves alone, but for others also, that they may be one with us in Christ. Our petitions, like those of the model prayer of Christ, must throughout be plural and collective. We must say, "Our Father in heaven, give *us* what we need." Under the Christian dispensation there is no provision made for separate individual worship in public. It is always regarded as a social, a common act. The Israelite of old came by himself before God in the Levitical sacrifice, and was accepted by himself. But the Christian who comes before God in public worship is not accepted if he comes in selfishness and isolation, an egotist in his piety, a monopolist in his prayers. He must come as a member of a spiritual family. His Christianity must be a true *religion*,—that word meaning literally, a binding of man to God, and of man to man. His worship beginning with "Oh! God, thou art *my* God" must soon pass into the spirit of him who said, "I was glad when *they* said unto me, Let *us* go into the house of God." He enjoys the communion of saints; and as a member of Christ's body, finds himself partaker of a corporate life, and a history larger than his own. The common relationships of life are sanctified, reflected in the church, and thus shewn to be what they really are,—the earthly shadows of heavenly realities. To use the image of the Rev. Mr Davies: As we are never separated from one another in common life, but come into the world as sons and daughters, brothers and sisters, and grow up to be husbands and wives, parents, friends, neighbours, fellow-countrymen, fellow-worshippers, so is it in the household of faith, in the society of Christ, in the kingdom of God. "Verily, I say unto you, there is no man that hath

left house, or brothers, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my sake and the gospel's, but he shall receive an hundredfold now in this time, houses, and brethren, and sisters, and mother, and children, and lands, with persecutions; and in the world to come eternal life." Whosoever doeth the will of our Father, who is in heaven, the same is our brother, and sister, and mother. And as our daily labour is effectually performed, and our daily bread earned only in combination with others,—as our nature is expanded and educated through the mutual sympathies and duties of society,—as our highest joys and deepest sorrows come to us through our intercourse with one another,—so through our social union and communion in Christ, our spiritual life is best nourished, and trained, and gladdened. Our common worship becomes more real, more fervent, more vital. Prayer and praise, the pleading of all for each and each for all, our repenting and giving thanks together for ourselves and for each other, becomes the life-blood that circulates throughout the whole body, quickening and animating us. Impression is deepened, and emotion is intensified. We realise the truth of the apostolic precept: "Be not drunk with wine, wherein is excess, but be filled with the Spirit, speaking to yourselves in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing and making melody in your heart to the Lord." We are not men filled with new wine, but with the love which is better than wine. Our quickened life, our elevated thoughts, our freer, and fuller, and larger sympathies are the blessed intoxication of the Spirit, the grace for grace that we all receive out of the fulness of Christ, when in our public worship we have the consciousness of a common partaking of the highest gifts, and a common seeking of the highest ends.

H. M.

ART. II.—*Henry Ainsworth : Vir pietate ac meritis
gravis.*

NOT long ago, a certain German philosopher undertook to prove, with laborious ingenuity, that every single wavelet, however small, raised by the dropping of a heavy body into the water, whether in the quiet pool or in the wide ocean, moves on in its ever-widening circle, till it reaches the utmost bounds of the element in which it was excited. And with the same invincible logic, he shewed how every stroke of articulate and inarticulate sound must be wafted on the wings of atmospheric vibrations to the remotest regions of space. But such is the

grossness of our senses, that those delicate actions of the agencies of nature are imperceptible, almost incredible, phenomena to us. We are sensible only of the loudest and nearest sounds—we note the biggest waves—but what then? Have little waves and feeble sounds, therefore, no independent being, no remote consequences? But the ingenious philosopher did not mean to confine his reasoning to the operation of physical nature; it may be equally effective in the sphere of morals. Do not the daily actions of our life—the thoughts and sentiments we communicate to one another—produce remote as well as immediate consequences, which an imagination sufficiently sublimed, might be able to trace, like an Ariadne thread, in their complicated situations, as they affect ourselves and posterity onwards? A thrilling note of Homer's song ever and anon strikes our ear—we still mark the deeds of Alexander, as they roll down the tide of human history like monster waves. What but impotence of perceptive acuteness prevents our detecting, like tiny swells on the shoulders of these, the obscure toils of the slave who daily fed and curried Bucephalus? It was perhaps a dim foreshadow of this great idea of the far-reaching consequences of every awakened activity, and which reached maturity at last in the moral consciousness of the German sage, that must have crossed the imagination of the old poet, Publius Syrus, when he framed that curious apothegm—*etiam capillus unus habet umbram suam*—which, craving the indulgence of the learned, we render into plain English prose—"Yea, each individual hair has its own particular shadow." The smallest object has this attribute in common with the greatest, of casting a certain image of itself on others. So at least the poet insinuates. Man casts a shadow of himself; so does a single hair. Certain dark old traditions might be cited, which have denied even this poor property to some men. But while we reject the tradition, possibly we might extract from it a useful moral. The world contains a number of men—a number portentously large in every generation—whose claim of superiority over the single hair is very trifling. Their individual bodies project their shadows on the earth for a brief season, but their proper selves are shadowless. And when the gross corporeal entity disappears, they leave no traceable image of their life, nor "the shadow of a name," behind them. Every recorded name of the past is a sort of index, pointing to some still abiding image of a life of which the world is the better or the worse. That image gradually fades and vanishes, as the world grows older, like the ærial circles of the philosopher—but where are the vanishing limits?

Henry Ainsworth belongs to the comparatively few who have left the image of a beneficent life distinctly behind them.

The name carries in it the permanent, indestructible *eicon* of one of the world's real worthies, whose fruitful toils and deeds of faith have made the world richer. The image of his individuality, which he projected, is growing faint and dim with lapse of time, and, to the glance of casual observation, may already appear indistinguishably blended with others of greater or smaller dimensions. A veritable image of his true self he did project, nevertheless, on his own generation, and far beyond it, and its outlines are not yet quite obliterated. He was one of whom it may be said with truth, that he *served* his generation, and while serving it, left the visible impress of his mind and character on its history. He was one of the true teachers of men, who taught by the example of a heroic Christian life, and a courageous self-devotion and fidelity to principles, and to a cause almost universally in discredit in his own day, not less than by the force and fulness of truth in all that he wrote. As a biblical scholar, he ranks among the foremost that England has produced; in the special department of Hebrew learning, it may fairly be questioned if he has since been surpassed in his own country. In the opinion of one who would not readily be suspected of intentional partiality to one of his sect—Dr Worthington of Cambridge—"he seemed to have had as much acquaintance with every jot and tittle of the Holy Text as any of the Masorites of Tiberias."

But apart from his undoubted eminence in the ranks of the learned, Henry Ainsworth holds a position of peculiar interest in English church history. The principles, to the advocacy and success of which he devoted the energies of his active life, have since been so extensively adopted in their essential form, so successfully applied, both in England and in America, that the difficulties with which the early defenders of these principles had to battle, to conquer for them the bare rights of life, are very apt to be forgotten. Ainsworth was the chief pillar of a religious community, which was formed in considerable obscurity, which was for some time small and despised, as small things usually are, intensely hated, however, by the Christian churches in general, for the desolating doctrines of ecclesiastical authority suspected to be inchoate in its bosom, and therefore relentlessly persecuted. In order the more effectually to stamp out what was thought to be a pestilent new heresy, it was deemed prudent to huddle its adherents out of the country. So extremely trifling was the progress which the fundamental principle of Protestantism—the liberty of conscience—had yet achieved in England, a century and a half after the Reformation began.

The majority of these forlorn pilgrims sought an asylum in Holland, where, besides a few more scattered clusters, they eventually formed two considerable congregations, one at

Amsterdam, the other at Leyden. The history of this handful of exiles, maugre their dejected condition, has acquired an importance wholly disproportionate to their number, from the fact that they constituted the parent stock from which the Congregationalists of Old and New England have sprung by direct lineal descent, and the Quakers also by indirect issue. This is the outcome of the policy which would defend the unity of the church by repression. What may be said to have specially distinguished this community from the general body of Puritans, was a clearer comprehension, and a firmer grasp of the idea of a *free* church as the essential condition of a really *reformed* church ; a deep conviction of the absolute necessity of unfettered self-action, in matters of discipline and government, on the part of the church, to make a true reformation possible. Nor were they content with secretly nursing this conviction, when once formed, in their bosom, until times were more auspicious ; they resolved to give it a practical application, and proceeded to associate together for public worship, in regularly organised societies. Most of the Puritans had much the same ideas of the extreme desirableness of more religious liberty, but it is remarkable how prone they were, in the earlier stages of their struggle, to beg the smallest doles and dribblets from constituted authorities, as if these had a kind of acknowledged right to withhold at discretion. A new step was needed. The experiment was bold as it was hazardous. To organise a church on the basis of the inherent right of its members to associate together for mutual edification—to attempt nothing short of the metamorphosis of the existing ecclesiastical institutions, independently of State action, of bishops, of the grand machinery of convocations and synods—was going straight in the face of venerable traditions and hoary customs, acting in open defiance of dominant theories of church authority. No wonder the attempt was regarded as an ebullition of fatuous fanaticism, which merited no better entertainment than an unreasoning, uncompromising hostility. But the times were ripening for some such experiment as this in England. Every effort to bring the Church of England into greater harmony with the other churches of the Reformation, in doctrine, discipline, and government, had signally failed—there was little encouragement to continue the fruitless struggle—the idea of abandoning her, like a stranded old hulk, by the silent process of a voluntary separation, was now started, and was rapidly gaining converts in different parts of the country. Robert Brown began to proclaim this idea nakedly, and perhaps somewhat offensively, at Norwich, about 1581, with considerable success, and his name furnished a denomination to the adherents of the new movement. The “Separatists” universally disowned the designation of “Brownists,” and for that reason,

their enemies continued to apply it the more persistently—not because the term embodied a historical fact (for the idea of separation, in some shape or other, had been broached ten years before it was advocated by Brown) but because it savoured of opprobrium. But if Brown's name was calculated to bring odium on any party, it was the Established Church, of which he was a minister for forty years after he had abjured the principles of Separation. Hanbury's remark is needlessly severe when he says that "Brown left to the Church of England the legacy of his shame." He had been excommunicated, it is true, for his early Separatist proclivities, but was afterwards lovingly received back into the bosom of the church. We know little more to his honour or shame, except the alleged maltreatment of his wife, which, according to Hornbeck, he defended by a refined metaphysical distinction, that he beat her—*Non ut uxorem suam, sed ut pessimam vetulam*. The late Dr Vaughan, however, in his "History of Nonconformity," takes a very different view of Brown's relations to early Nonconformity from Hanbury's. He does not shrink from allowing him the honour of having been the first man in English history to avow the great principle of religious liberty, in the form in which it is now held by English Congregationalists. We have been unable to follow Dr Vaughan in this opinion of Brown. But the point is one of little practical importance.

The Separatists differed little from the rest of the Puritans, except in this particular, the propriety of a separation. The majority of the latter virtually pleaded the necessity of the times for a partial conformity, and to many of them, the word *schism* had an inexplicable terror. Differences did, however, develop in course of time, principally bearing on the form of church government. In doctrine, they were essentially at one. It was not in order to bear testimony to any particular Christian doctrine, that the necessity of a separation was pleaded, but from a settled conviction that the form and organisation of the church, as constituted under Queen Elizabeth, was hopelessly corrupt, a hindrance to the free development of Christian life; and that, from the peculiarities of its constitution, it was incapable of any useful amendment. And now, looking back on the history of the English Church during the three centuries which have since intervened, that history, we think, furnishes abundant proofs that this judgment was fully justified and substantially sound. Even at the present day, there are not a few earnest spirits, helplessly chafing under the yoke of the stiff, impracticable constitution of that church, whether the tendency of their convictions is towards a more pronounced Protestantism, or Romeward, who entertain just as faint a hope of the possibility of amendment as did the Separatists of three hundred years ago.

The bishops appear to have detected in this new movement the results of the most dangerous opinions yet propounded among the Puritans, and they accordingly determined to deal with it summarily. The Act for banishing the Brownists was passed in 1593, and the clearing system, which was continued with occasional intermissions for the next twenty years, began with a vengeance. Those who refused "to come to church" were allowed the mild alternative of incarceration in some noisome dungeon, with the gallows in perspective, or "for ever abjuring the realm." But the latter alternative was not long left a matter of choice. With all its bitterness and attendant hardships, the numbers availing themselves of this mode of escape from ecclesiastical despotism were increasing at an alarming rate. The advocates of extreme measures were astounded with the unexpected results of their policy, and chagrined at its impotence. Men accustomed to regulate their own conduct and opinions by a polite conformity to the conventionalities which happen to be in the ascendant, find it hard to understand the motive power of great principles, or to believe in any other dynamical forces determining human actions than mere calculations of self-interest. They cannot comprehend the ardour and resolution, the unquenchable moral enthusiasm, inspired by profound religious convictions. The spectacle paralyses them.

The exiles did not consist, as the bishops had anticipated, of a few obstinate desperadoes and incorrigible fanatics; they were principally yeomen and substantial traders, who left all to win religious freedom, and for conscience' sake. They counted among their number not a few distinguished for talents, learning, and piety. With Ainsworth and Johnson at Amsterdam, and John Robinson at Leyden, whom Principal Baillie, the uncompromising enemy of the sect, describes as "the most learned, modest, and polished spirit of them all," the church of the separation was ably represented. Ainsworth was not at first the most conspicuous of the Separatist leaders—notoriety was none of his aims—but he was unquestionably the ablest advocate, the most steadfast and active champion of their principles. He was fitted, by a rare combination of gifts and acquirements, for the leadership of a party whose faith and fortitude were severely tested by the trials incident to their lot, as strangers in a foreign country—by the undisguised hostility of the Dutch clergy, and by the unmitigated rancour of their enemies at home. His faith in God was as a steady flame,—his devotion to the cause with which he identified himself, no adversity could quench,—he possessed a full measure of self-reliance, a healthy, robust faith in himself, faith in the future, faith in the ultimate success of their policy, in the spirit of it at least; a virtue which very wise people

might have been disposed to characterise as at best a fanatical clinging to vague and impracticable ideas. Yet he had to verify, to some extent, in his own experience, the truth of Plato's observation, that—"for the trial of true virtue, the good man, even though he do no wrong, must suffer the infamy of injustice." His memory has, in a measure, shared the injustice which he experienced in his lifetime. It would be difficult to name another, within the last three hundred years, who had written so much and so excellently, of whose personal history biographers have been able to tell so little, and even that little mixed with fable and unhappy conjecture. The time and place of his birth were alike regarded as unknown; and the incident, half tragic, half romantic, with which tradition associated his death, invested the *finale* of a chequered life with a kind of mysterious interest. Two diverse characters—the imperturbable calmness of the devoted student, and the warm temper and invincible resolution of a ready and vigorous controversialist—were so admirably sustained in his person, that in some of the earliest biographical accounts of him, he stands for two different individuals. In Moreri's "Biographical Dictionary," and in Zedler's "Cyclopædia," there is a notice of two Henry Ainsworths—the one, Dr H. Ainsworth, a learned Biblical commentator; the other, H. Ainsworth, an arch-heretic, and the "ringleader of the Separatists at Amsterdam." But notwithstanding the apparent incongruity of the combination, the "learned commentator" and the "arch-heretic" of Moreri are one and the same Henry Ainsworth. Even the titles of some of his books, which, according to the usage of the time, are amply descriptive of their contents, and somewhat ambiguous from their copiousness, have so far misled some writers, as to ascribe to him the authorship of imaginary works. A little fact, which suggests a suspicion that the said writers drew the substance of their information from book catalogues. We have perused upwards of a score of biographical sketches of Ainsworth; but with the exception of *two* or *three*, they seem to be mere dishings, more or less meagre, from Hornbeck's "Summa Controversiarum," Baillie's "Dissuasive," and Neal's "Lives of the Puritans," in which the mistakes of these *authorities* are retained with a laudable fidelity, and occasionally supplemented by the inventive imagination of the several writers, according to their respective mental bias. The time of Ainsworth's birth has usually been fixed, with a convenient indefiniteness, "about the middle of the sixteenth century," and the date of his death varies considerably, from 1622 to 1639, thus reserving a safe margin of seventeen years. A moderate acquaintance with his own works would have rendered this random hitting at an invisible mark unnecessary.

The preface to one of his *posthumous* works, written by a member of his congregation, is dated 1623! Curiously enough, Dr Helly, in his recent interesting "History of Lancashire Puritanism," oblivious of this little fact, puts his death at 1629. The most accurate, and by far the most satisfactory account of Ainsworth hitherto written, the most justly appreciative of his character and worth, is that prefixed to a reprint of his "Communion of Saints," &c., issued at Edinburgh, 1789. The author, however, laments that he had been unable to procure some of Ainsworth's minor works, and but scanty extracts from others—that all he can offer to the reader as a life of his author, is little more than "a few meagre anecdotes." Our own investigations have been somewhat more successful than those of Dr Stuart (the reputed author of the "Life" referred to). Many new and interesting facts, illustrative of the history of the Separatists, have been brought to light, within recent years, by the Publications of the Massachusetts' Historical Society; not the least important of the documents recovered by this Society, the History of the New Plymouth Colony, by Governor Bradford, who had been himself during fourteen years a member of the "English Exiled Church in the Low Countries," and personally intimate with Ainsworth. Bradford's history gives valuable glimpses into the circumstances and condition of the exiles, with brief but admirable characteristic sketches of the chief personages among them.

Henry Ainsworth came of an ancient stock, and possessed a full share of the sturdy qualities with which Lancasterians have been usually credited. He was born at Plessington, in Lancashire, in 1560. This is nearly all that is known with certainty about him till he was about thirty-six years of age. The family, which appears to have become extinct about the end of last century, held a position of considerable local importance among the gentry of Lancashire for upwards of four hundred years. "It is not so well known," Dr Halley pertinently remarks, "that this poor scholar was brought up in all the comforts of a wealthy Lancashire family." It was not, then, any such motives as might possibly influence a gifted youth, struggling with adversity, that determined Ainsworth's choice of association with the fortunes of the Separatists. The force of inward convictions, the imperious dictates of conscience alone, could induce him to renounce those "comforts," and the hopes of an honourable ambition, that his talents and superior scholarship might warrant him to entertain, and which could hardly have failed of procuring him fame and emolument, had he chosen to devote them in the interest of the dominant ecclesiastical party. The liberty of conscience, which he valued above all price, was a costly indulgence. And, in

common with many others, he had to purchase it with tossings to and fro from place to place, with much suffering and privations, and with enforced banishment from his native country for a quarter of a century. The malignant spirit of persecution followed him into the place of his exile, with coarse slander, illimitable scoffing, and false accusations, to prejudice him, and the church to which he ministered, with the people of Holland.

Dr Stuart observes that "no *Alma mater* has put in a claim for the honour of such a son," and, like many before him, is puzzled as to how he came by that learning for which he was distinguished, and which was not to be acquired, in his day, beyond the precincts of a university. It is now, however, ascertained that he studied at Cambridge, then the focus of Puritanism. We suspect that the genius of T. Cartwright was still potent at Cambridge, and that Ainsworth, like many other young and ardent spirits, felt its invigorating influence. The disrepute in which the sect to which he afterwards attached himself, was almost universally held, will sufficiently explain the oblivion into which his name was allowed to sink at the University. How deeply the reproach of Brownism had sunk into the public mind, may be gathered from the tacit admission of it even by Milton in his *Defence of the People of England*, where he repels Salmasius's charge of Brownism on the English republicans with scornful indignation. But a more unequivocal expression of this feeling is furnished in Howel's "*Familiar Letters*," where we meet with the following charming confession:—"I rather pity than hate Turk or infidel, for they are of the same metal, and bear the same stamp as I do, though the inscriptions differ; if I hate any, 'tis those schismatics that puzzle the peace of the church, so that I could be contented to see an Anabaptist go to hell on a Brownist's back."

It has been assumed that Ainsworth joined the exiles in Amsterdam in 1593, but without good grounds. F. Johnson, his future colleague, was pastor of the congregation whose headquarters lay for a long time in the region of Islington. When he was discovered and apprehended, along with several members of the congregation, Ainsworth's name is not mentioned in the list of prisoners, nor in any of the official or public documents referring to the sect. The inference is warranted that he was at the time at home in Lancashire. And this inference is corroborated by certain incidental allusions in the writings of his contemporaries. One of his most foul-mouthed detractors, who was no stranger to his past life, admits that—"many good Christians did lament his fall (his separation from the national church) in the place where he lived in

England, while commending his innocent life, and praying for his enlargement from his miserable schism." This requires that he was well known, where his "innocent life" elicited commendation from those who regarded his subsequent conduct as almost tantamount to forsaking his salvation. Nor did he yet harden into the irreclaimable Separatist while at home. For we are told that when a young man, and before he left England, he did, at the persuasions of his friends, occasionally go to hear "a godly minister" of the Conformists preach, which was charged on him by the more rigid Separatists for apostacy. Was this the ground of Baillie's charge of "inconstancies" against him, and which he interprets as a plain indication of the divine judgment on the way of Separation?

As the prognostics of the coming storm were growing more legible, many of the disaffected anticipated the Act for Banning the Brownists, by withdrawing betimes from the country. And when the Act did pass, Ainsworth was too conspicuous a mark to escape observation and too determined in his non-conformity to hope for leniency. He therefore retired from England, but not to Holland, as is generally supposed, but to Ireland. Every writer who has given an account of his life, mentions his journey to Ireland, but, strangely enough, the time and the occasion of it is unquestionably mistaken by all. Hornbeck's account is to the effect that, when the controversy about the eldership culminated in the division of the congregation at Amsterdam, party feeling ran so high that Johnson, with his followers, was obliged to retire to Embden, and that Ainsworth went to Ireland for a season, where he left some followers. Subsequent writers have adopted this version of the "learned and accurate" Hornbeck without doubt or question, in some cases improving the occasion to accumulate ridicule on the sect. The journey to Ireland would, according to this version, have occurred in 1611 or later. Unhappily for the story, and for the heap of elegant sneers and refined sarcasm on the quarrels of the sect, of which it is the sole foundation, an examination of his own letters, prefaces of his books, and other available data, prove conclusively that Ainsworth remained uninterruptedly at Amsterdam from 1598 to 1614. And when we recollect that all his Annotations, and a number of other important works, were produced after 1611, one or more works appearing annually, it will appear pretty certain that he never quitted Amsterdam after his first arrival there. An incidental allusion to this journey to Ireland, in Bradford's "Dialogue," shews it to have been made, as we have already stated, before going to Holland. It seems that the extreme poverty of the unfortunate exiles, formed a fertile theme of

ridicule to their persecutors at home. Ainsworth, "the Rabbi of their church," reported to be starving on ninepence a-week, or subsisting on "boiled roots." Surely, the Almighty, in righteous anger, had forsaken the sect for forsaking the church ! Bradford admits the reproach of poverty, and accounts for it. His words are worth quoting :—

"Their condition was for the most part very hard. Many of them had long lain in prisons, and were then banished to Newfoundland, where they were abused, and at last came to the Low Countries, wanting money, trades, friends, and knowledge of the languages, to help themselves. . . . The report of Mr Ainsworth (living on boiled roots) was near those times when *he was newly come out of Ireland* with others, poor, and being a single young man, and very studious, was content with a little. And yet to take off the aspersion from the people in that particular, the chief and true reason thereof is mistaken : for he was a very modest and bashful young man, and concealed his wants from others until some suspected how it was with him ; and after it was known, such as were able mended his condition."

The above extract explains, and sufficiently disposes of, the historical error we have been animadverting on.

Chill penury, if it does press too heavily, and overwhelm the spirit, may prove a valuable ordeal of compurgation to the individual as well as to a society—it discovers a man's true metal. In the case of Ainsworth, a period of trial and privation, far from depressing, added resolution to courage. While earning a precarious livelihood in the capacity of a bookseller's porter, he toiled and wrote in defence of his cause, snatching occasional opportunities at the expense of necessary rest and sleep. The first object of the exiles' anxiety was to remove the prejudice of the Dutch clergy against them, by a full exposition of their principles, and of the grounds of their separation from the Church of England. This was attempted by the publication of their elaborate "Confession of Faith," in Latin, accompanied with a historical preface. In furtherance of the same object, Johnson and Ainsworth opened a correspondence with Professor Junius at Leyden, hoping to engage his sympathies, and to win his great influence to conciliate for them the goodwill of the Dutch ministers. But the learned professor had already, after a troublous voyage, got into safe harbour, and he had little heart to sally forth again to the assistance of such as were still tossing on the billows. He scarcely gives his correspondents common civility. He is very lavish of admonition, plentifully seasoned with pious exhortations to submit to their fates with becoming humility—to cultivate a spirit of charitable

forbearance towards their enemies—above all things, to endeavour to keep quiet—oh! the unspeakable blessedness of keeping quiet! Except that it affords the philosopher a valuable glimpse of a phase of human nature, this correspondence accomplished little immediate results.

This "Confession" of the Separatists is a most interesting document. It consists of forty-five propositions or articles, every one of which is fortified in the rear by a most formidable battalion of Scripture texts—proving at least how laboriously the compilers searched out the principles they maintained in the Scriptures. It was not intended to form a standard by which to regulate the faith and doctrine of their church in future. The Separatists repudiated the principle of creating a standard or test of orthodoxy. They had learned the futility of such devices for the preservation of truth and purity of doctrine—nor could they very consistently undertake to sanction a policy which might tend to abridge to others that liberty which they now claimed for themselves. The "Confession" is purely apologetic—explanatory of their principles and defensive of their position. The 39th article is a singular phenomenon in a document characterised by so much enlightened liberality. It lays down, among the duties incumbent on princes and magistrates, that of suppressing and eradicating all false religions, and the enforcement on subjects, whether ecclesiastical or civil, of their duties to God and man. True, the doctrine of magisterial duty here laid down, was universally held by all sects and parties in all the churches—a remarkable illustration of the chaotic state of opinion as to what is implied in personal responsibility and liberty of conscience. This doctrine, moreover, cut away the ground from under their own feet. We do not see what further argument Elizabeth and James, and Whitgift and Bancroft needed, to plead in justification of the ecclesiastical policy which they pursued, beyond that with which the Separatists supply them in this very article of their "Confession." Confused and inadequate as their views of freedom in the domain of conscience were, their circumstances, and the necessities of their position, were not long in schooling them into far different opinions, and of helping them towards a clearer conception of religious liberty. The principle of magisterial authority in matters of religion, which they conceded, was strongly pressed on the Dutch magistrates against themselves from all quarters, happily without success. It is to the eternal honour of the statesmen of Holland, that they steadily disregarded the clamours of ecclesiastics, and succeeded in upholding the principles of an enlightened toleration, at that critical period of their country's history, in spite of the boundless obloquy and abuse poured on them, both by the clergy of their

own church, as well as by many in England and Scotland. And the time was not far distant when English Puritans and Scotch Presbyterians had abundant cause of thankfulness, that the policy which they had branded as "carnal, worldly, and godless," did not break down under their own repeated assaults. Baillie calls Holland "a cage of unclean birds;" and Bishop Hall reproaches the Dutch with permitting their country to become a "common harbour of all opinions and of all heresies." The dramatists employed their wit and satire on the same delightful theme, *teste* Ben Johnson's "Staple of News," and Fletcher and Beaumont's "Fair Maid of the Inn." It does not appear that any Dutch philosopher or divine elaborated a theory of religious toleration, but Holland has an indisputable claim to the honourable distinction of practising the amplest toleration, at a period when the rudiments of the doctrine were but dimly apprehended by the most enlightened minds in other countries.

But protection from open violence, and immunity from magisterial interference, did not secure tranquility to the exiles. Without were fightings still, and the elements of dissension began to manifest themselves within. A nervous anxiety to keep themselves clear of the suspicion of harbouring dangerous or erroneous doctrines, will perhaps explain their readiness to enter the lists with every opponent that challenged their principles or position. It was a custom of their opponents to identify them with the most infatuated heretics that disturbed the peace of the Christian church in former ages; and there was no great difficulty of believing anything of a party who had committed the enormity of forsaking "their mother church." With the appearance of Ainsworth, in the capacity of an independent champion, the apologetic tone of their earlier publications was in a great degree abandoned. He wisely assumed the offensive, thus reducing his adversaries to the necessity of defending their own position. We freely grant, however, that in his first encounter, his personal character appears to better advantage than his arguments. This was a dispute provoked by H. Broughton, respecting the material of Aaron's ephod. The controversy, however, speedily passed to the question of excommunication, as practised by the Separatists, and the repetition of the Lord's Prayer in public worship, which Ainsworth, in common with the Puritans generally, condemned. The grotesque representation which Heylin gives of this dispute, and which has been adopted with avidity by most subsequent writers, as admirably fitted to give pungency to their satires on the whimsicalities of the Separatists, would make it worthy to be classed with the puniest debates of the schoolmen. According to Heylin's account, the question about

which two learned divines fought like Greek and Trojan champions, was, "whether the colour of Aaron's ephod was blue or green!" To be sure, the matter debated was not of vast importance to the church, but it was not quite so absurd as Heylin's ludicrous story would make it appear. But why drag Aaron's ephod into a dispute between Churchman and Separatist? Why, is not very evident, unless to illustrate the marvellous ingenuity of controversial zeal, which is never at a loss how to magnify trifles. The ephod was "a ceremony figuring holiness," its substance must therefore be pure—but the worm is unclean, therefore silk, the production of the unclean worm, must not enter into its composition. That is the positive side of the argument. What was the precise bearing of this controversy, on the propriety or impropriety of the Separation, is a question which may safely be left where the combatants left it—in the dark.

Ainsworth appears to much better advantage in his next polemical publication, entitled the "Counterpoysen," the first edition of which appeared in 1608. This work has been sometimes erroneously attributed to Henry Jacob; it has also been confounded with a work, bearing the same title, by Dudley Fenner. The "Counterpoysen" is mainly a spirited reply to the objections of the Puritans to the Separatists' position. A Mr Bernard valiantly took up the cudgels in defence of the "Apostolic Character of the Church of England," and against the "Separatists' Schism." His pretentious performance is somewhat feeble in argument, notwithstanding the ostentatious array of Scripture texts and quotations from the fathers. If it were possible to give an idea of the contents of two considerably bulky volumes in a few words, the line of attack and defence might be indicated briefly as follows:—Bernard urges the stock argument of the prelatists (1.), the *novelty* of the Separation. A. Novelty is a word to frighten the simple—this weapon wounds your own hand; you may have many more hard words from your right rev. fathers and fellow-priests against presbytery and the discipline. (Bernard had enlisted before under the "Holy Discipline," for which he lost his living.) (2.) B. You follow the ancient schismatics. A. What answer can you make to the Papists which will not better clear us? (3.) B. The divines of the Church of England, both living and dead, condemn this way. A. The divines and rabbins of Israel condemned Christ's way, &c. Apart, however, from the *tu quoque* argument, the "Counterpoysen" contains an able defence of the Separation, on the plain and simple ground of necessity, if they would maintain public worship in a tolerable degree of purity. Ainsworth treats the

authority of the "Fathers," on a question like this, as Cartwright did before him, with contempt.

The most elaborate of Ainsworth's controversial works, entitled "*A Defence of Holy Scripture*," was directed against a Mr Smyth, who, after passing through sundry revolutions of opinion, adopted at last some of the wildest theories current among the Anabaptists of Holland, and began to bitterly attack the Separatists. The government, ministry, and worship of the Separatist Church, is here set forth and defended. The work contains a forcible and lucid exposition of many passages of Scripture.

Ainsworth did not confine his labours to the necessities of his sect; they contemplate the interests of the Christian church at large. Indeed, the "*Counterpoison*" excepted, the interests of the sect appear of secondary consideration in all his works. And this is specially true of his "*Censure*" on the doctrines of the Familists, which tended to the subversion of social morality; "*The Trying out of the Truth*," in a correspondence with the seminary priest, or Jesuit, John Ainsworth; "*The Arrow against Idolatry*," and the "*Seasonable Discourse on a Dialogue of the Anabaptists*." The "*Arrow*" is remarkable, not less for its elegant style and exquisite irony, than for the acuteness and learning with which the argument is conducted throughout. We need no apology for quoting the remarks of Dr Stuart on the character of this work :—

"The chief object of the author is to expose the superstition and idolatry of the Church of Rome. In prosecution of this design, however, he traces these to their sources, in the notions and inclinations common to all men; and applies his dissuasives to every kind and degree of the same iniquity. The parallel he has drawn between the antichristian idolatry and that of Jeroboam, is peculiarly ingenious, and equally solid, and the pleas which he supposes him to have used in self-defence, together with his replies to them, manifest no common degree of invention and judgment. When it is considered that Ainsworth wrote at a period in which the art of composition was almost unknown, the force and eloquence of this performance shew him to have possessed very singular talents, and to have excelled most of his contemporaries in good writing, as in the understanding of the truth."

It would be unnecessary to mention here several other small works of a polemical character, besides those already noticed; as they bear principally on the questions which agitated, and eventually divided, the congregation at Amsterdam, they can be of interest only to the student of church history. But Ainsworth did not confine himself to the field of controversy; necessity, not choice, alone urged him into conflict with any

man. And as soon as comparative quiet afforded the opportunity, he devoted himself to his "Annotations," and to works of a purely didactic character. Among the latter, may be mentioned "The Communion of Saints," published in 1615, and the "Orthodox Foundation," a posthumous publication. The former of these has been many times reprinted, and is pretty generally known. The latter seems to be a skeleton of a projected theological work. Small and unpretentious as it appears, it was evidently the result of much thought, and contains, within a few pages, the substance of a considerable volume.

Ainsworth's first effort in the field of Biblical literature is worthy of special notice, both for its own peculiar character and merits, and also as a genuine literary curiosity. We may remark that one of the calumnies circulated, and widely credited on the representation of Heylin, against the Separatists was, that they entertained an aversion to the singing of psalms or hymns, and to the use of tunes in public worship. It must, indeed, be recollected, that the apparatus for congregational singing in English was, in their day, of a rather sorry description. The attempts at a metrical version of the psalms produced little better than doggerel rhyme, and the tunes were uncouth. Ainsworth, more than once, tried his hand at the divine art of poesy. Following Beza in his unhappy attempt to turn the Canticles into verse, Ainsworth turned the Song of Songs into English metre. We have not been fortunate enough to see this metrical version of the Canticles, but a writer in the *Athen. Oxon.* is not likely to be far wrong, when he says that the author was to be commended "for a better commentator and converser in rugged studies than a delighter in the softer paths of poetry." It was not, however, an ambition to distinguish himself in the paths of poetry, that induced him to undertake the preparation of a metrical version of the Psalms, so much as a sense of the value of singing as an element of public worship, and a desire to supply the wants of the church. Hence "The Book of Psalms, Englished in Prose and Metre, by H. A. Imprinted at Amsterdam, by Giles Thorp, 1612." This edition is very rare, and different in form from all subsequent editions. The alleged objection of the sect to singing is unintentionally disposed of in the preface, where the author ingeniously proves that the Psalms were intended to be perpetually sung in the church, from the two parallel facts—that the Scriptures are written, partly in prose, and partly in verse, and that God has furnished man with the faculty of *speaking* and also of *singing*. With reference to the manner in which he executed his task, he professes to follow the structure of the Hebrew verse "I have been mindful," he says, "of the

grace of the Hebrew, and differ somewhat in phrase from the English Bible. . . . In pauses, I follow the Hebrew; and rather than I would stray from the text, I have strayed now and then from the rules of English poesy, in the just ending of both verses alike, and sometimes in the quantity of a syllable."

The pages are double-columned—the first column containing a prose version ; the second, the metrical, headed with the music of the appropriate tune. Then follow the brief annotations to explain "the hard words and phrases" of the Psalms. We cannot give a better idea of the author's success in the art of poesy than by quoting two brief specimens of different measure, preserving the form and the punctuation of the original exactly. We select the 133d Psalm :—

- " 1. Behold how good it is and sweet :
for brethren ever to dwell at one !
- " 2. It's like the good oil on the head ;
which did go down the beard upon ;
the beard of A'ron : which down went
on collar of his vestiment.
- " 3. It's like the dew of *mount* Hermon :
even like the dew that doth descend,
upon the mountains of Sion :
because Jehovah doth command
that there the blessing *still shall be* :
even life, unto eternity."

As a sample of a different measure, we take a couple of verses of the second Psalm :—

- " 1. Why, do the heathen rage tumultuously :
and peoples, meditate on vanity ?
- " 2. Kings of the earth, themselves presenting set :
and princes for to plot together get :
against Jehovah, gainst his Christ also.
- " 3. Break we, their cords : and their bands, from us throw."

A bare inspection of the volume will impress the reader with the enormous toil which its preparation must have cost the author. The music was all selected by himself. He comes before us here as translator, versifier, annotator, and musician. But notwithstanding its wretched versification, the use of this metrical version was not confined to the church in Amsterdam. The congregation at Leyden adopted it, and the Pilgrim Fathers brought it with them to New England, where it held its ground for nearly eighty years. The following extract from the records of the Church of New Plymouth, is not without interest :—"June 19th 1692. The pastor propounded to the church, that seeing many of the Psalms of Mr Ainsworth's translation, which had hitherto been sung in the congregation, had such difficult tunes, that none in the church could set, they would consider of some expedient that they might sing all the Psalms."

In about four years after, Ainsworth's translation was replaced by another version, probably the version of Sternhold and Hopkins, improved by the "Roxbury Poets," and which Dunster, the President of Harvard, afterwards smoothed, by "a little more art," to the sweetness of liquid verse. Prince tells us that this improved version of Dunster was extensively used in the old country, and that he himself saw the eighteenth edition of it, bound with the Bible, at Edinburgh, in 1741. Prince, however, did not think it beyond amendment, and accordingly tried his own hand on it to still further smooth the rugged rhyme.

The "Annotations" on the Pentateuch and Psalms are so well known as to make any lengthened remark on their character and special excellencies here unnecessary. Their peculiar merits have been universally acknowledged from the first, though they have always been more widely known and appreciated by continental scholars than by Englishmen. Objections were, however, vehemently urged against them from certain quarters in Ainsworth's own day. The learned John Cotton acknowledges their great value to the church, while regretting "some uncircumcised and unguarded rabbinical observations recited but not refuted." This remark points to the main objections to these "Annotations"—the frequent citation of old Jewish writers, and the almost total neglect of the Christian fathers. But this objection was founded on a misapprehension of the author's principal object in the work. The rabbinical writings are "cited to give light to the ordinances of Moses in their external practice," a light which could not be borrowed from any other quarter: and also "to shew how, in many words, phrases, and points of doctrine, the rabbins approve the New Testament, sometimes condemning themselves." As to the alleged neglect of the Christian fathers, the author enters the satisfactory plea, "that they are usually cited by other expositors abundantly, making it unnecessary for him to repeat, and the rather for brevity, which is requisite in annotations." A judicious brevity is indeed one of the most admirable characteristics of these "Annotations." While there is always a careful opening of the radical meaning of the words, there is an entire absence of windy disquisitions on grammatical or philological difficulties—no pompous discourse on archæological questions—no rambling paraphrases, which often obscure more than they illustrate the simple text. By a copious use of the Targums and Jewish commentaries, a diligent comparison of ancient versions, and, above all, by a most accurate and minute collation of the Scriptures themselves, Ainsworth has furnished one of the most admirable helps extant towards a thorough understanding of the Scriptures. His Translation is far too

literal to be satisfactory. It is a rendering of the *words* rather than of the *sense*. Two or three verses may be quoted for illustration from Gen. xi. 1 :—

“ And all the earth was of one lip, and of one speech. And it was, when they journeyed from the east, that they found a plain in the land of Shinar, and they seated there. And they said *every* man to his neighbour, Go to, let us make bricks, and burn *them* with a burning : and they had brick for stone : and slime had they for mortar.”

It is much to be regretted that the unfinished MSS. of Annotations on Hosea and the Epistle to the Hebrews, which Ainsworth left behind him, have been lost apparently beyond recovery. Dr Worthington, whose inquiries failed to discover in whose hands they were lodged, hints at other men “lighting their candle by his.” Moreri mentions a current report that Dr Lightfoot pillaged the best of his observations from Ainsworth, though he deems it unworthy of credit. Can the report have had any connection with the unaccountable disappearance of those unpublished MSS.?

In a biographical notice of Ainsworth, it would scarcely be fair to pass over in silence the lamentable divisions that occurred in the congregation at Amsterdam. These almost unavoidable occurrences brought reproach on the church, and furnished an occasion of derisive jubilation to their adversaries. We shall notice only that in which Ainsworth was directly concerned. The question in dispute involved an important principle ; it concerned the power of the elders in the government of the church. Neal and other historians have misrepresented the case. The Separatists adopted substantially the Presbyterian form of church government, so far as it could be developed in a single congregation, which, before the division, consisted of about three hundred members, a pastor and teacher, “four grave men for ruling elders, three able and godly men for deacons, and an ancient widow for deaconess.” It was felt, however, that the elders were gradually assuming a degree of authority which, it was feared, might prove as dangerous to the freedom of the church as the prelacy from which they had already escaped. The peculiar circumstances of the church naturally made its members jealous of every move which threatened the freedom which they had conquered at a great sacrifice, and apt to take offence at the semblance of usurpation of authority. The question, which at length assumed a distinct form, was—Whether the elders (including the pastor) had sole authority in all matters of government and discipline, independently of the congregation, or jointly with, and subject to the approval of the congregation, in all cases of importance? Johnson and his partly claimed for the elders

the right of excommunication without, and even against the consent, of the congregation. Ainsworth argued that the church consisted of members and officers jointly, and that therefore the actions of the church should, in reality, though not necessarily formally, be joint actions. The exclusive and absolute authority arrogated for the eldership was little short of the pretensions of the full-blown prelacy. "The underprops of this spiritual arrogance," says Ainsworth, "are a proportioning of the Christian church on the government of Israel, and a pretended privilege from Peter's keys." The difference between the two parties widened with discussion. The counsels of Robinson and Elder Brewster of Leyden, both of whom supported Ainsworth's views, failed to produce a mutual understanding. Dean Hook repeats, in his *Ecclesiastical Dictionary*, the old exploded fallacy, that the Presbytery of Amsterdam exhausted all the resources of reason and persuasion in vain to mediate between the two parties. The truth is, the services of the Presbytery were neither sought nor proffered for the purpose. Equally unfounded is the oft-repeated allegation that Johnson and Ainsworth mutually excommunicated each other. The testimony of friends and foes who were acquainted with the case, is unanimous that Ainsworth behaved himself throughout the whole controversy with singular wisdom and moderation. And instead of mutual excommunications, Johnson proposed a peaceful separation, which was approved of generally by both parties, as the best solution of the difficulty. This separation, which occurred December 10th 1610, dates the first distinct assertion of Congregationalism, though such was not contemplated, which, within a few years after, firmly rooted itself in England and in America. It was not the first time that a local dispute in an exiled English congregation led to great and unexpected consequences. That the abolition of the office of ruling elder was not contemplated by Ainsworth, is manifest from the fact that the eldership was continued in the Amsterdam congregation, till its final disappearance in 1701, when the remnant was absorbed into the Scotch Church there; the office existed also in the Church of New Plymouth, the eldest daughter of the Separation, as late as the middle of the last century. There may, however, be some truth in the saying, that "the people held the bridle while they allowed the elders to sit on the saddle."

The split in the congregation at Amsterdam was made the subject of ample reproach to that church. Had it occurred in a large body, the like of which has frequently happened since, it would have probably attracted little notice beyond the boundary of the congregation itself—certainly grave divines would hardly have regarded it of sufficient importance to make

it the theme of laboured treatises, much less interpret the incident as an unquestionable manifestation of the divine judgment on the body. It would be absurd to deny that there were occasional explosions of extravagances among the Separatists—the inevitable results of the artificial restraints under which they had long chafed—but whatever objections their principles or practice may be open to, it cannot justly be denied that they aimed, honestly and manfully, at restoring the church, in its outward organisation and internal life, to the simplicity of apostolic times.

We should not have alluded here to the tradition which ascribes the death of Ainsworth to premeditated violence, but for the lingering belief in the truth of it among recent writers. Stevens, the careful historian of the "Scotch Church at Rotterdam," accepts it as worthy of credit. The story, as told by Neal, is to the effect that, having found a diamond of great value one day in the street, he advertised it; and that the owner, a Jewish merchant, on claiming the property, offered a handsome reward. But Ainsworth would accept nothing but a conference with the rabbis, which the Jew promised to procure for him. But being unable or unwilling to fulfil his promise, he caused his disappointed victim to be poisoned. There is a variation of the story, which does not add to the probability of its truth, that the desired conference was granted, and that Ainsworth so confounded and confuted the rabbis, that out of malice and mortified pride, they compassed his death by poisoning. There is an air of extreme improbability about the story. First, rabbis were not so inaccessible to learned men as to require this species of negotiation to procure a conference with them. Second, it was contrary to the habit of Ainsworth's whole life to provoke a controversy with any man, unless driven to it by necessity. Third, the story was apparently unknown to his contemporaries in Holland. Fourth, none of the editors of his posthumous works allude to any occurrence which might lend it a colour of truth, while one of them mentions his long-continued ailment, and the peaceful manner of his death. Still it might prove an interesting subject of inquiry how the story originated, and to account for the general belief in its credibility.

In concluding our remarks on the life of this eminent Christian worthy, we cannot forbear quoting the testimony of two men of opposite views on the propriety of Separation, as to what manner of man he was in life. His works sufficiently attest his extraordinary industry, his quick and penetrative understanding, the beautiful truthfulness and noble simplicity of his character. Most unjustly has he been accused of hastiness of temper and rashness of judgment. Baillie, while

admitting his superior gifts, is unwilling to believe that he was a man of a modest and humble spirit, because he continued "all his lifetime the head of the most rigid Separation." Far different was the opinion of one who disliked his "Separation" as heartily as Baillie, but had the advantage of personal acquaintance with him. S. White, in a preface to the "Orthodox Foundation," says, "For the life of the man, myself being an eyewitness, of his humility, sobriety, and discretion, setting aside his preposterous zeal in the point of Separation, he lived and died unblameable to the world."

"A man very modest," says Bradford, "of an innocent and unblameable life and conversation, of a meek spirit and calm temper, constant in his judgment about church government to the end. He had a singular gift in teaching and opening the Scriptures, and had this excellency above many, that he was ready and pregnant in the Scriptures, as if the book of God had been written on his heart. In a word, the time and place in which he lived were not worthy of such a man."

R. T.

ART. III.—*Recent Christian Biography*—James Hamilton and William Chalmers Burns.

Life of James Hamilton, D.D., F.L.S. By WILLIAM ARNOT, Edinburgh. London: James Nisbet & Co.

Memoir of the Rev. William C. Burns, M.A., Missionary to China. By the Rev. ISLAY BURNS, D.D., Professor of Theology, Free Church College, Glasgow. London: James Nisbet & Co.

THERE are certain social aspects of Christianity which have hardly yet been sufficiently dwelt upon. One of these is the consecration it gives to companionship. Till Christianity appeared, men simply judged each other in masses,—such at least was the evident tendency,—one man was simply representative to another of a race, a tribe, a class, a sect to which he belonged. Even in the palmy days of Greece and Rome, a man was valued only as a citizen or as a slave, and the whole bearing of social regulations and distinctions was to smooth down, if not to entirely rub away, whatever was special, distinctive, personal. It was felt that the State should form the individual; and therefore the ideal of each man was absorbed in the civil whole, and he had no claim to have a life apart. Socrates actually died for trying to develop in the minds of the young Greeks, some respect for the individual ideal—the better self of the soul and imagination, which un-

definably links each creature, however ignorant and humble, to the greatest of poets, lawgivers, reformers, as their co-eval and equal. And in the fading days of Greece and Rome, things are worse and worse. The centre of national or civic life has yielded and split up ; so that now men are divided into parties, each with its own watchwords, aims, and traditions ; and neither party has an eye for, or can respect, aught of good or noble in the individuals of the other party. Society has ceased to regard itself as a whole, like Wordsworth's cloud, " moving all together, if it moves at all ;" but the individuals composing it are as unfit as before to penetrate beyond the shibboleth of sect or class, and to say of a man—" Brother, I love thee for that better self, that possibility of goodness and grace, that may be hidden in thee."

And what of the Jews ? Is it not the chief sin to be charged against them, that, falling away from belief in the sublime sense of the revelation that out of their race was to spring the Saviour in whom all nations of the earth should be blessed, they so completely lost all respect for the ideal humanity that lay in the Gentiles and in themselves, that the higher classes—the governing and influential powers of the nation—were so blinded that they could not see the beauty and commanding holiness of that supreme revelation of God, which took flesh and walked among them, resplendent in " all grace and truth " ?

Now, Christianity has enforced on men, in the most commanding form, respect for the ideal—this possibility of goodness and grace that may lie in each—a respect upon which at once all individual wellbeing and all true social progress is founded,—a respect which makes varieties of individual character the ground of a truer, profounder, and more fruitful companionship, while it is, at the same time, the great practical incentive towards genuine missionary effort and disinterested endeavour to elevate the outlying portions of the race, morally and spiritually. Christ chose as his disciples men of the most varied disposition, character, tendency, and occupation, and was himself the uniting centre of what, under any kind of heathen influence, could but have been a host of rebellious, opposing, and heterogeneous elements, such as could only have been momentarily brought together there, to spring more widely apart after the contact. And this influence, working like a leaven in society, has been powerful at once in determining fellowships and friendships, and in directing to the most self-denying activities ever since men have been Christians. Types of character the most opposite, frames of mind apparently the most uncongenial, tendencies the most diverse, and talents the most unlike, have been drawn into loving sympathy at the

foot of the cross, and have gone forth together, with swift feet, seeking for new points of fellowship in the souls they might save, and the lost ones they might restore. History could supply instances many: the contrast we have brought closely before us in James Hamilton and William Burns—friends from earliest youth till the last—is as interesting and as powerful as any.

In any conceivable condition these two men could have been found *without Christianity*, they must necessarily have been apart from each other, repelled by what was most striking and characteristic. Their deep, tender Christianity is the only one thing they have in common. In all else they differ, or seem to differ, *toto cœla*; and when perusing their biographies, and comparing them, we discover how, as they advance in years, new points of sympathy come out, and innate differences of temperament and habit, like morning mists, draw backward, only to shed magic lights and colours over the whole picture, we cannot help being surprised at such a marvellous unity in diversity—such a transforming miracle of the gospel of the grace of God. For scarce anything else could account for the attitude in which, from first to last, the two stand toward each other.

To realise this the better, let us note a few of the more salient points of contrast. Hamilton, in the main, is naturally of the genial, self-satisfied type, with a tendency to little bursts of innocent vanity, arising from the gracious delight he finds in all outward things, and his capability of discerning the thread of beauty and significance that runs through them; this tendency only being elevated and refined through grace, and not deadened or done away. Burns is, in the main, of the sombre, ascetic cast, with little eye for the beauties of nature, and with no call for science or for poetry; his inner life has early been cast up by a sudden conviction of the awful evil of sin, and the misery of a sinning world; and his still nature, and subdued, half-shy manners, are kept in trembling movement by the volcanic stir and panting tumult of the inner fires. Hamilton's heat runs to the surface, and easily exhausts itself in sympathy for the minutest thing that claims his attention; but he is not intense; and, while he longs for knowledge, finds such half-boyish delight in the gathering of it, that there is a buoyant, tip-toe lightness about his every movement, helping him to step over, if not to rise far above, the sad and subduing trials of life. Burns, again, is all intensity; his fervour consumes him so, that he can find no relief in anything, save the one thing—seeking the salvation of the lost; and he continually proceeds under the conviction that he is called upon to crucify those tendencies of his nature, in which his friend Hamilton found the rarest delights of his life. The one seemed born for society;

the other for the solitary work of a Christian pioneer ; the one was a most loveable, genial, Christian gentleman, whose devotion to his office as a minister of Christ, and his determination to do his duty in it, interfered to some extent with a native craving for science and literature, which yet, owing to his not being able once for all to subdue it, administered something of dividedness to his life ; the other was an *evangelist*, of so decisively pronounced and individual a type, that he could never have wrought so successfully amid the grooves and beaten roadways of ordinary religious society at home, as among heathens and strangers where he was, to some extent, alone in the wilderness. Hamilton was essentially in his place in learned and academic society ; Burns would have certainly been out of his place there : Hamilton could never have stood that seclusion, that abstemiousness, and that total want of recognised social forms to work through, which Burns so cheerfully faced ; while Burns, again, as certainly would have been unable to attract, and to manage and master a congregation like that of Regent Square, as Dr Hamilton did, by sheer sunshiny sweetness and winning gentleness of nature. The one found relief in the diversities of life and character, and was full of a mild and placid humour, that daintily, sweetly, swept over the surface of life, like the shine and the shadow over the rippling corn ; the other saw only one distinction in mankind—lost and saved ; while all his humour (and in that he was not wanting), thrown back upon itself, sometimes struck through the disturbed grain of his gravity with strange illuminations, but always so as to afford him cover under which to proclaim the better, amid difficulties, the truth as it is in Jesus. Dr Hamilton wore himself out with the endeavour to touch a multiplicity of interesting points, and he escaped from his more proper work to science and literature with a sense of refreshment ; Burns, on the other hand, wore himself out, to some extent at all events, by his scorn for anything like relief from his great work, and he escaped from everything that seemed to cool for a moment even the surface of his enthusiasm ; feeling the cold wind of heathenism coming across him now and then, he hurries from it to get contact with a more helpful sphere, as once when he flies back from one of his advanced posts to Hong Kong. Could we conceive Hamilton with the least infusion of Burns's white-heat spirituality and force of undivided enthusiasm ; or Burns with but a fraction of Hamilton's winning gentleness and insinuating gladness of spirit, either had almost been perfect. But it is not God's way to "close and sum up perfection" in the little world of one man. He complements the defect of a quality in one by its excess in another, and out of the very weakness and errors of

his agents brings about results the most remarkable and inspiring, to uphold the faith and strengthen the hopes of those that are to follow after.

It is very remarkable to find how, even in the opening buds of character, the future man frequently reveals itself. It was so both in the cases of Hamilton and Burns. The former, when but a mere child, goes to bed, his little arms round a folio almost as tall as himself, taken from his good but bookish father's library; and he delivers sermons, which, characteristically enough, are *written* sermons, to his childish companions. Here, already, we have the precocious instinct for letters in company with as strong an instinct to *speak*. The two, when they meet in a nature of uncommon fineness or sensibility, are not seldom found to be practically incompatible. The spoken discourse requires the infusion of not a few elements which are hardly to be commanded in a written style; and Dr Hamilton's style unmistakeably bears evidence of a long-sustained endeavour to command both types at once. His sermons, and that not merely on account of his physical drawbacks, were not so effective in delivery as their intrinsic merits might have made them; whilst his publishing writings,—at all events, the earliest of them,—were somewhat overwrought and ornate, the ideas being entangled and half hidden in braids of too elaborate and over-coloured description. Dr Hamilton, as a preacher, was too intent on interesting his hearers by purely literary excursions. When well up in years, he carries about with him a copy of *The Fairy Queen*, and says how effective a sermon would be whose every sentence filled the ear like a stanza of it. While he was himself sincerely and humbly earnest, and while those who sat regularly under him reaped large benefit from his ministrations, strangers were apt to be disappointed, and often left the church with a feeling of pleasure rather than of intensified conviction and enlarged religious feeling. For the first aim of preaching is to stir up and to strengthen the religious life; and, failing in this, in spite of any secondary effect it may happen to have, it is apt to be reckoned a failure. But there was one effect which Dr Hamilton's preaching could never have failed to produce. This was the enforcing on the hearer, more by the personal influence and feeling that pervaded his every word, than by any direct appeal, the essential pleasantness and happy triumphing benignity of the Christian life. The feeling, only too general among the mercantile and upper classes of London, which leads them to view the Christian ideal with unfeigned repugnance, because of some vague, oppressive gloominess supposed to be inseparably connected with it, could not but have found itself pleasantly surprised and disappointed when

it came into close contact with Dr Hamilton, whether in the pulpit, in society, or on the printed page. He was a man of wide and ripe culture, yet, along with it all, there was a liberal lightness which enabled him to play with all his knowledge, if so he might win men to purer and better lives. His dialogue with the piano tuner at Tunbridge Wells, in 1864 (p. 527 of *Memoir*), is rarely characteristic, though, we may say, that almost in every point, it is the reverse of what William Burns would have done. But the qualities we see here—his readiness to enter into another's mode of thinking and of looking at things; his wise way of drawing out the man's views to throw over them some fresh gleam of light, with due suffusion of Christian suggestion; and, above all, his faculty of saying the all-important thing he wished to say, as though it were of secondary significance, and were merely dropped in by the way to grow in the mind like a seed long afterwards—are indeed very noticeable and striking.

The service Dr Hamilton did to the Christian Church in London by dint of these rare qualities, and through his peculiar ability to kindly recommend Christian ideas to a class of men the hardest of all to reach—the scientific, and cultured, and sceptical—is one which well deserves to be kept in remembrance. We are forced to confess, however, that we have sometimes felt Dr Hamilton's service to his generation might have been still greater had he been free to go among men of this stamp, simply and purely as the *litterateur* and man of science. His judgment was excellent, and he had that peculiar tact and adaptability which can only spring from true refinement and quickness of sympathy. Yet his attitude towards literature and science, while in the best sense conciliatory, lost some little of its effect from the fact of its being still the attitude of a clergyman. He had the true instinct of the man of science, and his whole nature was so suffused with the lights of religion, that it is not possible he could ever have gone over with the *savans* to the materialism which is now so much the fashion. He had a vein of poetry in him, too,—by which we mean that he had something of the creative imagination which, had it been directed concentratedly to any great department of science, would have given him vast advantage over the mere *men of facts*. His literary instincts were at least equal to his scientific sense; and so he could have come more nearly to competing with Tyndal and Huxley, and the rest of that school, on their own ground than almost any other one we know. Christian science greatly needs such minds as his to expose the half scrutinies and the false generalisations which are being put forward so boastfully at the present moment. It was not

given to James Hamilton to realise these possibilities, though to the end he felt a strange recurrent stirring of his nature in something of this direction. But he himself could give up all his cherished plans and ambitions of this kind with such a tremulously happy smile of resignation, that it seems like a gentle kindly reproof to us for what we have just written. Nothing in all Mr Arnot's sympathetic yet discriminating memoir is more touching than this, or more truly typical of the subject of it. We cannot refrain from quoting the passage:—

“These papers for *Macmillan* [On Erasmus] were only certain feelers put forth in the direction of a great design, to ascertain for himself whether it might be possible. The desire to write the life and times of Erasmus was a passion, cherished long and cherished deeply. With a view to it, he accomplished a great amount of congenial reading. The accumulations of material for this work are greater than for any other, whether actually accomplished or only projected. Besides many items in the ordinary stores of *Bibline* [or book-essence in the form of notes], a substantial book is dedicated exclusively to this subject, and is, to a large extent, filled with extracts, jottings, thoughts, and references. It is a curious receptacle: it is touching to peep into the workshop, now that the ingenious and busy worker is gone. His net had been spread out in all directions, and frequently drawn: the miscellaneous heaps that it brought up at successive throws are carefully stowed away; each atom in its own place. The bones piled up in this department are very dry; but if the hand that gathered them had, for a few years longer, retained its cunning, the whole might have been compacted into one symmetric organism, covered with flesh, and heaving with the breath of life.”—P. 585.

This is Hamilton's own version of the matter from his diary, in every way well worthy of a wide record:—

“Nov. 29. 1865.—On Monday I entered my fifty-second year, $8 \times 17 = 51$; other seventeen years would bring me on to sixty-eight, and I fancy that this is pretty nearly what an actuary would assign as my ‘expectation of life.’ Even this I cannot say that I expect, and it is solemn and somewhat mournful to think that three-fourths of existence are past already. Within the last few months I have got a pair of spectacles, and the smaller kinds of print I cannot read without them. Other tokens of on-coming age will follow; indeed they are come already. *The figurative language I was once so fond of, I have nearly lost all liking for, and if I were following my own bent in preaching, it would be sober, explanatory, unimpassioned.* Ambition has given place to indolence, and the grand projects with which I used to cheat myself, I have ceased to cherish. Sydney Smith beguiled his lazy horse into a quicker pace by fastening a sieve of oats to a pole a little in advance of the creature's nose; and through many a dreary day of calls and committees, and dry-as-dust documents, have I been carried by the hope that if I could only get

through them, I might lawfully commence the *Magnum Opus, Christian Ethics, The Life of Erasmus, A Mind, and what to Make of it*. But now the corn and beans are rattled in vain, and there is no make-believe in the wisp of clover. Reports, circulars, business letters, forty or fifty a week, I write resignedly, and in the usual dull, decent fashion in which such things should be done, and so shall continue till this hand forgets its cunning' (p. 550). And again: 'It would have been very pleasant to revise that prodigious range of literature, patristic and classical, of which Erasmus was the editor. Owing to a secluded boyhood, and unlimited youthful leisure, without ever attaining accurate scholarship, I have read in these departments more than most people; and, after an abstinence of a quarter of a century, a strange longing for these books returns. Like the daisies and dandelions that come up in October, it is the feeble revival of an impossible spring. For after giving to the work the spare hours and the autumn holiday of the last two or three years, I am constrained to abandon the task. This last winter had no leisure, and in the congregation a childish feud about the hymn-book was so conducted as to rob me of rest by night, and peace by day; and, perhaps as a consequence of this, I find my elasticity a good deal impaired. So this day, with a certain touch of tenderness, I restored the eleven tall folios to the shelf, and tied up my memoranda, and took leave of a project which has sometimes cheered the hours of exhaustion, and the mere thought of which has always been enough to overcome my natural indolence. It is well; if a favourite play, it was also a great temptation. It was a chance, the only one I ever had, of attaining a small measure of literary distinction; and where there is so much 'pride and haughtiness of heart,' it is better to be unknown. Like the congregation of the Gascon preacher, who had forgotten his discourse, the world will never know what a treat it has lost; and not having this absorbent for spare hours, it is possible that to wife and children, and people, there may be a gain in the abandonment of the *magnum opus*.'

And Mr Arnot, with exquisite sympathy and good sense adds:—

"In all his papers, I have not met with anything more affecting than this farewell. It is a right arm he is cutting off: he is wrung to the heart by the deed, and yet with his own hand he deliberately performs it. How sad and tender, in the light of subsequent events, is his allusion to the feeble efforts of the flowers to reproduce in October 'an impossible spring.' Already he felt the vital energies beginning to ebb. Yet, sad though this renunciation was, his obituary notice of the *magnum opus* concludes with a playful allusion—a smile is in his countenance as he announces its decease."—P. 588.

Gradually Dr Hamilton grew more and more into a full realisation of the dignity of the office of a preacher of the gospel. At last he comes to feel how everything else—every ambition and dream of life—fades into insignificance before the high calling of him who is an anointed proclaimer of

the words of Christ, and a shepherd of men's souls. It is this, indeed, that seems to intensify and bring out into sharper relief, the links of association between him and William Burns. Everything, at last, is cheerfully resigned that is likely in the least to divert him from Regent Square and the work there. The scientific specimens are covered up or put out of view, the treasured literary gatherings of years are bundled together and laid upon the shelf; an invitation from Edinburgh to become successor to Dr Guthrie and colleague to Dr Hanna, which held out a tempting prospect of pleasant and congenial society—of quiet and leisure for literary pursuits—is put aside without a moment's consideration. He is no more a divided man—the shadow of death is upon him, and through its brooding presence, he seems to have leaped in a moment to largest spiritual stature. Altogether a beautiful, happy, and successful life was his, with its many relations all dutifully fulfilled—a life which it does one good to know was lived—cheerful, busy, full of results, as it was. From everything harsh, unpromising, and repulsive, Dr Hamilton gathered something pure and fragrant; he got the wild honey in the rock, and found springs of water in the desert. What he said of another may be well applied to himself: "The world was not so good as he saw it; for a radiance went forth from himself and gave a bright side to the darkest things."* This capability, indeed, was his leading characteristic. Mr Arnot, when referring to the *Phantasies*, a book for stray thoughts, which was instituted while he was still a student, says very significantly:—"His mind passed through the confused tumult of miscellaneous life as a magnet passes through a heap of sweepings from a factory, leaving everything that was mere dust behind, but with all the filings of real steel that lay in the way adhering to its sides, to be stored for future use." But even this scarcely does justice to Dr Hamilton's happy industry. The magnet is somewhat decided in its blunt rejections to completely represent his rare faculty. Is it not likely that he would have even turned back to the little dust heap and, picking out the more golden grains, have held them up in the sunlight, and drawn from them the neatest lesson in crystallisation? His great *specialité* was to find and to give out pleasantly the secret and the meaning of insignificant or neglected things, and, by drawing into prominence their essential uses, to impart to them a rarer beauty. So, too, it was in his treatment of character, as beheld alike in these little sketches of the old divines and his more ambitious biographies. He found the best points readily, and he caught little traits which those who had gone before him had missed

* Memoir of J. D. Burns, p. 4.

—traits, however, which shed a gracious justifying light over the whole life. It was the same in his contact with actual men and women. He soon detected the strength and the weakness of those with whom he was brought into relation, and made small things the medium of much pleasure. Who that ever met Dr Hamilton in society would have expected to find this in his Memoir:—" *Dining out* ' was in itself regarded rather as the thief of time; but now having undertaken the charge of a magazine, devoted to literature and art, as well as morals and religion, he will find a use for everything. Men and women in general will go to constitute grist for his mill"? Or this:—"Here and there he almost falls into a cynical vein, as he laments the needless waste of the treasure [time], in compliance with despotic customs, but the tone is immediately relieved by a slight dash of humour. . . . His complaints are natural, and, in the main, well founded; and yet, if in these matters he had been permitted to carve out his own lot, it is doubtful whether the result would have been more valuable to the church or the world. The loss of the time, if he had taken it easy, would indeed have been a calamity; but the apparent paradox might, with a large measure of truth, be maintained, that *such a man's time cannot be lost.*" Whatever may have often been Dr Hamilton's momentary feeling, certainly his happy temper enabled him to act as if he fully believed this, and to profit accordingly. Had the reader sat next him at dinner, he might have been inclined to think him a little bit of an epicure, because he knew so many strange things about fruits and dainty dishes, and could set them forth so pleasantly, and even with apparent gusto, little dreaming that the Doctor had left his library with such reluctance as made his coming to dinner amount almost to self-sacrifice. And in connection with all this, the following is assuredly significant:—"Hare's *Life of Sterling* is a book which gentlemen scholars like you should read, to see the *spiritual dangers of literary habits when not corrected by the tonic of some active and beneficent pursuit.* Sterling became a Straussian, and a great outcry has been raised against Hare for publishing a candid and friendly memoir; but *every lover of truth should be glad to get the true history of a mind so sincere and so finely accomplished, even though the ending is so sad,*" p. 356.

Said we not rightly that the differences of temperament and tendency noticeable in the subjects of our two biographies drew backward, and that the points of likeness came more and more clearly forward as they entered into a wider, richer experience? As Dr Hamilton, without letting go any of his delightsomeness of character, became more and more earnest

and severely self-sacrificing in respect to his calling as a preacher of the gospel, William Burns, as we shall see, grew softer, more kindly, as he grew older, taking a warmer interest in all these little things of the kingdom for which his friend had ever such a clinging tender regard and affection. Well said the old poet, "Nothing grows like love;" had he been a Christian poet, he would perhaps have said, "The love of Christ is the secret source of all true growth in man."

Intensity of character—a determination to completely realise whatever the mind has projected—is the pervading characteristic of William Burns's life. As Hamilton is sweet, winning, diffusive, gathering up wealth wherever he goes by the sunny, insinuating gladness of his nature; so William Burns, by his eager, never-resting intensity, sets everything aside that lies in his way, and, spurning obstacles, cleaves a path to his end. Nothing deters, nothing diverts him; drawbacks do not cool or abate his unwearying energies; successes do not excite him to self-gratulations, nor tempt him to rest in the pride of an end attained. Even in his earliest days this trait is predominant. He lifts up his axe upon the great trees near his father's manse, and by his unaided strength, completely clears the place. Melvin of Aberdeen awakens in him a love of scholarship, and he outstrips most of his companions in that field. Just as he is about to be apprenticed to a Writer to the Signet in Edinburgh, conversion comes, and, taking counsel of no one, he at once sets out for home, walking on foot, a distance of thirty-six miles, to prepare to study for the ministry. Nothing thereafter comes into his life to divert him in the least from his choice. He knows nothing of a divided mind, or of the evils that it brings with it. Once licensed, his joy is to preach to perishing souls the way of salvation through Christ, and no desire, no sweet human tie or claim of affection, ever seems to have for an instant withdrawn an iota of energy from the work in which he engages. Not that he was deficient in the affections of family, or in any of the human longings that make sweet the sense of brotherhood. Some of Dr Islay Burns' remarks on p. 306 of the Memoir—in which the pen, already approved in other fields, has well approved itself, and almost as much by the leaving unsaid as by the saying—are most valuable in proving this; only his life was so completely possessed by one purpose, that lesser aims and ties were crushed out as insignificant by comparison.

Deeply touching, truly, are some of these references in the Memoir to the tender farewells he took of the persons and the places he loved, when he was on the eve of setting out on far-distant enterprises. Let this stand for sample:—

"Before receiving the call to China he was studying the Gaelic,

and seldom had the Gaelic psalm-book out of his hand, but soon after this we saw that the Gaelic was laid aside and the Encyclopedia was brought out, and he was busy studying the Chinese characters. I don't think he gave a decided answer to James Hamilton before the meeting of the Synod at Newcastle; but having heard that some timid persons were daunted by some difficulties that stood in the way, he said, 'That's the very thing that makes my call clear to go,' and at once packed his little carpet-bag to start for Newcastle. The day he went off he was long in papa's study in prayer, and then coming out, he silently wrung my hand and looked solemnly round as if taking a farewell look of the house; he had his Breadalbane plaid over his arm, and after reaching the front-door he turned and hung it up in the lobby, taking one belonging to his *mother* instead, and giving me an expressive look as he did so. I was very much overcome, and watched his receding figure with the feeling that he would not return. I went into the study to give vent to my feelings, and found the bible left open at Isaiah lxiv., 'Oh, that thou would rend the heavens,' &c. On going up to the drawing-room I found the Gaelic Testament and psalm-book neatly put into one of the shelves, as if he had done with them, and I then said, 'William will return no more.'

James Hamilton never seems to have passed through the awakening throes of a sudden conversion like that of William Burns; and it would have been as impossible for him to have, like William Burns, abnegated all the ordinary relaxations and enjoyments of social life, as to have lived upon air. But, luckily, the gospel does not require from each man the same identical form of self-denial; and in this regard, too, Christians may be helps unto one another by sympathy and mutual forbearances.

William Burns' life, then, is remarkable for the complete and severe unity which pervades it. He turns neither to the right hand nor to the left. In reading through this life, we have often been led to ask, Is it possible for any merely earthly object to engage the whole sum of a man's energies, as the preaching of the love of Christ engaged William Burns's? and as often we have been compelled to answer, No. In the gospel of Christ, there is that which awakens and meets the needs of every portion of man's higher nature. It brings the rebellious elements into subjection, and sheds over the whole mind a deep and abiding peace. William Burns found it so; when he had any distracting dispeace in his soul, he had no difficulty in tracing it to the emergence of self in some form or another. And yet he is anything but an unhealthy and self-analysing Christian. The peculiarly practical bent of his nature was quite enough to prevent this. His activity, in which he faithfully faced the hard facts of life in the open air, was enough to run off morbid humours. Here, at least, James Hamilton and he were like each other. Both were incessantly active; and

their activity did much for their mental health, in the way of keeping a clear and bracing atmosphere about them, which encouraged the refreshing cold bath of renewed and determined effort. It is the same with William Burns in midst of the revival scenes in Scotland in 1839-41, as in Ireland afterwards; in Canada in 1843-44, as in China from 1847 till his death. Circumstances do not affect this man in any way; he is wholly superior to them. Whether amid the colds of Canada or the summer heats of China, he looks out on a world that claims the same spiritual healing, and he is intent, in season and out of season, to minister to it. His own words, which never express more than the true condition of his soul or the extent of his success, but generally rather less than the truth, are thus of peculiar significance: "I think I can say with truth, that God's presence or absence alone distinguishes places to me."

He is an enthusiast of a very peculiar type, if we admit him to be an enthusiast at all. He is not possessed by his ideas, notwithstanding the intense fervour of his nature, but possesses them in all soberness. He is never carried into rhapsodies; the remarkably sane, sedate, almost cold composure of his words, in contrast to the heat that burns at the core of his matter, is what strikes and fixes one. It is like a fire tingling at the heart of an iceberg, making it clear and luminous even on the surface, but not melting or softening it. One effect is, that he never slides off into the confusions of metaphor, and seldom draws forward into his discourses or letters long-linked details of his own inner religious experience. Christ is all in all with him; and the complete commanding beauty of the objective reality of that life so overpowers him, that, "striking on the chord of self," it passes "in music out of sight." The religious *selfness*, if we may name it so, which comes of the querulous exacting rehearsal of spiritual experiences, is sure to issue in a peculiar impatience of others—of their ways of feeling and their ways of working. There is no trace of this in William Burns. Having chosen his own path, he is not the least disappointed that others should seek out and follow theirs; and so be that they seem sincere and faithful, he is of one accord with them. And, considering the rare intensity of his character, it is remarkable that he seldom or never relapses into fits of dispiritment or feels the need of relaxation. He is supremely equable and self-reliant in midst of his strange subjective semi-mystical dependency.

But, as we have said already, that very thing which enables him to go forward so unwaveringly, disqualifies him, so far, for being closely associated with others in his work. We shall, in a moment, inquire more particularly into this; but we may remark here, that in this fact, we may have at least a partial explanation of the pe-

culiar need he seems to have felt for moving away from a sphere of labour whenever other missionaries had pressed, or were likely to press, on into it. It could not be that he did not wish to see other men in the field, for he was constantly praying for more workers, and offered up for this object most part of his means; in one instance, indeed, sending home a whole year's salary (£250) for the express purpose that another missionary might be sent out to China. But he seems to have entertained a deep conviction that other men were not likely to be influenced by the considerations which made the opinions of others of so little weight with him, and an individual course of action so needful to him. While, therefore, he was knit in bonds of tenderest sympathy with all who had dedicated themselves to any form of missionary work, he had a fear of overbearing their own thoughts and wills by his supreme energy and influence, and wisely sought to save them from such contact as might have seemed to put them too much under the enervating consciousness of being left behind in zeal in the Master's service. His self-composure and his patient perseverance (very surprising, truly, in one who had met with such remarkable success at home) are only matched by the careful, almost womanly consideration he shews for other missionaries—one very beautiful instance of which is his devotion to Dr Young when he was on his way home to die—and his rare delicacy, alike in word and deed, in everything where others might be implicated or the general mission cause prejudicially affected.

While, therefore, it must be admitted that he was in some respects too much a law to himself to be a good pattern for the general run of missionaries, it is most creditable at once to his mind and heart that he so clearly laid hold of this, and acted on it in such a manner as only exhibited the more his deep humility and sincerity—two elements, by the way, which are very noticeable in him, and out of which sprang no little of his success. He could not speak save when his own soul was moved by the truth he had to proclaim; and in some instances, amid the very fever of revival, he simply tells the congregation that to-day he has no message for them, and sends them away more deeply impressed, perhaps, than if he had spoken. It was this sense of humility and sincerity which gave him such power over the rough masses; for they felt there was something more in this man than eloquence, that there was an overpowering sincerity which at once winged his words and made them like hammers, striking and breaking flinty hearts. His appeals the hardest could hardly resist, and no wonder. "It is surely something unearthly that has come to the town," said one careless man; and many, very many, at home and abroad must have felt the same. In Canada, not a

man of the 93d but went home more or less affected by his preaching.

The secret of his incapacity to fall into routine ways of working,—to listen to the opinions of others, and to weigh and balance them in the scales of a semi-worldly prudence, had some connection with this sincerity, which led him to obey the promptings of his own soul, fresh from direct communion with God, before aught else whatever. Confidence in himself was anything but characteristic of William Burns, but confidence in the message given him, while on his knees in prayer, he had an almost boundless confidence in. When, therefore, he silently declined to act on the advice of friends, it was not that he was strong-headed, but that his duty to God's voice, which had been clearly heard in his own soul, was imperative over all else. And yet it is clear that he very vividly saw and felt the claims the Church had upon him, and clearly realised how much he was her servant. Had it not been thus, he certainly could not have been so useful as he proved to the world at large. Let us try to see how this was.

William Burns' belief, while it rested firmly on the objective realities of Christianity, was essentially inward—so inward, indeed, that he has not a little in common with the mystics who have now and then appeared in the Church—sometimes shedding new life and blessing around them, sometimes sending spiritual will-o-wisps abroad, after which men toiled to find at last a tragic death in quagmires. His incapacity to accept outward guidance is the objective evidence of this; his full faith in revelations vouchsafed to him, even in reference to such arrangements respecting his personal movements as are usually left by pious men to be settled after a kind of prudent deliberation, is the inward or subjective one. This experience is only possible where there is an intense realised communion with God.

Speaking of Mr Burns' itinerancy in the Perthshire Highlands, Dr Islay Burns takes occasion to set down this passage, which, however, has a strict bearing on his whole labours:—

“The almost exclusively subjective character of his ministry stands out in the broadest light. . . . His preaching was in the strictest sense a cardiphonia—the voice of an instrument that could sound only as the breath of the eternal Spirit of God swept over it. Truths merely known, believed and arranged in logical sequence in the mind or in written discourse, was to him no message from God to human souls; but only truth, ‘quick and powerful,’ and glowing in living fire within the heart. . . . I offer no opinion here whether the principle on which he acted was in itself just; or whether, if just for him, the course of action to which it led were a fit precedent and example for other men. The question is not even properly raised in this form, for his whole

ministry was so plainly exceptional, that no warrantable inference can be drawn from his case to that of others. His function and vocation was rather that of the old prophets, uttering from time to time the message and the 'burden' given to them under the immediate impulse of the Spirit who gave it, than that of the priests whose lips ought at all times to keep knowledge, and to impart its sacred lessons to others even when for the time they enjoy not the full sweetness of it themselves. Even those who may think that the principle on which he acted was carried out by him to too extreme a point, will scarcely deny the general truth, that however it may be with the other functions of the pastoral office—as of instruction, admonition, counsel, persuasion, consolation—for the special work of awakening souls an awakened and immediate sense of eternal realities is of all things most essential. At least, if in this matter he erred, he erred on a safer side than that of those who would divorce altogether the message of the preacher from the experience of the man, and who can discourse of the deepest and most sacred exercises of the soul with an equally free and fluent speech, with a cold and with a burning heart."

This life of rapt and awful uplooking, which seeks a settled home on the lofty mountain-top of absolute union with the divine, inevitably tends to breed indifference to other ties and relations, which, if seen at all, are beheld as lying so far below, as to seem but moving and glimmering lines on the uncertain surface of the misty billows. Certainly it is an experience which does not encourage obedience to superior earthly authorities, or to make the subject of it fit easily into the machinery of organisations. It is the temper which begot the ascetics of the early Church, the crowds of mediæval hermits, the ecstasies of the modern Madame Guyon and her followers, and the extravagances of simple, soul-led George Fox and his first quakers. If unchecked by the powerful hold of holy tradition and example, its tendency is towards a rapt individualism, which is intolerant of all question, and contemptuous of all such ordinances as would direct high impulses and control them within certain definite and beneficial lines of activity. It ever seeks to be a law unto itself. In most instances this spirit has come into play under a subtle and unaccountable principle of reaction, whereby the light of God's presence in man played up so distinctly against the hardness and outer polish of utter worldliness and degraded indulgence, that it was thrown back upon itself, intensified three-fold. Half blinded by such excess of light, it has turned away and stumbled on the hard road of pure inward self-development. Who, then, can tell how much we owe of the later fruits of William Burns' life to the revival movement of which he was at once the centre and the product? His work in China had scarcely been possible save for the revival, the revival had scarcely been possible had it not been for a long and quiet

period of preparation. William Burns found a prepared atmosphere, which the faithful holy work of men like his father, the Bonars, and the M'Cheynes had produced. This was the heritage into which he entered—the sacred living lines of tradition by which he was held in steady practical contact with the Church. He early discovered in the very success of his preaching, that the glory of Christ was the first thing; that the conversion of sinners was best regarded as a means to that. This is a point which was noticed and commented on by Dr Hamilton during the time of the Scotch revival:

"I have seldom seen any preacher," he writes, "who so vividly realised things unseen, and who had so strong faith in the imparted strength of his heavenly Master as Mr Burns himself. *I would say that he is more distinguished (prima facie) by zeal for the glory of Christ than, as I have noticed that many are, by mere concern for perishing sinners.* This gives a lofty bearing and an apostolical character to his ministrations, and keeps him from many sources of vexation to which others not so actuated are liable. I do not say that he wants the other motives to ministerial fidelity, but I do say that every other is with him subordinated to the noblest of all, *the exalting of Christ in the salvation of souls.*"—*Memoir*, p. 148.

The very success of his first efforts for the glorifying of Christ in the conversions of souls, through the recognised church ordinances, made him feel towards all the customs of the church a kindly and self-sustaining, yet wonderfully self-restraining attraction. But that William Burns had to exercise discipline over himself in this respect, there can hardly be a doubt. He very soon perceived that to be true to his own soul, he must give up all idea of walking on the ordinary conventional life of a "settled" Scottish minister. He must hold communion with himself and his God, and walk according to the "still small voice" wherever that might call him to go; in spite, too, of all human claims and calls, and in the face of the warnings of relatives and friends. How difficult the problem! Yet William Burns, with his calm self-abandonment, through which he attained to a still higher self-command, was so filled with that altogether holy prudence, that in a great measure he was enabled to achieve this result. And this idea of duty to God, with which no other duty could be held to interfere, was so strong in him as to relieve his life from any sense of inward struggle or dividedness from first to last.

Nor can we pass on without devoting a word to this prudence which we recognise as springing out of his absolute sincerity and unfeigned humility—a prudence which exhibited itself in other forms beside his complete toleration and allowance for others in the sphere and the form of their work. In

this he presents an altogether exceptional feature to what we meet with generally in men of his type. Not only is he self-controlled and patient under pain and injury—many religious enthusiasts have shewn these qualities, mostly, however, along with a sort of half-hysterical self-assertion, which made them ambitiously seek for and vaunt their martyrhood. This was so, for instance, with Savonarola, the great preacher of St Mark, and is especially evident in the case of the ordeal by fire. William Burns, though he would not have shirked duty to escape death, had no overweening desire to *make* a martyr of himself. In moments of danger or trial, he is as composed, and guarded, and cautious as any diplomatist, though, of course, always absolutely truthful. His reticence with regard to that attempt to reach the rebel quarters, and the prudence he shewed when he was afterwards taken prisoner and brought before Commissioner Yeh, are in this light very significant. He never fails to bear his testimony either. He declines to go down on both knees before the Chinese magistrate, saying that only to his God would he so kneel; but that he would go on one knee as he would to his own sovereign, which position the magistrate, struck by his evident honesty, permits him to adopt.

No doubt he owed much to the peculiar dash of his discreet, active, bustling mother in his temperament, which made practical energy a sort of necessity of his life. He must be daily in the open air, and have a considerable amount of bodily exercise. The youthful upbringing, indeed, reveals itself through his whole life in a healthy, out-of-doors tone, which imparts a peculiar strength and fulness of volume, if we may speak so, to the current of his spiritual life. He is not a valetudinarian or a weakling, but a robust man, whose every faculty is clear and active, in whom neither are the feelings slaves to the reason, nor the physical man to a morbid, over-active imagination. He is singular in the complete self-control and wise foresight which he exercises in every emergency, and also in the utter incapacity he shews to allow the line of apostolic prudence—or the being all things to all men to save some—to run into or be intersected by the lines of any self-interested prudence.

In view of all these things we are not surprised at the hints we have in the Memoir of the indifference with which Mr Burns sometimes received suggestions as to his missionary operations from his friends at home, and from those who had sent him out to China. He must act as his own soul, steeped in the delight of secret communion with God, spontaneously prompted; and indeed, when once in the thick of his work, committees at home, save when viewed in strict relation to this, had scarcely any real existence to him. They were far away from him, He who

is at the head of all committees and armies was very near, in times of emergency when friends could not aid, as well as when they could. To please those by whom he is sent, in affording them satisfaction in the result of their choice, is surely no unworthy object for a missionary far removed from home, to set before himself as an important, though not *the* most important, aim of his efforts; but this feeling, in its lower form at all events, had no place in Mr Burns' ambitions.

It is true, he had gone out to China as a missionary for the Presbyterian Church in England; but he did not go as an *ordinary* missionary. Something unusual and informal is certainly signified by the answer he gave at Newcastle on being asked when he could start for China. "To-morrow; I have everything with me," he had said; and, in the light of these words, we have an intimation of that note of apostolic singleness and simplicity and complete independence of conventional machinery and accustomed conditions which runs through his every movement, till at last he dies in the dingy room in the native portion of Nieu-chwang, refusing to be removed to the English quarter, and with only his Chinese assistants for his attendants. For the rest, what God should tell him was best for China, it was all along his destiny and his joy to do. If he had a regret as to any course he had taken, it was not because he saw it from a higher point of expediency or political prudence, but rather because he fancied still grander spiritual results might have been attained by the adoption of a different course, it may be even a more foolish-seeming one. But in the need he ever keenly felt for contact with fellow-Christians, in order to the reviving of the ebbing flame of his spirituality, he shews how, beneath all his holy assurance and boldness, there lay a gentle, lingering, reposeful attraction towards the church, viewed spiritually, with the rarest and choicest of whose influences he ever practically declares himself deeply in sympathy. The prayers of others are highly valued by him, and often solicited; and no higher pleasure could be given him than to solicit his interest for any person or object at the throne of intercession. His relation to the church of Christ, though very living and practical, was thus very marked and characteristic; and it certainly did not fail, as years went on, to have its own deep and abiding effects upon his mind and heart. "His enthusiasm took more and more a subdued Christian form; never vulgar, bustling, imbecile, unstable, or undutiful," it became sweeter and more readily receptive of sympathy; always calm and composed; manly, intrepid, and magnanimous, it shewed itself more and more "full of affectionate loyalty to the church and the truth."

Nothing, indeed, is more noticeable than the peculiar marks

of spiritual growth we find in him as the end draws nearer and nearer. While he is as intense and eager as ever for the fulfilment of the one great work of his life, he becomes more tender, mellow, and considerate. The little things of the kingdom now lay strong claim on his attention, and assert their right to recognition. Mr Bain of Coupar-Angus tells with what loving simplicity, and with what gracious sweetness and kindly interest, he entered into the society of the children when he was home from China in 1854, adding, however, the characteristic touch, that he wrote down their names in order to pray for each of them by name. Mr Bain writes :—"His spirit had now become riper and more mellow. Time and experience had wrought in him a gracious sweetness and human kindliness of temper, which in the young Boanerges were less conspicuous. He was more genial, more loving, more fully communicative, less restrained and austere than in former days. There was less fire, perhaps, but even more fervour; less of the Baptist—more of the Christ. It seemed as if the exalted tone of Christian devotedness which he ever sustained were now less with him a matter of effort and struggle, and more a holy habit in which grace had become as a second nature."

As for his life in China, it reads like a romance. He speedily mastered the language, with several of its dialects, and went continually from place to place, in face of the most terrible obstacles, compelling the love of the natives, to whom he at last got such access, that he found their kindness a sort of weight upon his progress in extending his conquests. Having adopted the Chinese dress, he went where no missionary had ever been before. But it is characteristic of him that he never encouraged this special attachment to his own person, the more as he was continually passing onward to fresh and unbroken ground, to dig, and plant, and water, and repeat the same process over and over again, with an unwearying stolidity scarcely possible in one much dependent upon the warm sunshine of human sympathy and encouragement. He was robbed of his little all repeatedly, yet he never complains, but takes it all in good part, nay, rather finds in it an occasion for sowing seeds of gospel light which otherwise he could not have sown as he did. Struck with stones by a wild Romanist mob in Canada, he makes his bleeding face the ready witness of his indifference to personal comfort and well-being, and astonishes them all by his meekness; so in China, he proves that it is still possible to turn the left cheek to him who has smitten the right. This anecdote has gathered up in it the whole spirit of William Burns' life among the Chinese, and a rare humour breaks and ripples along the dark current of the transaction, arising out of his noble yet simple self-denial:—

"On one occasion the thieves broke open his quarters, and while he was present, helped themselves to clothes, books, and money, as they pleased, leaving him just enough garments for protection, and means to get back to Hong-Kong. *One fellow had his hose, and being puzzled to know its use, brought it to Mr Burns to know what it was fit for, and was patiently taught the mode of sharpening a razor or knife on it.*"

And to the credit of the Chinese be it said, they, at last, learned to read rightly the grand characters in which this sublime life expressed itself among them, so that several churches sprang up as the direct fruit of his most self-denying labours. And when the end came, how fitly did all the circumstances attending it harmonise with the answer given that day, some years before, to the Presbyterian Committee in Newcastle. He was "ready, aye ready"; watchful after the apostolic model, he was also served and equipt after the apostolic model. Let this bear better witness than any words of ours:—

"The trunk which had come home from China, containing nearly all of property that he left behind him, was opened, amid a group of young and wondering faces—a few sheets of Chinese printed matter, a Chinese and an English Bible, an old writing-case, one or two small books, a Chinese lantern, a single Chinese dress, and the blue flag of the 'Gospel Boat'—this was all. 'Surely,' whispered one little one, amid the awe-struck silence, 'surely he must have been *very* poor.'"

We need not add much more to our sketch of Burns, and to our contrast of him with his life-long friend, James Hamilton. We have not allowed ourselves to wander into the fragrant field of details which lay spread out so temptingly before us. Had we yielded to our impulse, we should have printed almost every other page. If our readers have not already perused these biographies, they will thank us for sending them to such fresh, genuine, and worthy works. The subjects were saintly men both, and though of very different types, they deserve to be long held in remembrance. In their lives and in their deaths they were not divided. As for William Burns, we seem to hear the verdict of the far ages already sounding clear over his life and work, with a note of wonder mingling in it, why such a man was on the whole so slightly recognised by the churches in general in his lifetime. Moreover, we can imagine the future historian of nineteenth century missions finishing up a chapter on China with some such words as these:—"William Burns is distinctly the greatest missionary of modern times; with more health both of body and mind than Henry Martyn, with more energy and enthusiasm than Carey, and with more self-command than Xavier, he is such that had he been a Roman Catholic, he would assuredly have been canonised. Simply because of the innate and unconscious

grandeur of his life, the impression made by his biography in its completeness, resembles what we should expect to be produced by some thoroughly Christian epic, in which the hero, devoted with absolute singleness of purpose to some great object, is followed through varied trials and changes of outward circumstances, until at last he falls in midst of his labours, while only the first-fruits of the harvest of his efforts have become evident."

ART. IV.—*Ezekiel's Place in the Old Testament Church.*

EZEKIEL stands in the midst, and is the inspired interpreter, of events that form the great turning-point of Old Testament history. The Chaldean invasion of Judah, followed by the destruction of Jerusalem and the captivity of its people, occupy a place in the working out of the divine purposes with Israel, and the development of divine truth, such as belongs to no other event of the earlier dispensation. In the case, therefore, of none of the other prophets is it more needful to have a clear view of the historical position in which their contents are set, and of the measure of manifestation which the divine purpose in human history had attained at the time, than in that of the prophet of the captivity. As all history from the beginning downwards has been working out, through its own seemingly fortuitous evolutions, the very lessons of moral truth which the divine History-maker determined it should, we may assume that the history of a nation, so strangely originated and guided, had the central place of all in the elaboration of such truth; and that, whatever transformations and experiences it passed through from time to time, as recorded in Scripture, had a specially determining influence upon the onward course of the kingdom of God. All history is a register of the moral results wrought out of human experiences. Sacred history must be specially such; and that, therefore, which has a place therein, owes it manifestly to its own intrinsic or acquired importance as bearing on the divine purpose to be accomplished. Thus all the books of Scripture, and pre-eminently the prophetic books, engross the aggregate moral results of history acquired at the time, and their bearing on that which still lies hid in the future. But when we think of the place occupied by Israel in working into the web of human history and experience the divine truth which was yet to sup-

plant and annihilate human error, we feel at first, in face of the national disaster that now overtook them, as if somehow the transverse threads in God's hands had been suddenly broken, and His purpose marred. Is it so? Had the world's light been extinguished, not by self-exhaustion, but by some positive power of darkness? Or was it only the mere lamp, already empty and dark, that was broken in the collision? Was this national catastrophe a break in the thread, a flaw in the pattern? Or was it only a darker, deeper, shade, that was also needed for the completion of the whole? Israel had been themselves fast darkening the hue of history by their own growing ungodliness; but bright threads till now had largely intermingled. Here, however, blackness seems to blot out the divine pattern, and only an eye supernaturally enlightened like Ezekiel's can see, as he did in his prophetic text-vision of the cherubim, that there was still "a brightness round about the cloud."

It is manifest, therefore, that, at the point we here occupy, a very important phase of Israel's work in the development of God's kingdom of grace and truth had reached a crisis. They had been long in the forefront of history: now they seem completely crushed, and cast aside as a broken vessel. Ten of the tribes had long before been lost among the arid steppes of Elam and Persia; while the remnant, to whom Ezekiel prophesied, though spared to carry back to Palestine the oracles of God, and the unbroken but impoverished line of David, yet never again became as a nation what they had been before. Just as in the great part of their initial residence in Egypt, and in their thirty-eight years' wandering in the wilderness, so for four or five hundred years between their return from Babylon and the coming of Christ, their national history is a blank, so far as a place in sacred history is concerned, and so far, therefore, as its internal condition and course had any such direct and determining influence as before on the revelation of the kingdom. There is a little outflashing of the old theocratic spirit in the rebuilding of the temple and city; but from the time of Malachi, their light is quenched in the firmament of inspiration, as if they no longer belonged to it; and though they still preserve the forms of divine worship, and have individual spiritual life amongst them, yet, save in their religious rites and social habits, the history of that intermediate period is seen from the pages of their own historian, Josephus, to have been little else than that of a world-power pervaded by the worldly principles and policy practised around. From the time, therefore, of the captivity it is manifest that Israel loses for ever many of those actively influential positions they had formerly occupied, for the advancing manifestation of the truth to the consciences of men. Their position thenceforward is no longer actively

aggressive on the evil around. By and by it becomes thoroughly passive, and then in our Saviour's day and afterwards, utterly antagonistic, to the furtherance of truth. The turning-point, so critically interposing itself between the past and the future of Israel as a people, and the continued moral preparation of men at large for the true restoration of humanity to God, thus lies in the historical facts that form the groundwork of Ezekiel's prophecy, and furnish the moral results that bind the past and future together as one harmonious whole in the sovereign purpose of Him who worketh all in all.

Ezekiel thus stands forth as the exponent of the Divine will at the most eventful and determining crisis of the Old Testament history. He does so, whether we view that crisis in its narrower aspect, as affecting the fate of the Jewish nation, or in its more momentous issues, as unfolding the moral lessons for all mankind that divine wisdom had been working out of the history that preceded. His personal and prophetic relation is primarily with Israel, but with Israel in their national relationship to Jehovah, who in and through them was seeking to re-form the human expression of his character and will for all mankind to behold, and to have reproduced in themselves; and to have that image of himself originally impressed on man, yet again reproduced, if not in one man, at least in a body, a nation of men; that the light of all Israel, condensed by the ingathering into one of all its individual rays, might penetrate the more widely into the moral darkness around. It had, as it were, to be proved experimentally in actual history, not for God's sake but for man's, that all helps and inducements of every kind that God himself could supply would fail to replace in man, singly or collectively, the lost image. This was one of the lessons that formed itself out of the record of God's gracious dealings with Israel, and helped to shew the fainting heart of humanity that the power was gone from itself to return to God, and that no helps short of God himself becoming man, taking human nature into immediate union with his own, could form the living root out of which a spiritual seed might arise, and become "the fulness of Him that filleth all in all." Results like these were only branded the deeper and more indelibly on human memory by the national disasters that were now coming to a crisis. A radical and all-reaching change had to take place in the outward form of God's educative dealings with humanity. It needed the shattering forces of the Babylonian invasion and captivity to set free and to gather in for human use many humbling but salutary lessons, which had been silently coming to maturity in the course of the previous history. In the midst of this crisis, as God's spokesman, and exponent of its meaning, Ezekiel stands. He descries and proclaims its approach, he exposes the causes

at work that are determining its form, and when the crushing blow has at length fallen, he unfolds the mighty influences that swell out therefrom and roll onwards into the distant future.

In attempting in some measure to classify, and gather into a focus, the principles of the divine working in Israel's previous history, in whose light we may understand the better the moral import of the events that form the groundwork of Ezekiel's prophecy, we would premise the consideration of the need-be of all previous human history, and of all its various forms and developments, for the attainment of that condition of human history and human experience, which the apostle designates as "the fulness of time." The time in which God himself actually became man for man's redemption was a time, not of mere arbitrary appointment for such a purpose, which might with equal aptitude have been any other time earlier or later, but a time *full* of the moral results and historical experiences of all antecedent times, such as made it the fit, and only fit, time for man, when the divine incarnation could most amply and effectively accomplish its purposes. It was the time before which God could not have become man so as fully to meet all the bearings of the end designed; the time also, before which mankind would not have been fully prepared to understand and avail themselves of such a manifestation. Human nature needed all the previous training it got, to bring it into the position in which it could be most truly and fully influenced by the coming of Christ. The nature of evil had to be developed to human consciousness, in order that the corresponding good, when it appeared in the God-man, might be seen to meet and counteract it at every point. Like the festering sore that has to be left to gather to a head, to bring all its corrupt matter to the surface ere the lance is used and the healing salve applied, so had moral evil to work itself up to the surface of human experience in order that both the greatness of that evil itself, and the still greater greatness of that one divine remedy which was alone able fully to meet and vanquish it, might be adequately revealed. It is difficult to get at, and apply the remedies to, an internal sore; and the surest process is to draw it, if possible, to the surface of the body. But how "the wounds and bruises and putrifying sores" in the human soul were to be reached and effectively handled, how the moral evil that had spread itself through the mind, the will, the affections—those impalpable, yet no less real constituent factors of human nature—could be rightly eradicated, so as to leave that nature, not only uninjured, but complete in its original freedom and beauty, was a problem solvable only by Him whose hand formed, and could alone reach, the deepest intricacies of the human spirit. We can only say, that it must have needed the preparatory course of treatment it got from

the divine physician, who began his healing process from the very moment of the fall, and, by his historical and moral dealings with the race, so brought that evil in its manifold workings gradually to the surface of human consciousness, that when the human eye was at length opened to look on the divine Son of man, it saw that he only was able to reach and remove it all, and make man himself a son of God. This was what God's salvation needed to be, if it was really to restore such a nature as man's to the moral freeness and fulness of the image of God; and to do this so as to suit such a nature, it seemed needful that that evil should be allowed to come to actual, cognizable expression in man's own experience. The principle of all moral evil came to life in man in that first act of disobedience, but its powers and tendencies were still latent to man himself. From its first entrance into human nature, God knew it sufficiently to provide at once the proper remedy, but man did not know it sufficiently, and could only gain the needful knowledge by experience, to admit of that remedy's full and efficacious application. And so human evil and divine good had to be brought out in their antagonistic qualities and character in a practical, historical way, ere the fulness of time was come for the God-glorifying issue of their actual collision in the redemption of Christ.

We come thus to see further, why it was that *two* distinct forms of revelation from God to man, just as two distinct streams of history, went on growing and accumulating side by side throughout the course of that preparatory training. Man was not in the needful state of knowledge, either of himself or of God, at the era of the fall or afterwards, for duly appreciating and deriving the full benefit from God's actual work of redemption as afterwards enacted. Man might then have received and believed the manifested Saviour, as he did the promised one, and so have been saved, but his own being in all its parts would not, would *never*, we may say, have known experimentally the full meaning of salvation. All that man is spiritually and physically needed to pass through the *experience* of being saved, in order that eternally thereafter, as he still grew in knowledge of himself and God, he might have an ever-deepening sense of the greatness of that salvation; and that experience could only follow the prior experience of what "lost" really meant as applied to such a nature as his own. And hence, as we have said, just as that experience was to be wrought out by two divergent, but constantly interacting streams of history, sacred and profane, or more strictly speaking, Israelitish and Gentile, so was the work also to be specially advanced by two forms of *revelation*. The one was a gradually accumulating and advancing verbal revelation from God, in which man was taught what he could never otherwise have discovered; and

the other, a revelation that was working itself out of human history and experience, and heaping itself up side by side with the other. God himself was the author of both, but in different ways, as both equally needful for the real education of humanity. In his providential treatment of men from age to age, and in the activities and mutual influences of individual and national life in its human freedom but divine control, God was evolving a growing revelation of moral truth, that, as each succeeding generation caught up and appropriated its lessons, would be found to fit into and supplement that other revelation directly communicated from heaven. It was not an immediate verbal revelation of such truth from heaven that would suffice of itself to take hold of and meet all the necessities of the human spirit, and enable it to comprehend the perfect adaptation and need-be of all that was comprised in the divine scheme of redemption. The divine revelation in *word* to man was needed for man's instruction in that which his own experience could never have discovered or elaborated; and though it was not fully understood at the time, the word that came from time to time from above was ever adapted to the moral and historical state of his people, and contained germs of truth, which, dropping into their hearts and minds, gradually expanded under that very experience, and formed themselves into recognized truths in the heart of humanity. And so that revelation in word had ever to be met by a revelation wrought out historically in human experience. The divine revelation advanced in front of the historical, but the two never parted company, but grew together, God giving in word to the church, as the church itself became practically educated, not indeed to understand all that the prophets had uttered, but to take hold of such leading truths and lessons of inspiration as should grow and ripen in its after experience. For divine truth needs more or less to be so assimilated by the human mind, to be passed through the alembic of human experience, and to be brought forth, adjusted, adapted to the human spirit, ere it will take real and abiding hold of our nature. Simple declaration of the truth by God, though all-authoritative, is not all that is practically needed for its purpose. We do not say that all truth could in this way be fully wrought into human nature, and reproduced in man's own consciousness and experience as something henceforth inalienably his own; but we think it will be found that the principles at least of every such verbal revelation must, so to speak, be humanized; and, only as they are so, will they remain an abiding, indestructible power within. We can see that the greatest of all divine truths, on which human weal depends,—the needful incarnation of God in Jesus Christ, and in Him, the only full and sufficient revelation of the character of God, of the state of man, and the

eternal re-union of both,—never took deep and permanent hold of the heart till the Word was actually made flesh and dwelt among us. Then, and only then, *all divine truth was wrought in Him into human nature*, assumed a human aspect and shape, became practically in Him already a matter of human experience, and so, cognizable, apprehensible, attainable by man through the simple seeing, hearing, and handling of faith. Never till the divine thus actually took hold of, and incorporated itself with, the human in the person of Christ—and so, in the form and with all the qualities of true humanity presented itself to man—was man's own spirit, as a rule, able to take hold of, and have true fellowship with, the divine. No doubt God did so specially deal with individual men, as David and others, under the Old Testament dispensation, as that they did apprehend much of the divine, and penetrated far down into certain forms of spiritual experience; but is it not by the impossibility of then so lodging divine truth in human nature, as was done in the person of Christ, and needed to be done for man's full attainment of its blessed results, that we can account for the vagueness and obscurity that characterize so much of Old Testament knowledge of God, as well as for those direct messages from Jehovah, the visions, the immediate divine interpositions in national affairs, and the distinguishing earthly blessings, that needed constant repetition in order to reassure the pious themselves of the reality of the divine presence and favour? The aggregate of divine truth which was first fully revealed in the humanity of Christ, could then only be adumbrated in symbolic rites and material forms; and hence, the manifested insufficiency of all these substitutes of the olden time, which only held good for a time, and were ineffectual to prevent the repeated apostasy of Israel, and the recurring triumph of the evil that had so fully wrought itself into the core of humanity. Only let their conduct be tested by such a principle, and we shall find it fitting into and unravelling many of those strange moral phenomena of Israelitic history, and throwing special light upon the solemn historical circumstances and moral bearing of their great national catastrophe in the times of Ezekiel. God was by them laying up divine truth for all mankind as well as themselves, both by direct revelation in word and by working it out of individual and national experience. Sometimes the formal revelation of doctrine had a historical background prepared in which that doctrine had already been practically exhibited in human life, as in the case of Abraham and the other patriarchs; sometimes, the two revelations seemed to come side by side; and sometimes, the verbal preceded the historical. But those very truths and lessons which we easily apprehend now, could then, in the process of learning, only be slowly wrought into human nature, and impressed on human

life. Divine truths, which have taken long to pass through the crucible of human experience, and become humanized in their form, though still divine in their essence, may be speedily comprehended and acknowledged afterwards, just as the principle and form of the steam engine, which it took long mental labour to embody, were, when so produced, readily understood and imitated by others. And it was, when those divine truths which Israel's history in its previous form and tenor had been designed to elaborate for themselves and others, had been developed so far as that history could, the further completion needed, as Israel's own wickedness loudly called for, the breaking up of their previous constitution. That event, and their subsequent captivity, with its results more or less directly affecting the moral and historical condition of contemporaneous kingdoms, had its needful place in the onward advancement of the divine purpose,—the bringing of Jew and Gentile together, morally as well as historically into the very position of preparation, in which "the Word made flesh," God himself become man, might be seen as the very revelation that humanity needed, and the very power that could make us again the sons of God.

We are thus brought in front of another consideration which has an important bearing on the right understanding of Ezekiel's place and work in developing the purpose of the divine dealings with Israel under the Old Testament dispensation. We refer to the place and purpose of Israel as a *nation*, in the evolution of truth. God began the educative process needful for man's restoration from the moment of the fall. The fall of such a nature as man's might be instantaneous: its full restoration, in a way harmonious with its constitution and requirements, could issue only out of a lengthened discipline. The evil that had got into human nature, and was to spread downward and outward from father to son, had to be revealed in its true character and doom; and the good, which man had cast away, but the remains of whose knowledge still remained, had to be correspondingly revealed to expose and supplant the evil. The fearful strength and tendency of sin was so rapidly developed down to the flood, almost to the extinction of good, that the carrying on of God's gracious purpose with man could be conserved only by the total destruction of the evil-doers. In that act, as in many afterwards, less general but equally marked, God manifested in a historical way His unchanging attitude of avenging righteousness towards the sinner as such; and did so, evidently, not only for the practical revelation of his holiness and justice, but also for the defence and advancement of His purpose of mercy. Outward lessons, however, even of the most telling kind, might impress and restrain for a time, but failed to renew. Evil only revealed the more its deep hold of human nature, and soon again re-asserted its sway. The Noachian

race gradually imitated its ante-diluvian predecessor, till God advanced on his previous procedure, and made a formal separation of one individual from the rest, to be the head source of a family and nation, that, by special divine guidance and blessing, should become to others the representatives of his character, the human illustrators of his righteousness and grace. From the time of Abraham, two streams of human history began to flow on side by side, the one in a well-defined channel, the other spreading out indefinitely on either side, but both moving onward, often meeting and modifying each other's character and course, but never uniting, and leaving, both of them, on their banks a gradual accumulation of moral truth as the result of a growing and deepening moral experience. In the case of Israel, good and evil, placed in vivid contrast side by side, and interacting with special vehemence, developed themselves with peculiar rapidity, and were cut in deeper relief on the events of their history. But all other nations had their place in the work as well as Israel. In the proper aspect of Israel's relation as a nation to the outside world, the former were the representatives of divine truth in its rightful influence and effects on man, the others the exponents of human error in its character and tendency. But along with this, Israel had also the same deep-rooted tendency to evil within him as the heathen, while the heathen on their side had also the same moral nature as Israel, that told them of the sinfulness of sin, and forced them to do homage to moral truth and good when clearly revealed. Thus when men, left to themselves, would soon have drifted away from all truth and morality, Israel was prepared and made forthcoming by God to be a kind of universal *conscience* to the nations around, testifying with effect in their central political position for divine truth and human duty. They held up the unity and eternity of Jehovah as the one living and true God, His direct providential government of the world, His righteousness and mercy, and the blessedness of those who own and obey him as their God. Conscience in the world had lost much of its original controlling and restraining power, but its indestructible elements remained in sufficient vitality to acknowledge this kind of central conscience that Israel's moral character had become in the world. When it stood forth in its moral grandeur, strong in its consciousness of right and in its assurance of divine favour, it won their fear and homage. Israel then attained their Samson-strength, so that one of them could chase a hundred, and ten of them put a thousand to flight; for it was the weakness of error in conflict with truth, of evil with righteousness, of self-trust with a hearty faith in Omnipotence. When Israel lost these their arms, then they became weak as other men, even weaker from the very reaction; for losing trust in God, they lost it in themselves, and mere human strength pre-

ailed. It was the presence of Jehovah among them that made them prosperous and powerful, and that presence coincided with their own faith and obedience. While separated from others in a peculiar way, their very separation was not only the means of conserving their own moral purity and national existence, but of enabling them to become, what the world needed, a visible, well-defined, and intelligible witness for God. The *national* form, which their testimony was made to assume and retain from age to age, was that also which was specially adapted to tell with effect on the existing state of society around. It gave body, clearness, and boldness of outline, and an impressiveness of form that could not fail to take hold of the moral susceptibilities of the heathen world. The continuous presentation of moral and religious truth in the national life and character was needed to meet the peculiarly *national* form in which corresponding error was everywhere developed in Old Testament times. The nationalising instinct, which led men, from the earliest times, to band together in political as well as social unions, and to get the individual will and responsibility merged in the general, was the very way to extend and consolidate the evil tendencies inherent in its constituent parts, and to repress the good. This danger, which shewed itself first at the tower of Babel, around which, as a visible, gravitating centre, the whole race sought to establish themselves as one political community, was averted by the confusion of tongues, which, while it did not destroy the instinct, effectually broke up the one universal nation, that was sought to be formed, into the elements of many. These gradually forming themselves at far distant centres, and spreading outward only in the course of years, would, in the very maintenance of their separate interests, when they at length came into contact, at least modify that growth of evil in each, which would soon have had unchecked and universal rule had they continued to live as one community. The divine hand, while it thus carefully checked and controlled evil in its national growth, that it might not frustrate His ultimate designs, yet left man in his own moral freedom and responsibility, to the operation of those influences that alone could act with effect on such a nature, in evolving the true character of evil and good. That process was advanced by the aggregation of men into nations, while evil in many of its most formidable aspects acquired a national form and solidity, and could thus be directly confronted by the power of truth, as it also came in Israel to assume a corresponding national aspect. And so it did. But while God gave them thus the opportunity, with every possible help and inducement, to work out the evil, and to perfect their own everlasting good as a nation, they failed, and only proved experimentally the failure to

themselves and others. God foreknew the failure, but man needed to know it also in actual experience as well as by divine revelation. For Israel's *national* history wrought out many important lessons for humanity. It brought out, when running in the mould of divine truth, into visible, historical form the directly antagonistic aspects of human sinfulness. Each side of truth that was developed in them, challenged, forced to the surface, and condemned, at least in the realm of conscience, the confronting side of human error; while divine mercy, practically exhibited side by side with righteousness, shewed that God, by such a revelation, was seeking, not the destruction, but the salvation of the sinner. And could we suppose Israel themselves to have held fast their covenant position as the heritage of Jehovah, growing ever in the knowledge of His will, in their fidelity and love to His service, and so also in their enjoyment of His favour, then would their influence for good have, in like manner, spread its sway over surrounding nations, and Israel, as his first-born, would themselves have received the heathen for their inheritance, and the uttermost ends of the earth for their possession. As the apostle says of the law, so, may it not be said of those to whom the law was given, "If there had been a law (or a people) that could have given life (to man), verily righteousness would have been by the law (or people)"? God let men work out the experiment for their own sakes. Israel failed for themselves, and for the world at large, but God's purpose and plan were fulfilled. Their very failure was part of that fulfilment. And when evil in themselves had thus triumphed over the good, then those whom they ought to have subdued to God and righteousness, became in God's hand the unconscious avengers of the moral wrong they had sustained from Israel. The kind of conscience—of moral witness for God—that Israel nationally was designed to be in the world, became seared and defiled. As man individually had been allowed to prove himself unable, even with all possible helps and encouragements from God, to work his way back to the moral purity he had lost, so had Israel as a nation of men, even with the special advantages thereby enjoyed, in having the outside evil of the heathen world *shut out*, as it were, by their national isolation, and the inside good, ever coming from above, *shut in* by Him who was to them "as a wall of fire round about them, and the glory in the midst." And so Israel's previous national form, having served its purpose in the historical development of divine truth and human evil, was practically dissolved, never to be re-constructed in its previous shape. They emerge from captivity as a people, in some respects a nation still, but not in its previous representative aspect for God; and their history is thenceforth almost a blank, till the opening of New Testament

times, when they re-appear, only as nationally the enemies and crucifiers of the true Israel, the only-begotten Son, in whom should be fulfilled all that had failed in them, who should found the everlasting kingdom of the saints, and in whom "all nations of the earth should be blessed." It is, in a marked way, this national form of Israel, so prominent an element previously in sacred history, that comes to a violent close, and has its moral epitaph written in the prophecies of Ezekiel. Instead of occupying the high place set before it as a witness to other nations, for the glory of the true God, and the highest wellbeing of man, it had persistently chosen to abandon the calling for which it was formed into a nation, and allied itself to those of the world in their opposition to Jehovah; and it is the issue of this to both—to Israel themselves first, as the arch-offenders, and to the others in their several forms of opposition to His truth as revealed in the former, that forms the chief part of Ezekiel's prophetic burden. They are not altogether cast away, for in them still is the remnant of grace, but they are cast down for ever from their past national standing, and emerge from their prison house to find their greatness henceforth, not in any outward national organization, but in humble, spiritual union with Him who should "gather together the dispersed of Israel."

But while the place and meaning of Israel's position nationally in the historic revelation of divine truth are specially handled by Ezekiel, because then virtually brought to a close, there are facts or considerations inside the national that are of equal importance. Thus along with the national as previously existing, but in a still more marked way, the *kingly* government also comes to a violent end. In forming Israel into a nation, Jehovah gave them a theocratic organization, of which he himself should be the head and heart. In them, thus constituted, he sought to bring back to earth in a practical form the true idea of God's relationship to man; the truth which from the time of the fall had come to be specially disregarded and resisted, and which the gradual multiplication of national centres, where some individual will asserted its supremacy, speedily cast into utter oblivion. Breaking away from the fundamental principle of God's direct and universal government of his creatures, and with that, from his law in its inner and outward revelation, there was nothing left but self-will and self-interest to determine human conduct in its individual or national action. It was a truth, therefore, above all that needed to be reproduced and conserved in some historical way among men, if God's own gracious purpose was to hold good and be fulfilled. And it is accordingly this truth that Israel's calling and constitution as a nation were specially designed to impress on themselves, and to exhibit in its

practical illustration to the surrounding kingdoms. They in some measure reproduced what is certainly the moral idea of man's true and full relationship to God. They were church and nation in one, and Jehovah was their head and king directly and exclusively in both capacities. In the opinion of many, the political and the religious have since diverged, and come to stand apart and independent. But originally and fundamentally they are no more so as regards man's attitude and duty to God, than are the two sides of the Decalogue, both of them equally the law of God, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart," and, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." The one is the source of the religious, the other, of the political as well as the social duty of man; and both are of God. The full idea of this divine sovereignty needed to find and retain a place in human history, in order that all other truth, needful to the full revelation of the divine glory and of human good, might have scope for development. When the primitive relationship of man to God was severed by sin, man lost the true idea of that relationship. In the earthly political combinations subsequently formed, the religious element stood, indeed, side by side with the purely political, and frequently over-rode it, but the religious had become as much a creature of human passion and caprice as the other, and both tended ever farther away from true religion and morality. It was not the disjunction of the one from the other, but the severance of both from the authority and worship of the true God. The true idea of that relationship was Israel called to embody and illustrate. Jehovah was their king nationally as well as their God religiously, and the truth became through them a declared, acknowledged fact on earth, pressing on the human conscience, and opening the way for the growing revelation, historically, of his kingly righteousness and grace. The disrupting power of moral evil, with its pernicious consequences in separating man from man, and weakening national action, had already dragged them down from the higher realisation of the truth, when they demanded an earthly king. Still it was not a substitute, but a human representative of the divine King, whom they sought and obtained; and the truth was re-embodied in a more definite, palpable form, when David was by the divine command anointed king, and the line of royalty fixed in his family. The human became the visible spring of authority, but the divine stood behind as the invisible source. David was therefore the type of Him who alone could be the true and full King of men, because himself both God and man, with human sympathies, with divine fulness of wisdom and power. For the type here also failed to realise the Antitype, the merely human fell away from its connection with the divine; and

experience shewed that a true and abiding re-union to God needed a deeper, more organic union of the two natures in Him who could truly prove himself the missing link. God employed every means to keep them faithful, and to bring them back when straying. And when the nation gave evidence of sitting loose by their true centre, he sought still to preserve the great truth in its historic form on a smaller scale, by letting the ten tribes fall off, and keeping Judah still as the illustrator of the doctrine. The sacred record then shews us how rapid was the subsequent declension of the Israelitish kingdom, in the character of their kings and the state of the people, till they were swept from the land. But like all human types of divine doctrine and truth, that sufficed indeed to indicate the existence and character of the Antitype, but failed always to realize its full idea and continuance, the great fact of Jehovah's kingship written on the face of Israel's history, gradually became blurred through the growth of evil, reviving now and again under different kings, until the kingly idea of the divine government was altogether effaced. Falling from this, they fell from all the other forms of truth and blessing it provided, and they furnished their national enemies, in triumphing over themselves, with the plausible inference that they had triumphed over their God. Hence, while the divine purpose was fulfilled in writing both the fact of His own kingly authority over men in actual history, and also of its certain failure in a true and full realization by fallen humanity, the trust was taken from their hands, and the special judgments, which their own conduct had made inevitable, descended on the whole nation, and with special severity on their kings. Manasseh was carried away captive for a time, and then restored; farther on, Jehoicahin shared the same fate with no restoration, but a subsequent mitigation of his bondage; and lastly, the terrible fate of Zedekiah and his family, and the desolation of the land, brought to an end the kingly government in its past relationship to Jehovah. God had clearly shewn in human history, that man of himself would never reproduce on earth or replace in himself the divine truth and the divine image he had lost; and so wrought into human experience the great doctrine of redemption, that, if ever to be fully realized again in man at all, it had first to reappear in one who was both God and man. And hence it is here in the historical basis of Ezekiel's prophecy, that the doom of earthly royalty in Israel is pronounced and fulfilled, for Babylon became the grave of the old that was never to be resuscitated till the divine and the human appeared together in Him who was next to occupy the throne of David, as David's son and David's Lord. God was revealing to man divine truth in

human types, but proving also the inability of men to reproduce the substance. And as their kingly government failed in reviving its divine ideal, so did their land. Canaan, like their kings, ceased, from the time of the captivity, to be the typical rest of the people of God. A mere earthly rest, like a mere human king, was tried in the scales of human experience, and, through human sin, was found wanting. The Israel that returned, had to look beyond the human and the earthly for their king and country.

Another feature in Israel's history that appears prominent in the field of Ezekiel's vision, alongside of the national and kingly, is the *priestly* or religious. In their religious system were brought together, in a typical form, all the elements of truth regarding the divine character and their own condition, whereby they might be guided onward to the pure, intelligent, and spiritual worship of Jehovah. God and truth spoke by symbols, but the very symbols were such as invited inquiry, and would become to the earnest, God-seeking soul, helps instead of hindrances to the attainment of the truth. In temple, in priesthood, and sacrifice, all the great truths of redemption, all that man needed to know of God, of himself, of the way and fruits of salvation, were so outlined in material or visible form, that we can conceive of one, whose whole energies were bent on the work, gradually rising from stage to stage of spiritual knowledge, and through these very symbols attaining such an insight into the great verities of sin and salvation as would have filled his soul with a joy unspeakable and full of glory, and enabled him at once to see in Christ's person and work, as at length revealed on earth, the full combination and completion of all that was there prefigured. How far the individual Israelite ever advanced in such knowledge we know not, but there can be no doubt that Israel as a nation were invited, and furnished with means, in these very symbols along with prophetic teaching, to reach the position we have indicated. Many of them got far on the way; and in proportion as they did so, and brightening rays of the inner glory, there enshrined, burst through veil and symbol into their own souls, would the temple, and temple-service, become dear to their hearts, not for its own sake, but for that which was therein still to be revealed. Thus God gave them a way here also of attaining to a saving knowledge of himself. But it failed like the others. Sin blinded their eyes. Symbols ceased to be such to them, and were taken for the realities; and being so, it became but a short and easy step farther in the same direction, to add or substitute other rites and forms of their own devising, or of heathen suggestion. And so in this direction also, while typical forms served their divine

purpose in bringing nigh to man the divine truth he needed to know, they also proved man's own inability to rise through them to the truth itself. Hence, after being misunderstood, then abused, and profaned, they too had to share the fate of king and nation. The temple, grossly defiled by heathen abominations, as graphically described in the eighth chapter of Ezekiel, encounters the fate of the city and nation; the high-priest is slain, and his family and all the holy vessels of the sanctuary are carried to Babylon; while all this is still more solemnly exhibited, in chapter xi., in the previous withdrawal of the Shechinah from the sanctuary and city. The temple, indeed, was rebuilt after the captivity, and the priesthood restored; but the promising dawn of a new day, when Joshua, the son of Josedech ministered at the altar, and Zechariah prophesied, and Zerubbabel ruled, was already overclouded when Malachi rose to utter his final warning to priests and people. Soon afterwards the true Aaronic priesthood came to an end, the temple's inmost sanctuary was again and again exposed to heathen gaze, and priesthood and kingship both fell into the power of an alien race. The true sacredness and dignity of that typical worship seemed closed at the captivity; and the glory of the second temple was not so much the renewal of the old worship, as the visible appearance in its courts of Him who was both priest and sacrifice, and whose atoning death should open up the way into the holiest for all the true Israel of God, whether Jew or Gentile. To this aspect of Israel's past history, Ezekiel, himself a priest, turns with peculiar tenderness and sorrow; and his soul breaks down again and again at the thought of the impending calamities. He is the last of a close succession of prophets, who were raised up as the crisis approached, to avert if possible, by timely warning, the impending doom; and if not, to vindicate, amidst their own bitter sorrow and crushed hopes, the righteousness of the divine judgments in the desolation of their land, and the destruction of that temple, which our prophet describes as "the glorious ornament of Jehovah."

All these lines of truth, which we have been endeavouring to trace, converge into the prophecy of Ezekiel. He stands at the point in which all are drawn together into one common ordeal, that alters their past historical forms, and rounds off the lessons they were intended to teach. The substance of the prophecy itself yields the result of the kind of common development they have severally attained. It forms the end of much of that past, in its peculiar forms of trial and training,—forms that will not again be repeated, but out of which will spring in time the same truths, in their full spiritual efficacy and beauty; for "that is not first which is spiritual, but that

which is natural; and afterwards that which is spiritual." Israel had failed to come up to the divine ideal set before them, and towards which all the divine arrangements and materials furnished them were designed to help their approach. But God's purpose had not failed, but worked its way steadily onward through all the perversity and opposition of evil, and out of that opposition gathered the very materials needed for its complete and effective fulfilment. Ezekiel's prophecy is the valley of vision in which we see the burial of the natural, and are taught to look for the resurrection of the spiritual, body of the church.

And now, having indicated some of the trains of thought that run out of past history into the prophecy before us, space will not permit us to do more than indicate the use made of them by Ezekiel, and the prospective bearing of the prophecy itself on the future development of truth. Ezekiel's mission was specially to those of his countrymen who had been led away captive, eleven years before the actual destruction of Jerusalem, in the reign of Zedekiah. In their case, though they knew it not, divine mercy had guided the judgment that brought them to Babylon. They were taken out of the midst of the desperate wickedness that was hastening on the dreadful catastrophe, which would sweep away so many of the old theocratic forms, and those with them, who had stripped these forms of their divine meaning, and turned them into instruments of evil. It was among them that God by such means preserved the remnant of grace, which, at length purified by suffering, should gather up the fruits of past history, and become the cradle of divine grace and truth in their New Testament revelation. As yet, however, they were still hardened and unbelieving, murmuring at their own fate, and cherishing the delusive hopes of a speedy return to Jerusalem. It is that determined clinging to the past and present form of national life at Jerusalem, though now forsaken by Jehovah, and their false expectations of its future continuance, that the prophet has first of all to remove. These carnal hopes had been still further confirmed by messages brought from the guilty city of a wide-spread political coalition, against the Babylonian supremacy, formed between Zedekiah and the world-powers around him. In such an act, Judah had publicly dissolved her covenant relationship to Jehovah as her king, and become a mere world-power like the others. All that Jehovah had fitted and designed Israel, as a nation, a kingdom, and church, to become for himself in the world, was completely traversed, and his own gracious purpose could be farther advanced only by breaking into pieces the nation

itself, and the now unmeaning forms it retained. They had to learn, by a terrible experience, that the coalition so formed was viewed by Jehovah as against himself, rather than the Babylonian power; that he himself was at length in arms against them, to scatter to the wind their rebellious schemes, and fulfil his threatened judgments in casting them down from their past standing as his acknowledged representatives. It is the revelation and impression of this solemn fact that forms the burden of prophetic vision, and the theme of prophetic utterance, in the earlier half of the book. Hence the sublime vision of the cherubim and wheels in chapter i. is the appropriate opening, as well as the symbolic groundwork and text of the whole prophecy. It is Jehovah's war chariot that is there disclosed in full career against the rebellious nation,—its horses, the rushing whirlwind that tears up and dashes to the ground every opposing obstacle; its body, the cherubim, as the aggregate power of all creature-life; and its wheels, the mighty forces of nature,—all pervaded, energized by the spirit of him who sits above, clothed with light as a garment,—at present the scorching light of a consuming fire, to do his needed work of judgment, but even here encircled by the rainbow-light of covenant grace, as the ultimate goal of Jehovah's march through the history of man. Now its immediate work was stern, un pitying judgment on the nation which had so ungratefully and guiltily abandoned its trust. And it is this work of righteous vengeance,—its causes, and character, and consequences,—that are graphically presented in alternate symbolic acts, and sharp, incisive words by the prophet, till the true meaning of God's righteous dealings are branded on conscience and memory, and it needs only their actual fulfilment to make it be felt at length that a prophet has been among them, and Jehovah himself has been against them. Ezekiel completes his denunciatory predictions against Jerusalem (chap. xxiv.) on the very day that the siege began, with a message, in its import and attending circumstances, peculiarly painful to himself, as well as terrifying to his hearers; and then is silent, as regards his own people, for two years, till the news arrives that Jerusalem was smitten, and all fulfilled that had been uttered against it. The interval, however, is filled up, in accordance with the spirit and import of the whole book, with predictions of the fate awaiting the various world-powers, that by their own wickedness had led Israel astray, had hated and assailed them as the people of Jehovah, and were now exulting in the thought that their light was on the eve of being extinguished for ever, and the glory of Jehovah obliterated from the earth. God permitted their triumph for a time, till his chastisements of Israel by

their hands had at length yielded their intended results ; and then he made them see, in Israel's subsequent restoration, and feel in their own destruction, that he was ruling supreme in all, making the wrath of man to praise him, and working out the great purposes of his will, through all the opposition of his enemies, and all the faithlessness of his people. When the news of the city's destruction came to the captives, they were cast down from their former hardness and pride to the depths of helpless despair,—the very state in which the prophet here, as God always, begins his happier work of encouragement and promise. Broken off by God's judgments from the effete forms and conditions of the past, they will be prepared to look for something better in the future. And the prophet, accordingly, in the gracious and cheering predictions of the coming restoration, makes their return to Canaan, and revival of the Temple service, only the historic stepping-stones to that true spiritual renewal, and full spiritual revelation of divine truth, which alone could make God's house the centre, and God's people the possessors, of the earth. We can thus see, without entering farther into the contents of the prophecy, how the threads of truth we have gathered together of previous history run throughout, and carry forward that divine plan which, out of past history and revelation together, was opening up the way for its own full development in the coming Redeemer. The captivity at Babylon was the grave of much of the old historic symbols, at least in the prominence and power they formerly possessed. It was the birthplace of new and higher forms, that should afterwards come to maturity ; and Ezekiel's prophecy is their explanatory text and exposition.

We have thus looked chiefly at the lessons of preceding history in their elucidation of the prophecy, but we may glance also at the prophecy itself in its bearing on the future. Its contents, for their full understanding and application carry us far forward into the future, as they lead us back into the past,—reaching in the latter to the very roots of human history, and stretching forth in the other to its outermost branches. Its fundamental lessons and moral truths have to do with all times and nations in their relation to God and his kingdom. Beginning, as at the gate of the old Paradise, with the vision of the cherubim, it ends, like the Revelation of John, at the gate of the New Jerusalem. Ezekiel gathers up, as it were, the ripened fruit of past history, and plants it anew as the seed of that which was still to come. In a way also that strikingly unfolds itself as we peruse his prophecy, Ezekiel, in the character of his mission, becomes himself a type of that Prophet who was yet to come. He alone of all the prophets is addressed as "Son of man,"—a term so expressive of visible

human weakness, backed by invisible divine strength, in single-handed warfare for God with Jew and Gentile, now, as in Christ's time, actively combined together against the Lord and his anointed. Our Lord's prophetic work among his countrymen is strikingly similar in its character and consequences to that of Ezekiel. The prevailing impenitence and hardness of heart, the doom of the guilty city, the burying in its ruins of past forms that had lost their meaning and power, and out of that ruin the reconstruction of the true temple of God, and the gathering together of his redeemed in that Father's house where there are many mansions,—all these, though in different measure, are characteristic of Ezekiel's prophetic work, as well as of our Saviour's. And still farther down the pathway of gospel history does his eye reach, till it catches the leading outlines of those visions, of things that were still to come to pass, seen by the beloved disciple in Patmos; and we are drawn to the conclusion, that Ezekiel's prophecy holds the same place in the Old Testament scriptures, that the Revelation of John does in the New. The one speaks of God's future dealings with the church and world from an Old Testament standpoint, to a people acquainted only with Old Testament forms of divine revelation, and utters his predictions in the characteristic figures of Old Testament times; while the other utters the same truths in New Testament language, adapted to the higher spiritual knowledge of the gospel era: and the one has still to be figurative as well as the other, when giving the description of heavenly realities. In the opening chapter of Ezekiel, it is One who had "the likeness as the appearance of a man, from the loins upward as the shining of chashmal, and from the loins downward as the appearance of fire," who occupies the sapphire throne surmounting the cherubim; and in the Revelation, it is One "like unto the Son of man, whose feet were like unto fine brass, as if they burned in a furnace, and his countenance as the sun shining in its strength," at whose feet the apostle falls as dead. In both, the cherubim wait on this divine being, and do His will; and it is He in both that makes use of the material forces and living agencies of the world to carry on his great work of judgment and mercy to its close. Babylon also figures in both as the great enemy and oppressor of the church, while the final collision between the latter and the combined world-powers, represented by Gog and Magog (Ezek. xxxviii., xxxix., and Rev. xx.), is described by the prophet with even greater fulness of detail than by the apostle. The similarity is such as to certify the identity of aim, both in Ezekiel and Revelation, and seems to imply that the one practically closes up the moral course of Old Testament history, as the other does of

the New; and that the heavenly inheritance was virtually as near and as sure to the saints of old as to those who live in gospel times. The glorious end foreseen by both is the same, save that the apostle, standing in an advanced and more commanding position, describes its glory in clearer and sublimer terms; for both conclude (whatever may be the primary application of those last chapters of Ezekiel) with the far-off vision of the future temple and city of the living God,—the blessed home and inheritance, where the earth-scaffolding of forms and figures are for ever removed, and the glorious temple of Jehovah, erected out of redeemed humanity, stands forth in all its perfection of beauty, having its name and character inscribed in the heraldic scroll, that was first deciphered by the Old Testament prophet, יהוה יחיה! (Jehovah is there). J. I.

ART. V.—*The Climax of Messianic Prophecy in Isaiah LIII.*

AMID much that must stagger the student of patristic literature in the Epistle of Barnabas, there is at least one sentence, pertinent to our present purpose, which bears in its terse simplicity the stamp of truth. Adducing some of those deep sayings which are embalmed in this peerless paragraph on the Servant of Jehovah, the author of that curious letter expresses himself thus: *The prophets having their gift from Christ, prophesied Christward.** In a similar spirit, and with no inferior delicacy of form, a cognate thought is conveyed in one of those documents, which, however justly contested in many of their pretensions, may at least be accepted as embodying some of the Christian conceptions current at a comparatively early period. Speaking again of the prophets, the Ignatian Epistle to the Magnesians uses these terms: *They lived after Christ, and for this reason they were also persecuted, being inspired of grace, for the full assurance of the disobedient.*† And as was their life, it is implied, such also was their prophesying. They lived a *Christlike* life, and they delivered a *Christward* prophecy. And in like manner,

* οἱ προφῆται ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἔχοντες τὴν χάριν εἰς αὐτὸν λαροφῆτιυσαν, chap. v., according to the Codex Sinaiticus.

† οἱ γὰρ διόταται προφῆται κατὰ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἔζησαν: διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἰδιόχθησαν, ἡμμενόμενοι ἀπὸ τῆς χάριτος, εἰς τὸ πληροφρονηθῆναι τοὺς ἀπειθεῖντας, chap. viii.

to cull but one other of those pithy and memorable expressions on the subject of the Old Testament and its interpretation with which the writings of the fathers are so richly laden, the same Jerome who declares the law itself, when bereft of the presence of Christ, bitter as the waters of Marah, speaks no less strongly of the prophecies as unintelligible apart from Him, and in effect tells us, in the preface to his Commentary on Esaias, that he will expound these predictions in such wise as to shew Isaiah to have been not only a prophet, but also an evangelist and apostle, because the book opens up so clearly the mysteries of Christ and the Church, that the writer seems rather to be a historian of the past than a prophet of the future.

Citations of this tenor, and others which present the same exegetical habit in a more exaggerated form, such as those that so often surprise us in the patristic expositions of Jacob's benedictions and kindred passages, might be indefinitely multiplied. They have all their own value, as setting in a sort of focal light the earliest idea of prophetic interpretation. And they are all, and some of them indeed in the very terms, but reflections of gleams struck off by Scripture itself for our guidance in the quest after authoritative principles of exegesis. Thus, to select but a single instance, one of the most suggestive passages in this point of view, is offered us in Peter's Pentecostal sermon. Discoursing on this very subject of prophecy, and quoting that perplexing prediction which forms the buoyant conclusion of the 16th Psalm, he gives us to understand, that when David spake of the soul not left in hell, and the Holy One not suffered to see corruption, he spoke really of the resurrection of Jesus. The psalmist's confident utterance of a hope apparently touching himself, is explained by the apostle as in truth a prediction *concerning* Christ, or to keep by the exact phrase, one with a *bearing or direction towards* Christ. And while that whole address, studied in the light of an apostolic exposition, has a pregnant significance which makes it something like a charter of interpretative principles, this particular term, *εἰς αὐτόν*, in such a connection, seems one of the most lucid exponents of Scripture's own conception of Messianic hermeneutics. For the notion it presents is this, that all these prophecies were *related to* Christ, that they all had an eye and attitude *directed toward* Christ, that mediately or immediately and with or without a direct historic reference to nearer objects and persons, they were all sayings *bearing onward to* Christ. And the simple idea which this succinct phrase expresses, considered as the index to an apostolic exegesis, appears at once to furnish the most apt and compact definition of these prophecies as literally *Christward* utterances, and to start the true thesis for the

solution of much that is most difficult in the interpretation of all the Messianic sections of the Old Testament. For, while it brings prominently into the foreground the distinctively *Christian* element, it makes provision also for the filling up of the background with the distinctively *national* or *personal*. It permits David and David's Lord to meet in the Psalms, Solomon's Spouse and the Bride of the King of Peace in the Song of Songs, Judah and the Church in Isaiah, the earthly type and the heavenly Antitype or Archetype in all Messianic prophecy. In other words, this simple and almost aphoristic definition of the New Testament's own idea of the Old Testament, while it exhibits clearly the necessary presence of the properly *spiritual* in any scheme of prophetic interpretation that will satisfy the conditions of the case, also leaves due room for the strictly *historical*.

And these two terms, the *spiritual* and the *historical*, indicate the two great factors in any just and adequate theory of Messianic exposition. Only as we hold by these in their true union, and in their legitimate relations, shall we be saved from excess on one side or another. The recognition of the one gives us that *sobriety* of mind, and the recognition of the other gives us that *spirituality* of mind, which are no less needful for a true exegesis than for a righteous life. The spiritual factor held alone will be applied falsely; and to what extravagant and capricious issues that will lead the student, may be seen most notably in the earliest schools of Oriental interpreters, and again in the Cocceian period, in which prophecy becomes a curious kaleidoscope, which the manipulator twists by any easy turn of hand into a thousand haphazard shapes, all supposed to body forth some broken lineaments of the image of Christ. We need the *historic*, in the largest sense of that phrase, to balance the spiritual. For, as Hooker says, "There is nothing more dangerous than this licentious and deluding art, which changeth the meaning of words, as alchymy doth or would do the substance of metals, maketh of anything what it listeth, and bringeth in the end all truth to nothing."* But with this corrective it must be held as a first principle, that the interpretation of the Old Testament, and most emphatically of its prophecies, must be a *spiritual* interpretation to the effect of seeing Christ in it. And the history of hermeneutical inquiry, from the early struggles of Tertullian with the Marcionites and Augustine with the Manicheans down to the exploits of the neology and rationalism of these later days, shews that this is the real rock on which so many quasi-scientific interpreters founder. The

* Eccles. Pol. V, 59.

baldly historic method passes ever into the literal and servile reading of the Old Testament, which is only a misreading. The recognition of Christ, as being to some effect the hidden treasure in the field of Israel's Scriptures, is the first and most essential condition to a true appreciation of their meaning. *Prope omnis pagina nihil aliud sonat quam Christum et ejus ecclesiam*,* is the bold, broad utterance of one of the earliest and greatest expositors. And if this is a maxim applicable to the Old Testament throughout, it is specially true of prophecy, and most expressly so of Isaiah. Thus it has been seen that an exclusively and literally historical has ever led on to a Christless, and has issued in a purely rationalistic exegesis. Thus, too, it has happened that most of those critics who refuse to discover the personal Messiah in this fifty-third of Isaiah, have also denied the Isaianic authorship of the second half of the book. These things have usually gone hand in hand, and the attempt to get over the one great stone of stumbling in the vision of Christ, the Sufferer and Surety, in such a passage as the one before us, has induced, on the one hand, false theories of prophecy, and on the other hand, a criticism with a destructive attitude towards the latter portion of this evangelical seer of the Old Testament.

That such notions are afloat widely amongst ourselves at present, is only too evidently the case. For, not to advert to the more pretentiously scientific efforts of men like Dr Samuel Davidson and the late Dr Rowland Williams, or to the more popular reproduction of the erroneous views of men like Bunsen on the subject of the Messianic import of this chapter of Isaiah, given us in the *Essays and Reviews* and similar publications, we need only to take up books so widely disseminated as those of the late gifted Frederick Robertson of Brighton, and we shall find the same fact meet us. In dilating, for example, on the idea that the prophet's life was almost more predictive than his words, he says:—"Thus especially, Isaiah liii., spoken originally of the Jewish nation: of the prophet as peculiarly the Israelite: no wonder the eunuch asked Philip in perplexity, 'Of whom doth the prophet say this? Of himself, or some other man?' The truth is, he said it of himself, but prophetically of humanity: true of him, most true of the highest humanity."† Or if we have in view the precise *character* in which the Subject of this matchless chapter is presented, we have only to turn to writings which have become so largely a popular power among us as those of Horace Bushnell, in order to see how far removed from what has of old been generally accepted in the church of God is much of the the theological literature current in our generation. Thus,

* Augustine, Sermo. xlvii.

† "Sermons," Second Series, pp. 159, 160.

speaking of what he calls the *judicial figures* in Isaiah liii., this clever and fascinating speculator says: "The whole chapter, it will be observed, is from the point of gratitude or holy ascription, after the offering is made. It is the witness of a tender confession, not a prophecy, save in that form. And what is more natural than for a soul delivered of its curse, its retributive woe, its penal bondage, and heaving in great sentiments of praise and holy ascription to its deliverer, to represent him in his suffering goodness as having taken upon himself the very pains and dues of justice he has removed? 'Did he not bear my punishment? Did he not bleed under my stripes? Was not my chastisement upon him? Was he not smitten of God in judgments that were falling on me?' And yet, every one who makes this confession will know that he means this only as in a figure to express his tender acknowledgment, and nothing will be farther off from his thought than to imagine that he was literally asserting the punishment of his deliverer."* From all which it is evident, that even among those who admit the presence of the personal Messiah in some fashion in this prophecy, there are some who give it entrance only by a side-wind, and others who, while receiving it more fairly and fully, denude it of that peculiar character which we believe to be assigned it here. And the reason is clear. It is because this passage forms the key-note to so much that is most distinctive in apostolic doctrine, and because its most significant terms are adopted as the fittest exponents of the more expansive teaching of the epistles on the subject of the real import and value of the work and sufferings of Christ.

Our object, therefore, is to review this question—What is the personality that meets us in this choicest pearl and coronal of Old Testament prophecy? Is it only some collective or ideal subject? Is it only some prophet or king of an earthly Israel? Is it only some abstract aggregate of Judah's nation or Judah's trains of seers and preachers? Or is it verily that same Jesus of whom the deacon Philip expounded it when he joined himself to the chariot of the chief officer of Candace? To all, indeed, who accept the New Testament as normative for the interpretation of the Old, the matter is foreclosed. For it is settled there in most decisive phraseology and oft-recurring citation. But as error must be met on its own ground, we need to look at this matter on its own merits, with the view of proving that this paragraph shews by its own light, and in its own contents, that any interpretation must be pronounced inadequate which stops short of the *personal* Messiah, and of that Messiah in his *substitutionary* character. To handle this

* "The Vicarious Sacrifice," p. 410.

question with any completeness, would demand a minute discussion of the exposition of the whole passage, so as to present the exact sense which a faithful examination of its language, in the light of present scholarship, warrants us to attach to its most important terms. In the meantime, however, all that our space permits us to do is simply to indicate, as we proceed, the chief findings of such an exposition, and touch with the utmost possible brevity on a few select points that seem to require settlement at the outset.

As to the *plan* and division of thought then, we agree with Hävernicks* in regarding the whole paragraph as falling into so many distinguishable but connected series of three verses, carrying us gradually on through the humiliation of the Servant of Jehovah to his consequent glorification. Of these several sections, the first, which forms the close of lii. with us, but which has been proved by Pearson to have been uniformly united with liii. by the Jews themselves, starts the theme, and gives, with a few bold strokes, an outline of the complex image which is delineated more fully in what follows. Then through the first nine verses of liii., we have the great figure of the Man of Sorrows in his earthly reception; and in the concluding verses, we get the surpassing picture of his reward. For we agree with those who maintain that the dark panorama of suffering covers the whole chapter with the exception of those last three verses, and dissent from those who see the splendour of the glorification breaking already through the expressions about the judgment, the prison, and the grave. As to the prophet's *ideal position*, again, it is the same as he has been occupying hitherto. He has still the exile and the restoration in view. Only, after depicting in very sombre colours in the preceding, the Israel of Jehovah in its deep and long-continued depression, he turns from the members to the head, and speaks of a personality that constitutes the very core of the people, and in whom the suffering and the honour of the people are to reach their climax. Looking on to Israel's woe, he sees it rise to its acme in the captivity. But out of that gloomy spectacle of a national depression, which was only the sign of a drearier spiritual desolation, One is seen to come forward out of the very bosom of the suffering people, himself too a Sufferer, in whom the restitution of God's true Israel is to be effected. In this manner, the prophecy, keeping still the historic ground on which it has all along been moving, introduces the Servant of Jehovah, and portrays in the first section of liii. his *in-glorious condition* in outward estate and in bodily and mental

* See his "Vorlesungen über die Theologie des Alten Testaments," edited by H. Schultz. Appendix II.

sufferings ; in the second, the *peculiar character* assignable to these sufferings as borne, not for himself, but for others ; and in the third, the *moral worth* of the same, as endured *voluntarily, patiently, and righteously*.

The main questions of an exegetical character, again, to which our present object requires us to advert beforehand are such as the following. First, the exact sense of the נָזַח in lii. 15 is a matter of some consequence, as the word is one of those which seem to bring out so clearly the *priestly* character of this servant. Passing by certain meanings, like the *recreaturus est* of Houbigant, and the notion of Kimchi, that it denotes *teaching* as a dropping of words, we may say that the choice lies between these two,—*sprinkling*, and *causing to spring*, of which the former is retained by the Syriac and the Vulgate, but the latter is represented by the κατασπασσας of the Septuagint. The objection to the former sense is that, in that usage the verb is never found with the simple accusative as here. But as the Hiphil is unquestionably employed in one well-defined application to the various ceremonial sprinklings, whether by blood or water, and as the warrant for the other sense of *sprinkling with astonishment* has to be sought, not in the Hebrew itself, but rather in the Arabic *nazā*, we hold that the *usus loquendi* is altogether in favour of the *so shall he sprinkle* of our version. Next we have the important point as to the *speaker* in liii. Have we one Subject speaking throughout on to the 10th verse, or have we more than one? Some suppose the prophet to be the spokesman here, speaking either for himself personally, or for himself as the representative of all preachers, or in the name of several parties successively. And, of course, those who see in this Servant only collective Israel are driven by the necessities of their position to hold the speaker to be the Gentiles. But the “*We*” of prophecy is so uniformly applied to *Israel*, and any of those other theories would introduce so awkward a change in the subject throughout the chapter, and obscure so much the force of the contrast between the Gentiles in lii. as receiving the report, and Israel in liii. as rejecting it, that we may decide clearly enough that Israel, in the character of penitent for past misapprehensions of the true standing of this Servant of the Lord, is the speaker here. Then we have the difficulties of verse 8th, of which it has been said that no words in the Bible have been more variously rendered. As to the clause, *he was taken from prison and from judgment*, the sense of each word by itself is not far to seek. For עָצָר denotes *restraint*, and then *oppressive handling* in general : מִשְׁפָּט expresses *judicial action* or *process of judgment* ; the idea of its righteousness or unrighteousness being dependent on the

context : and the נָּקַח signifies a simple *taking away*, it may be to a glorification, as in the case of Enoch, or it may be to a death. On these grounds we may set aside at once interpretations which have recourse to a *hendiadys*, like Lowth's, *by an oppressive judgment he was taken off*; or to two different senses of the נָּקַח , like De Burgh's, *by oppression even from judgment*, though it seems to correspond so far with the Septuagint's *ἐν τῇ καταστροφῇ ἣν ἡ χάρις αὐτοῦ ἤρπην*; or to forced expansions of the terms, like Henderson's, *without restraint and without a sentence*, as explained of the Jews not being hindered from taking him away. And though it is true (yet not to such an extent as to warrant Hengstenberg's rash assertion that such has been the church's view) that the prophecy has been supposed by many to pass at this point to the subject of the *glory* of the Servant, as for example by Jerome in his *De tribulatione atque judicio ad Patrem victor ascendit*, and by J. H. Michaelis in his *Exemptus est et ad dextram Majestatis assumptus est*; yet as the idea of the *glory* must certainly be departed from again almost immediately, it is much preferable to accept the opinion held by most of the greatest expositors of recent times, which keeps the reference still to the humiliation. Thus we see in it the striking statement of an additional *aggravation* to his suffering, in that he was led off to death after oppressive handling, and after a set, formal *process of judgment* which, with all its unrighteousness, gave the official seal of public law to his sentence. But there rises further the question as to the precise meaning of the *declaring of his generation*. The real difficulty here centres in the term דָּוָר , and of the many meanings imposed upon it, there are some to be dismissed at once as without linguistic warrant, or as too artificial, such as *length or course of life*, with Calvin, Luther, Vitranga, and others; *lot or destiny* with Hitzig; *duration of his future life*, or the mystery of his *ineffable generation* with others. Scarce more admissible is Knobel's fancy that it means *abode* in the sense of *grave*, or Hofmann's earlier view that it means *dwelling-place*, with the import that none marked the place of his sojourn,—that he was so poor and unregarded as to pass off to death without leaving note or memorial of himself among men. We are left, therefore, to choose between the two meanings which spring naturally from its root idea of a *period of time*, viz., either *those living together at a certain time*, or *those morally together, one in spirit*. Hengstenberg and others take it in the latter sense, as his *spiritual fellows*, the whole generation of his spiritual seed. But as this brings in again the disturbing element of the *glorification*, and as the apter term with this moral application would be עָמַד , it is better to hold by the simpler sense, so that, taking the נָּקַח as the mark

of the absolute case, and keeping for יָ, its usual force of *that*, the whole runs thus,—*And as to his contemporaries, who among them ever considered the fact that it was for the transgression of my people he was cut off out of the land of the living, and that the stroke was upon him?* Another matter of interest as well as obscurity, is the exact allusion, in *the grave with the wicked and with the rich in his death*. Here the בְּמִיתָיו is understood by some to denote, in the plural, *deeds of violence* or murder; and so Hofmann proposes to render it, *one who is rich in consequence of murderous deeds*, supposing that this is used as a strong antithesis to the character of the Servant who is poor through deeds of good. Others read בְּמִיתָיו on the strength of a couple of codices, and from the sense of *high-places* deduce that of sepulchral mounds, i.e., *in his tomb*. But for this there is so slender warrant, that it is best to keep by the common sense of the word and by the analogy of similar plural forms, and understand it, with Delitzsch, as meaning a death so painful as to be like several deaths, a *violent, martyr-death*. But, further, as to the עָצָו,—so great is the difficulty the word is supposed to present, that Ewald would get rid of it at once by substituting the unknown form עָצָו; some, like Gesenius or Hitzig, going back to the dialects suppose, on the analogy of an Arabic root, that it may have originally meant *godless*; while others fancy that the context, and especially the parallel, עָצָו, impart to the phrase the sense of a rich man who misuses his riches. Such interpretations, however, all underlie the primary objection, that they import into the word an idea foreign to it, for the rich man is not of necessity the *godless* man. There is every reason, therefore, to hold by the plain and familiar meaning of *rich*. If so, the force is that, *in his condition of death, his grave had two designations, with the wicked and with a rich man*. His burial-place was appointed by authorities to be *with the godless*, an interment proper to criminals; but it was also appointed by others under God to be *with a rich man*, an interment proper to the reputable. And thus we get the striking idea that the last possible stroke of ignominy was designed for him. To his oppressive death, it was intended to add a *shameful burial*. But what was meant to be an additional degradation was strangely overruled to be a significant point of honour. A remark needs also to be made on this sacred text,—*He shall see of the travail of his soul, and shall be satisfied*. For it should be noted that the word עָצָו signifies simply *toil* in general, any manner of severe exertion, such as the husbandman's, for instance, and therefore to render it *travail* is unadvisable, as bringing in the foreign idea of the pangs of childbirth. The preposition, again, can hardly bear the partitive

sense given it in our English version, he shall see *of* the travail : neither is the meaning attached to it by Hävernicks satisfactory, *free from the travail* he shall see. Rather does it bear the causative force, *on account of*, with which corresponds the Vulgate's *pro eo quod laboravit anima ejus*. And then the *seeing* is left dramatically unfurnished with its object, so that the clause reads, *On account of the toil of his soul he shall see !—he shall be satisfied !* With this brief notice of some of the main problems in the exposition, we must leave other points of interest to evince themselves as we proceed.

Keeping these things in view, then, we may ask, What is the Figure that rises up before us here ? It is, in brief, the portrait of One who, out of deepest depression and most contemptuous disregard, is raised to highest honour and supremest power, and who, through this finished suffering and destined glory, makes a new people out of Israel and the Gentiles. What are the great features in the delineation ? If we glance along the prominent lines of the exposition, we find them make up the very complex picture of One who, being designed to be the fulfiller of Jehovah's pleasure, and the founder of a new people, meets first, and from most, with scornful neglect and ignominious discredit, no one believing the report of him, because he appears first in ignoble estate, and lowly mien, and unimposing aspect, like an unnoted root-sprout out of a dry, unpromising soil ; who is so misunderstood in the real object of his life, under all its exceeding burden of dishonour and tribulation, that those of his own generation esteem him stricken of God, and think of him as bearing in his own body the punishment of his own sins ; who sustains sufferings of so exceptional intensity, both in body and soul, and with such singular aggravation in their formal infliction by a public judicial process, and in their pursuit of him to the very grave itself, and in many other circumstances, that men turn away with aversion, and hide, as it were, their faces from him ; who in all, nevertheless, enters only into other men's lot, and carries the burden of other men's offences, and suffers on their account, and not his own ; who, also, through all these alien woes and pains, acts voluntarily, and patiently, and righteously, and in silent, lamb-like acquiescence, without either iniquity of deed or guile of mouth ; who, in self-sacrificing zeal for others, contemplates nothing less than to bring them peace by pouring out his own soul to death : and who, in all, deals so prudently, and in such perfect accordance with Jehovah's counsel, that he is destined to receive the recompense of an exaltation as extraordinary as his humiliation, an honour of which his strange and unexpected burial offered the earnest, and a glory which is secured to him in vast and victorious dominion, an ineffable

inward felicity, and many surpassing elements of power, prosperity, and satisfaction.

Who, then, or what is this mysterious personality in whom so many various and apparently contradictory attributes are presented in unison? In reply, we might simply set this prophetic picture by Isaiah over against the historic picture by the evangelists and apostles. We might deem it enough to appeal at once to the witness of the gospels and epistles. How marvellously are all the lines, great and small, of the one description reproduced in the other! With what faultless exactness is the identification sustained, down even to the indication of the *grave with the rich*, so strangely realised in the ἀντὶς πλούσιος, and the new sepulchre in the garden—just one of those minuter touches in the representations, which, like the mention of the parting of the garments and the bones left unbroken, convey the most vivid and overmastering impression of the divine correspondence between the subject in the prophecy and the subject in the history. With what delicate completeness and penetrating precision is the verification of the one seen to be carried out in the other! Do we take the notes of this Servant's *personal estate and aspect* as our guage? Then this marring of the countenance, these figures of a growth like the slender twig or the root-sucker out of the dry ground, this lack of the form or beauty attractive to the common eye, have their witness in the obscure parentage, the stall-nativity, the abject condition of the old stock of the house of David whence this tender branch came forth, the mean Galilean abode, the unhonoured retirement of the carpenter's son, the unpretending aspect of him who was meek and lowly of heart, the fisherman retinue, the fellowship with publicans and sinners, the life of poverty, and care, and homelessness—all so strongly contrasting with the illustrious descent, and imperial mien, and brilliant bearing, with which the Jews credited the Messiah whom they expected to come as the up-lifter of the standard of a world-subduing supremacy for their nation. Or take we this sign of his *growing up before the Lord* through all? It has its proof in the providence that shines through all the strangest passages of the career of the Subject of the gospel-histories, watching over the circumstances of his birth and glorifying them, defeating the savage purpose of Herod against his infancy, conveying him in the hour of peril to the place of safety in Egypt, and again leading him back to the security of the humble Nazarene home, and in many another scene giving his angels charge concerning him, and shewing him to be, as Vitringa so aptly expresses it, truly the One, *ceteris ignotus sed notus Deo*. Or look we at all the diverse tokens of his *rejection*? They meet us again

in the unutterable solitariness of his position, with no room in the inn to receive him, with none but a band of "unlearned and ignorant men" and a few Galilean women to attend him, visited only in secret, and by night, if perchance a Nicodemus or any of the chief men desired to hear him, denied by one disciple and forsaken by all, set at naught by Herod, mocked by the soldiers, impeached as a blasphemer by the priests, repudiated for a Barabbas, and deemed unfit for any other death than a crucifixion between two malefactors. Or regard we the varied expressions of *sorrow and suffering*? They live again in the sigh heaved on uttering the healing Ephphatha, in the weeping and the groaning of his spirit by the grave of Lazarus, in the tears shed over the blinded city, in the exceeding sorrowfulness, and agony, and sore amazement of the garden scene, in the pains of his active ministry, and the desolation and anguish of his end. Or mark we this signalling of the *patience and silent acquiescence*? They are brought before us again in the lamb-like gentleness with which he bore the rough seizure by the traitor's band, in his sublime calm in the unbelieved arraignment before high priest, and council, and governor, and in his meek equanimity under the insults of soldiers and servants, and all the indignities and inflictions that were crowded into his lot. And, in short, whatever feature we fix upon in the prophetic picture shall be viewed again in the lineaments of the gospel portraiture, and wherever we follow the narrative of the career of the Jesus of Matthew or Luke, we shall trace the steps of this Servant of Jehovah in Isaiah.

But lustreously as this figure in the prophecy appears to have its signature in the evangelic history, there are few questions that have been more keenly discussed, and few positions that have been more vehemently controverted, by certain schools of criticism, than this identification of the two subjects. Hence the necessity of the attempt to prove that, apart even from the authoritative testimony of the New Testament, an honest and faithful reading of the paragraph can be satisfied by no other hypothesis. And this will be best done by simply shewing that the results yielded by an exact exegesis of the passage itself are consistent only with these two *dicta*,—that the personality before us here is a true *individual, personal* subject, and that this subject sustains a real *substitutionary* character.

Now that this prophecy presents an *individual*, and not a *collective* personality, was the original view of the Jews themselves. Not until they were pressed with the difficulties of the Christian inference did the Jewish interpreters, as a general rule, either construct the theory of a double Messiah, or adopt the notion of a collective subject here. And as to

the Christian Church, with the exception of an isolated voice like that of Grotius, the application of the whole section to Christ was a matter absolutely uncontested ; and not till towards the end of last century did the same indisposition to see the personal Messiah here, and the same consequent variety of opinion as to the real subject, which held sway among the Jewish interpreters, begin to shew themselves among professedly Christian expositors. These multiform non-Messianic theories admit of reduction to some well-defined groups, the refutation of which cannot be considered a very hopeless task. But as against the Messianic application in any shape certain objections have been urged which deal more with general principles than with the details of exegesis, and which are supposed to withstand the current Christian view on the very threshold, we must glance rapidly at some of those that may serve as specimens of all.

Against the whole Messianic reference, then, it is objected, first, that the *representation of times* does not suit it, in so far as the suffering is spoken of as past, and only the glory as future. But this objection fails in many respects. For, even granting its truth, it would suit the collective personality no better than the individual, since it is not the case that all the sufferings of the natural Israel, or the prophetic body, for example, were purely past, and their glory purely future at the time when this author wrote. But the truth of the assertion itself cannot be admitted, for the *suffering*, at least, seems sometimes spoken of here as still future and contingent, specially in the phrases, *if his soul shall make a trespass offering*, and, *he shall bear their iniquities*. And besides, the whole affirmation is based on a misconstruction of the usage of the prophetic tenses, and on a misconception of the prophet's position. For the position occupied by the seer is an *ideal* one, in which he contemplates objects out of the centre of his own subjective field of vision, and presents them accordingly, not as they literally stand in their chronological and phenomenal relations, but as he sees them in their logical and inner connections, and in their mutual dependence as causes and effects. The very fact, that in such passages the tenses so often interchange, is a proof that the speaker occupies an ideal standing ; and that the prophetic perfect is not to be taken as a formal historic past, is shewn by this, among other things, that the old Greek versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, as well as the Septuagint so often reproduce it by a future. Another objection is drawn from the supposed *singularity of the designation*. For it is argued that if the servant of the Lord means here the Messiah, it is the only occurrence of the term in that sense. To this it is enough to reply that ample proof

can be adduced, though we cannot detail it at present, that not only in certain other sections of Isaiah himself, but also elsewhere in the prophets, *e.g.* Zech. iii. 8, the appellation is assigned to the personal Messiah. Again, it is objected that all that is contained in the terms which seem to express mediation and atonement is simply something *figurative, symbolical, or pictorial*, so that nothing can be deduced from the supposedly *expiatory* representation of this Servant's sufferings. This is the idea held by such interpreters as De Wette and Martini. But this theory is inconsistent with itself. For manifestly two great facts come out in the description—certain *sufferings*, and a certain *efficacy* in these sufferings, which is at least couched in terms of expiation. But if the one set of phrases deals with something only figurative, how should the other be supposed to deal with something real? There are the strongest notes here at once of pains and of an expiation by pains, at once of guilt and of guilt's removal; and on what ground are the terms which express the one to be taken as only symbolical or pictorial, while the terms, apparently of the same standard, expressing the other are to be taken as real and literal? Besides, the whole section is steeped in the language used of the Levitical offerings, and we know that these were not of a merely ideal value to the Israelite, but, while filled with a symbolical power, had also a real efficacy of a present and positive kind, in connecting the parties with the congregation of God. And, once more, it is boldly alleged that there is no trace elsewhere of a really *suffering* Messiah in Old Testament teaching. In answer to this, it might be enough to say, as it has been well urged by Hävernick and others, that, *a priori*, it would certainly be a strange thing if this were true. For, as one of the fundamental conceptions of Old Testament doctrine and history is that of *righteousness*, and righteousness especially in *conflict*, it would be surprising that the Messiah, who is introduced as the perfected embodiment of righteousness, should have nothing of this conflict to endure. But in point of fact, not only can the presence of a suffering Messiah be proved in such passages as Daniel ix. 24–27, and Zech. xi. 13, but, further, the signs of a Messiah expiating by such suffering may be traced, however dimly, in figures like those of Zech. iii. 8, 9.

Passing, therefore, from these initial objections, we must notice the chief non-Messianic interpretations erected on such a basis. And of these, we have first the theory of the *Collective Israel*. According to this, the whole paragraph is a picture of the destined elevation of the national Israel to a position of honour and supremacy out of a lengthened period of subjection either, as the Jewish interpreters in general put

it, in their present dispersion, or, as most of their modern successors understand it, in their Babylonish exile. The speaker in the first ten verses is supposed to be the *Gentiles*, expressing their contrition for past misconceptions of the true mission of Israel, professing a worthier estimate of their glorious destiny in the future, and acknowledging that the weighty burden of depression and tribulation which the Jews had to bear, was borne, not for Israel's own sin, but for the offence of the Gentiles. This is a view which was prevalent at a very early period. Traces of it are found in some of the interlocutors in Origen, and it has been adopted, more or less completely, by such Jewish interpreters as Jarchi, Abenezra, Kimchi, Abarbanel, and in modern times, with more or less consistency, by Eichorn, Rosenmüller, Hitzig, and others. The second leading theory refers the servant of Jehovah to the *true Israel* in contrast with the *professional*. The godly Israel are conceived to suffer pre-eminently, and that on account of the carnal Israel, and as a sort of substitute for them. And the formal Israel, now penitent, become the speakers here, testifying to their former blindness in supposing that their godly brethren were laid under so great a load of suffering for their own sin, and recognising now that these sorrows of the righteous were endured for alien guilt, and are ensured of a correspondent recompense in honour. This is the view held by Alshech (though he understood the close of lii. to relate to the Messiah), Paulus, Ammon, von Cölln, Maurer, Knobel, and others. And a modification of this theory, holding the subject to be the *abstract* or *ideal* Israel, the people conceived as reaching its ideal vocation, is propounded by Eckermann, and wrought out by Ewald and Bleek. Then the third great theory is that which sees in this servant a personification of the collective body of the *prophets*. Here, again, the prophetic community is imagined to be the exceptional sufferer, and the Jewish nation is the penitent speaker, confessing its past error as to the real mission sustained by these teachers, and awakening to the fact that their woes had been endured for its guilt, and not their own. This has been advocated by De Wette, Umbreit, Rosenmüller (along with the first), and in a mixed form by Hofmann. And besides these main currents of interpretation, there have always been expositors who have recognised some *individual* in the Lord's Servant. Thus Abarbanel gives us a choice between the first theory and that of a reference to Josiah; Bunsen and Grotius take it to be Jeremiah, others understand it of Uzziah, Hezekiah, or Isaiah himself, while Hofmann now interprets it, in an uncertain way, of some *last* prophet.

But the inadequacy of all such non-Messianic theories to

satisfy the actual facts of the case may be shewn by many weighty considerations. Thus, all these three leading groups of interpretation are based on a usage of which no clear example can be produced elsewhere. For as they all agree in predicating a certain *collective* personality, they are called to exhibit some scriptural instance of so uncommon a personification, carried on at such length, and with such minuteness and continuity of personal detail,—details ascribing a *soul*, a *death*, a *grave*, and the like, to this Subject, and this all the while without giving any hint that the Subject in question is not an individual. Any indubitable analogy to this cannot be adduced. Again, all these views fail in this, that they introduce a very awkward change in the *speaker* throughout these verses. Thus Knobel represents the author as speaking first in his own name, then in name of the whole people, and again in his own name. And in particular, against the notion that the *prophet*, as representing the whole prophetic college, can be the speaker here, it may be urged that no genuine instance is found elsewhere of the prophet appearing in the name of a whole school of prophets, while against the idea that the *Gentiles* constitute the spokesman, it may be argued that that contradicts not only the stated usage of the “*we*” of prophecy as a term applied to Israel, but also the introduction of the solemn *וְאֵל* in verse 8. Again, it may be shewn that the description of the Subject in this chapter, fails to harmonise entirely with discriptions given elsewhere of any of these theoretical subjects. For if we suppose the personality here to be, for instance, either Israel or the prophetic body, how will the delineation of *prudent dealing* and the like, fit in with what meets us in such passages as xlii. 19, where the servant of the Lord is spoken of as *blind and deaf like no other*? And on the whole, it is easy to prove that all these theories do unmistakeable violence to the plain force of the most characteristic terms in this description. Thus, one of the qualities most distinctive of this Servant, as evinced by the exposition, is an unexampled *righteousness*. But how can such a righteousness as is here depicted be predicated of any of these hypothetical personalities? Neither do any of the other prominent lineaments in this picture suit these better. Will this ascription of *patience*, for example, be applicable to Israel or the prophets? Was it not rather the very function of their teachers to rebuke the people for their unfaithfulness and murmurings? And had not even the prophets themselves often flaws to shew in the burnished armour of their faith and endurance? Or, let the peculiar insignia of *suffering* be taken here, and with what truth, adequate to the emphatic expressions, can it be alleged that Israel bore the sufferings of the Gentiles, or the godly

Israel those of the carnal, or the prophetic body those of the nation? Can it even be maintained that the true Israel or the prophets suffered *more* than the rest of the people? Is it not rather the case that often these were precisely the parties that had less to endure, and that received more signal honour? Or how could it be said of any of these that they bore their woes *voluntarily*? Was their transportation into the land of exile a self-chosen step? Or how could it be asserted that they suffered *without sin*, without either violence of deed or deceit of mouth, as this Servant is declared to do? Is it not rather the constant testimony of Scripture, that it was just because God had a controversy with the whole people for their iniquity that His hand was laid so heavily upon them? Or how could the one stand for the other in any such representative position as is here indicated, if the Gentiles suffered as well as the Jews, and the carnal Israel as well as the spiritual, and the people as well as the prophets? Or how could it be said that any of these made their soul a trespass-offering for the others, if no tangible relief can be shewn to have accrued to these others by that offering, and if still they had to sustain their own lot of suffering? Or will the terms of this description better suit Jeremiah, Uzziah, Josiah, or any of the other non-Messianic individualistic personalities? Will the attitude of *silent acquiescence* hold good when we read of that prophet, for instance, that he cursed the day of his birth (Jer. xx. 14), and complained that God had deceived him (xx. 7)? Or will the assertion of a *forgiveness and peace* gained for others by any one of these verify itself in the fact, when we find that the result of Jeremiah's sorrows was rather an addition of woe to Israel, and that Josiah, instead of giving his life freely for his people was killed in battle, precisely because he refused to listen to the divine warnings, and went wilfully to his doom by the hand of Pharaoh-Necho (2 Kings xxiii. 29)? In short, not one of these exhibits the character assigned to this Servant of Jehovah. Not one of these answers to the most peculiar strokes in the prophetic picture. And are we not warranted in holding the inadequacy of any of these theories of a collective personality in especial, and in affirming that all the signs of this delineation point us unmistakably to a single person,—to a true individual personality,—as the Subject?

And with equal clearness should it appear that this Subject is as truly *substitutionary* as personal. For it is not merely a sufferer that comes to view here, but a sufferer for the sins of others. Few interpreters, indeed, even the most rationalistic, decline to admit the existence of *some sort* of substitution in the passage. And the various expedients by which they empty that idea of its proper import only prove the more forcibly how

indelibly ingrained it is in the paragraph. The evidence of the presence of a real substitution here is given in a rich diversity of phraseology. Thus how lucidly it is conveyed in the mention of the *chastisement for our peace*,—a sentence which it is sought, indeed, in various ways, to relieve of its sharper meaning, as by placing the idea of *instruction* in room of that of chastisement, or by making it only equivalent to a chastisement that *proves beneficial to us*,—but which is allowed, even by critics like Hitzig, to contain more than that, and implies plainly, that upon this Servant was laid the chastisement that *had in view or secured our peace*. Or take the words, *with his stripes we are healed*,—truly a marvellous declaration in the light of common experience. For while recovery comes to the patient in bodily maladies only by the patient's own endurance at once of the natural pains of the ailment, and the added pangs of the physician's applications or the surgeon's knife, here, in this spiritual sickness, the lash is laid upon another, the stripes are received by another, the wounds sustained by another are the means of health to us; and the blood that streams from another's hurt is the balm that brings soundness to Israel. How pointedly is the same truth put in the phrase,—*the Lord laid on him the iniquity of us all*,—specially in its connection with the preceding mention of the *straying like lost sheep*. For these figures which express so vividly the great ideas of the *misery*, the *universality*, and the *variety* of man's sin, suggest what manner of pain-bearer and health-restorer was needed, and what reason there was for the Lord's causing the *iniquity of us all to light upon another*. Most significantly, again, is the same indicated in the specific force of the term used for the "*bearing*" of pain and iniquity here. For this Servant's relation to these ills is conveyed by the term נָשָׂא, which is the stated formula of the law, and of which it may be safely affirmed that, notwithstanding every effort to extrude its *vicarious* import, the proof is abundant that it is employed of the taking both of the debt of another's offence, and the punishment of another's sin to oneself, and that it has the sense of *removing by bearing*. Yet more emphatically pronounced is this idea in the *soul made a trespass-offering*; for the offering is there the זָבִיחַ of the Levitical ordinances, which embodies so indubitably the legal ideas of compensation and satisfaction. And some of these characteristic phrases only exhibit this fact in stronger hues the more critically they are examined. Thus, if we select the expression, *wounded for our transgressions*, we find the preposition used there to be לְ, and as this לְ with the passive corresponds not to the Greek ὑπὲρ, but to ἀντὶ, the position becomes inadmissible, that what is implied is only that our transgressions pierced

his heart, or wounded him in feeling and sympathy, and the meaning is seen to be that he was pierced, or subjected to a painful death, *on account of our transgression*. These expressions, *wounded for our transgressions, bruised for our iniquities*, and the like, are among the strongest that could be chosen to bring out the *vicarious* position; and, as the prophetic statement proceeds, terms of that import are accumulated verse after verse until the substitutionary character of this Servant of Jehovah is set in the clearest light and the most decisive colouring.

And if the examination of the language itself evinces so satisfactorily how deeply seated the truth of a real substitution is here, not less shall we be confirmed in this conviction by glancing at some of the incongruities to which opposite views drive interpreters. We need not go back to the puerile shifts of earlier exegetes, like Abarbanel, but we may take as exemplary of the rest one or two of the greater and better known names in recent criticism. Thus we may select Gesenius, who in his commentary devotes a separate *excursus* to the statement of a train of some seven primary objections against the properly Messianic view, and discusses also in another paper the question as to the substitution. At the outset he asserts the position that no use is made of this passage in the New Testament in application to the idea of an expiatory death; and in proof of the inadmissibility of such an application, he refers to Matt. viii. 17. This quotation,—*Himself took our infirmities and bare our sicknesses*,—Gesenius speaks of as quite conclusive against the ordinary view. But how does the case really stand? Matthew's words are a very exact rendering of the Hebrew in Isaiah liii. 4, the nicely discriminated terms נָשָׂא and כָּבַד being admirably reproduced in the ἵλαβι and ἰβάρων; and the *bearing* which the prophet has in view in the first instance is certainly a bearing of *sickness or pain* rather than *sin*. Hence it is inferred, that by this *bearing* can be meant only either a *taking away and healing* of ills, or else a bearing of them simply on the *heart*, a sympathetic feeling for those who lie under them. But if this were all, the appositeness of the citation would be somewhat obscure. For its force becomes apparent only when we mark its application to cases of *miraculous* healing, and when we grasp the deeper meaning of the miracles, as evidential incidents indicating in the palpable language of fact Christ's power to deal with the soul and its inner ills,—as cleansings of the stream, in short, illustrative of a cleansing of the fountain of our ailments. Besides Gesenius's idea of the passage, while it obliterates the force of the word which forms the very point of the citation, αὐτός, *Himself*, in his own person, *took our infirmities*, also fails to

keep for the original verbs, as represented by the *ἵλασι* and *ἰβάσασαι*, their proper import, by which, in however bald a sense we understand these *infirmities and sicknesses*, we are put in mind of *ills taken on*, and thereby removed, by another. But when we speak of that as being done with ills not proper to the person doing it, we speak of what is really a substitution. And even supposing that, with Gesenius, we restrict the quotation to the utmost literality of sense, it surely does not follow that such an employment of the sentence is *conclusive* against the view of a real expiation, unless it could be shewn that Matthew puts forward this application as the only *possible* application of the prophetic words. The Septuagint, therefore, fairly strikes the deeper truth in the sentence when it renders at once, *οὗτος τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν φέρει*. Another matter of a verbal kind on which he lays stress in his exposition is the supposedly plural usage of *לָמַד* in verse 8,—*for the transgression of my people the stroke was on him (them)*,—by which the reference to a single individual and the maintenance of the strict idea of a substitution are imagined to be annulled. But not to speak of the various rendering *לָמַד*, it is now admitted by the best Hebraists, such as Ewald, that this form may be singular as well as plural. And then beyond such minor criticisms, he falls back on the notion that the *substitution* which appears here is only such as may pass between *man and man*. In proof of the existence of this doctrine in the Old Testament, he adduces a variety of instances. But any candid consideration of these passages will shew at once that they want the marks of any real *vicarious* standing, and fail just in those elements which are most characteristic of this paragraph. For in the case of the children visited by the iniquity of the fathers (Exod. xx. 5), there is no exemption from suffering for sin on the fathers' part by reason of the children's implication: in that of Achan (Joshua vii.), the fact that the people are in some sense involved in his guilt, is evidenced by the inability of the army to stand before the men of Ai, but Achan himself and his house are also destroyed: in that of David and Bathsheba (2 Sam. xii.), the doom of death on the child does not free the king from suffering, neither does it expiate the guilt of his sin,—for the forgiveness of God was already his before the event: in that of the numbering of the people (2 Sam. xxiv.), there was sin on the people's part as well as on the king's, and there was suffering on the king's part as well as on the people's: in that of Saul (2 Sam. xxi.), there was probably guilt on the side of the family as well as himself, and there was retributive vengeance on himself as well as the family: as to the case cited from Daniel (xi. 35), it is enough to say, that the point brought into view is the purifying and testing power of afflic-

tion, as felt in personal experience, or as recognised through the example of others : and as to Isaiah xliii. 3, where Egypt is said to be given as a *ransom* for Israel, we need only remark that in criticising De Wette's appeal to Proverbs xxi. 18, as favouring the idea of a merely figurative substitution, Gesenius himself admits that there is at least a wide difference between the *כֶּסֶף* of these passages and the *כֶּסֶף* of this. Thus it is clear, that in all these instances, the two main and characteristic qualities are missing, viz., a true immunity from participation in the guilt on the side of the supposedly vicarious party, and a real exemption from the proper penalties of that guilt on the side of the actual offender ; and this whole conception of a substitutionary standing between man and man, in Gesenius's apprehension of it, is not found either here or elsewhere in the Old Testament.

It is somewhat more difficult to deal with an exegete like Hofmann, whose view of the atonement is a more subtle one, and whose interpretations partake of the same character. It will suffice, however, at present to select simply an example or two of the method in which he treats the great *vicarious* phrases here. Thus, in commenting on the words,—*the chastisement for our peace was upon him*, he denies that they imply any punishment in the sense of satisfaction to law, and holds that they denote a chastisement *that proves for our good*. If the people had borne this chastisement themselves, he argues, it would have been something to bring them to repentance : and why, then, he asks, should it be anything different, though it happens to be borne by another ? In his view, it is only meant that an infliction which, falling on themselves, would have been for the correction of their sin, falls upon another, while working the same salutary effect on them in the form of penitence. So with the phrase,—*the Lord caused light on him the iniquity of us all*. This he illustrates by a curious analogy, arguing that, just as the blood of a murdered man comes back upon the murderer in the shape of bloodguiltiness and the sense of vengeance, so sin comes back upon the sinner, only that in this case the sin is not left thus to overtake the actual sinners, but is laid or made to come upon another. But, as Delitzsch pertinently asks, if the sin turns back upon the sinner in this shape of punishment, why should those sins that are made to light on this Servant, come upon him in a different way,—in a mode of evil which is no punishment properly inflicted on him ? Again, in discussing the clause,—*if his soul shall make a trespass-offering*, he takes the people there to be the actor,—*if thou, Israel, shalt make his soul a trespass-offering*, and puts forward this as a phraseology comparable, not so much with the terms of the law as with the

language of Paul in 1 Cor. iv. 13, ὡς πικρὰ δάμαρα τοῦ νόμου ἐγερθήμεν. And his idea is, that as the Servant's life was a sting in their conscience, and a constant condemnation of themselves, the people make his soul a trespass-offering, in so far as they are supposed to rid themselves of that life as men rid themselves of an object which, so long as it is before their view, pricks them with the consciousness of their evil, and serves as their ceaseless accuser. Then on the general subject, he remarks that all these terms convey two facts,—that this Servant bore the people's pains, and that he bore also their sin; but he denies that either of these is equivalent to saying that the punishment of these sins was effected in him, or that his sufferings were of a substitutionary character, or that his self-sacrifice was an antitype to the legal offerings; and holds, consequently, that what these weighty sayings really bear out is simply that these sins of the people were the cause of suffering to him, and that this suffering of his was the means of good to the people. All this is in accordance with Hofmann's peculiar view of the atonement, which, allowing a certain kind of substitution, but reducing all to the one great idea of the manifestation and reconstitution of a true relationship of love between God and man, excludes the reality of the *penal* element on the side of the Redeemer. But how far such interpretations fail in doing justice to the pregnant, sacrificial phraseology of this paragraph, ought now to be clear enough. Nor need it be a more arduous task to exhibit the insufficiency of those renderings of such terms into which men like Bushnell are pressed by the exigencies of their "moral view" of the atonement, if we may judge from the example of that fertile American writer himself, who, while admitting that these figures in our passage "refer, more or less clearly, to judicial and penal processes; as if Christ, the subject, were somehow punitively handled in our place," seeks a refuge from the full legal force of such figures, in the observation, that "we have here and there a mark put in which indicates moral effect, and turns the meaning quite away from the understanding of a literal punishment; as, for example, in the 'peace' that follows chastisement, and the healing that follows the stripes."* Does not the survey of the vagaries and expedients to which men like these are driven by their criticism, confirm us the more in the truth of the ordinary rendering of these terms? And if we have shewn thus that all theories of a *collective* servant of God are inadequate, and that the passage speaks clearly of a single person, and of that person in a substitutionary position, are we not constrained to hold by the oldest interpretation as also the

* "The Vicarious Sacrifice," p. 410.

truest, and in the face of such findings may we not say with the godly and scholarly Seiler of Erlangen, that "to him who rejects the true doctrine concerning the prophecies and their fulfilment, everything seems askance and crooked when he casts his careless eye over the passages in the prophets which contain divine predictions: and he transforms the prophets themselves into visionaries?"*

We have spoken of this as the Climax of Messianic Prophecy. And its unrivalled supremacy as a glorious testimony to the true Messiah, and to him as the Surety, may not be a thesis tedious or arduous to establish. It is the culmination of Old Testament scripture, as presenting the grandest and the most winning, the most opulent and the most sympathetic, the most complex and the most harmonious of all the pictures shewn beforehand to Israel of Israel's own Consolation. There are other predictions, both earlier and later, that touch some of the varied features in this finished Messianic portraiture. But here so many of these are at once intensified in their colouring, and gathered together into one thrilling panorama, that prophecy mounts to its zenith, and is seen transcending all its past and anticipating all its future. Delicate and priceless are the threads that are interwoven in this divinely-artistic pattern of Messianic hope,—tender and iridescent are the strokes that compose this mystic delineation. It is a scene painted on a dark background, but the streaming glories of Immanuel's land suffuse it, and both the lights and the shadows in it are more boldly drawn than elsewhere. Thus we have here the deepest soundings of Messiah's *humiliation*. This is the true *De Profundis* of the Surety. In other utterances prophecy deals by preference with the kingly honour and imperial dominion; and while it has its passages descriptive of the subjection and depression, these are comparatively partial, incidental, and obscure. But all that is dim and indistinct in what precedes is illuminated here. The doubtful oracle of the Protevangelium, with its presage of a bruising of the woman's seed, the Baccoutpourings of the Psalms, and the "dark and cloudy words" of other prophecies are here kindled into luminous meaning. Even some of Isaiah's own depositions on the subject of Jehovah's Servant would be but half intelligible were it not for the light cast back upon them from this torch of truth; and when we read, in the 49th chapter, of the address by the Lord the Redeemer to "*one whom man despiseth, to him whom the nation abhorreth, to a servant of rulers,*" or in the 50th chapter, of One who "*gave his back to the smiters, and his*

* "Die Weissagung und ihre Erfüllung," p. 366-7, as quoted in Pye Smith's "Sacrifice and Priesthood of Jesus Christ," p. 248.

cheeks to them that plucked off the hairs," we feel that in these and kindred revelations, we catch glimpses of some advancing mystery which might lie largely beneath the horizon were it not for the clearer unveilings of the Man of Sorrows here. For it is not simply the bare fact of the Servant's humiliation that is before us now, but very much of its detail, and the choicest secrets of its explanation. The nature, the cause, the issue, the circumstances, the inmost significance of his subjection are all unfolded here. The deepest insight is given us into his agonies of soul no less than his pains of body, and the apprehension, the arraignment, the condemnation, the very manner of death, the very place of burial, are all indicated. Here he is not One who comes with the flashing splendours that fix men's gaze, or who rises up like the *cedar with a shadowing shroud and of an high stature*, of which we read in Ezekiel, but he grows up like the slender root-sucker out of the barren soil of the fallen house of David, without all dazzling comeliness of earthly beauty to make the world covet his presence, rejected of men so that the great keep aloof from him, with a life stricken through by pains, with grief as his familiar friend, and producing an impression upon the mass by his inglorious appearance such as to make them hide their faces from him. Thus we are shewn how low he was to be in his lot, how abject his estate was to prove, how absolute the denial of his claims, how certainly and how shamefully he should be taken by men's wicked hands and slain, and yet withal how strangely this crushing burden of his sorrow should be due to alien offences, how unique the phenomenon it should exhibit in the perfect willingness and unimpeachable righteousness of him who bears it, and how singular and glorious an object should adhere to it in the removal of other men's iniquities. And in such vivid and quickening language is the tale told us of the dishonouring of his sacred person, the embittering of his holy life, and the finishing of his passion, that in this passage, as in no other, we hear the mellow voice of prophecy narrating how it "behoved Christ to suffer," and it is only in the train of this grandest revelation that we are introduced to others, as in Zechariah, which display the evident insignia of the depression as well as the glory.

And if it is thus with the humiliation, it is not less so with the *exaltation*. We have here the meridian of Messiah's honour and the very *penetralia* of his reward. The expression of that recompense is affluent, and penetrating, and analytic beyond all parallel. We have its index first in the mention of the Servant's destiny to be *exalted, and extolled, and very high*—three different phrases in which Stier sees an allusion to the resurrection, ascension, and session of Christ, and in

which, at least, a certain gradation is marked from the simple notion of *rising* in *רָם*, to that of *raising oneself* in *רָם*, and to the last result in the state of a perpetual glorious elevation in *רָם*. That final exaltation, some faint conception of which is thus sought to be conveyed at the very outset by the use of these three several words denoting so many different degrees of advancement, has its strange earnest again adduced in the record of the honourable burial so marvellously ordained to take the place of the appointed grave with the criminals. And then the paragraph, ere it closes, displays the various constituents of this recompense of Messiah in a remarkable succession. For, first, *he shall see seed*. His shall be the rapture of beholding a mighty and ever-enlarging communion of spiritual descendants built up on the basis of his mission. Second, *he shall prolong his days*. For (with the Syriac, the Vulgate, Vitringa, and most others reckoning) these words as a distinct clause and dissenting from Lowth's proposed connection—*he shall see a seed that shall prolong their days*, although that has some support in the *σπέρμα μακρόβιον* of the LXX, we find here the kingly promise, made to David, given also to this Servant out of David's stock, the promise of *long life*. Third, *the pleasure of the Lord shall prosper by his hand*. He shall have the joy of seeing Jehovah's counsel successfully carried out by his instrumentality. Fourth, *on account of the toil of his soul he shall see!*—*He shall be satisfied!* His shall be an inner vision yielding him a perennial, beatific satisfaction. Fifth, *by his knowledge he shall justify many*. Having borne the iniquity of Israel, and proved himself God's righteous servant, he shall earn the right and enjoy the power of bringing righteousness to the unrighteous. And sixth, he shall possess *vast authority and extended dominion*, for Jehovah will give him a portion in the mighty, and then he himself will distribute out of the spoil to the strong. In other words, God is to make the lords of earth submissive to him, and then this conqueror, who has ever with him his own that are his strong ones in the battle (for so we take the import of verse 12), in the generous spirit of the true victor, will make these strong comrades of his sharers in all his blood-bought trophies. Thus we have here the uncovering of the inmost springs of Messiah's honour. Other prophecies may equal or surpass this one in the elaborate and circumstantial exposition of his glory in its *extension*, but this one transcends them all in its *comprehension*. For while these dazzle us with the brilliant display of a kingdom, and a power over earth and earth's princes as determined for his heirship, this comes in from the external to the internal—yea, into the very holy of holies. These others exhibit the glowing figure of the

Star out of Jacob and the Sceptre out of Israel, the Captain of the Lord's host, the Breaker, the Wonderful, the Lord that sits at Jehovah's right hand, with his enemies for his footstool. But this goes beyond the world-wide sovereignty and the homage of princes, and lifts the veil from off the heart of the Son of man, and opens up the secret sources of his most private and personal glorification, and shews us how he who divides spoil with the strong, and compels kings to shut their mouths before him, has also the materials of a yet sublimer reward, and a more unapproachable exaltation in all these ineffable beatitudes of the Father's good pleasure and his own untroubled satisfaction, the grateful inner vision which makes his soul its own inexpressible fruition, and the transporting spectacle of an ever-increasing spiritual generation and an ever-prevailing capacity to justify many unrighteous. Nor is it only that these two estates, the humiliation and the exaltation, are set each of them by itself in so unrivalled a colouring here. Their profound *inner connections* are also most vividly illustrated. They are seen in their relations to each other as cause and effect, the humiliation as the condition to the exaltation, the dominion as springing out of the subjection, the glory as the fruit of the suffering. It is as Jehovah's Servant *deals prudently* that he is exalted, and extolled, and made very high; it is because he did *no violence, neither was any deceit in his mouth*, that he has his grave with the rich; it is only *on condition* that his soul make a trespass-offering, that he shall see seed; it is only because he poured out his soul unto death that the portion is to be divided for him with the great. And through all Jehovah's good pleasure is also depicted as the originating and moving cause, and Jehovah's arm is shewn as the power which lays on the Servant the iniquity of all and gives the prolongation of his life and all the other elements of his reward, so that here we are placed in the very midst between the "sufferings of Christ and the glory that should follow," and watch them in their meeting-point, and view the *nexus* or *vinculum* which makes of these twain one.

And along with the *estates*, we have here, too, the completed prophetic presentation of the *offices* of Messiah. Elsewhere we have the clear signs of the prophetic function, as in the announcement of a prophet greater than Moses, or of the priesthood, even in its eternity, as in the assurance of the 110th Psalm, that he shall be a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedek, or of the kingship as in the 45th Psalm, and many another scripture. But here we find all three entering into one person and constituting one official character. Some of the less obtrusive points have a special interest in this light. Thus is it with the mention of the *knowledge* in particular;

for that may be either an *objective* or *subjective* knowledge, either the knowledge possessed of him by others, or the knowledge he himself enjoys. And while the former is the simpler idea, and the one accepted by most, the latter is the deeper conception, and bears that one of those qualities which lent him the capacity for *justifying* many, was his own personal participation in the Lord's counsel, his own familiar *insight* into his Father's mind. And thus in these hints of the wisdom characterising his dealing, and the knowledge enjoyed or communicated of Jehovah's truth and purpose, we see the prophet; in the sprinkling of the nations and the pouring out of the soul unto death, and the intercession for transgressors, we see the priest; in the dividing of the spoil we see the king. Yea, we have here more than the prophet, for this is one who has the knowledge and the vision *in himself* and for ever, and not from another or on occasion; and more than the priest, for this is one who makes his own soul the sacrifice; and, more even than the king, for this is one before whom the world's sovereigns are speechless, and who among princes finds no peer.

Again, we have here Messiah's *oblation in its most perfect exposition*. Nowhere else in the Old Testament are the truths expressed in the terms *vicarious*, *expiation*, *substitution*, and the like, so deeply and clearly engraven as in this paragraph. The teaching of the New Testament on the import of Christ's sufferings, and specially its doctrine of the pre-eminent value attaching to His death, have this as their foundation. And if there be found in other passages intimations of the peculiar significance of these sufferings and that death, and if perchance there be elsewhere hints even of their expiatory worth and of the bearer's substitutionary and representative character, there is, at least, one element in his atonement which seems to be reserved for this prophecy to produce, namely, the specific element of *satisfaction*. It is in this, again, that we see the deepest significance of the introduction of the *trespass-offering*. For, while all the diverse orders of Levitical oblations had their own characteristic ideas, and while the burnt-offering, for example, expressed consecration and devotion, the meat-offering thanksgiving and dependent acknowledgment, the peace-offering reconciliation and fellowship, and the sin-offering expiation, this trespass-offering had also its own peculiar conception to embody, and that was, the conception of compensation, or legal recompence and restitution. And while it stood on the same platform with the sin-offering, it still differed decisively from it by marks which have been variously understood, but of which these three, at least, seem well established, namely, that the personality of the priest comes out more prominently; that it was an oblation presented also by a single individual, while

the sin-offering was presented by or for the congregation ; and that it added to the more general idea of expiation the more precise idea of satisfaction. It conveyed the notions of *law* and *indebtedness*, legal demand and legal discharge, wrong done and judicial restitution exacted and given, debt incurred and compensatory payment required and rendered. And thus, by introducing into prominent notice the conceptions of the offence done to God's righteousness by sin and the necessary settlement of its requirements in the removal of sin, the violence done to God's rule and the necessary adjustment of its claims in the remission of sin, this prophecy, which designates Messiah's oblation as a trespass-offering in his soul or life, complements all other descriptions of his representative and vicarious standing, and adds the last stroke to the Old Testament's anticipations of the complete doctrine of his sufferings and death, by lifting so clearly into view the truth that this atonement was one that made a due compensation to the demands of God's law, and a due satisfaction to the necessities of God's justice.

Once more, we find here the most graphic prophetic enunciation of the *union between Messiah and His Israel*. It is the Old Testament's presage of the New Testament's richer testimony to the oneness of Christ and the Church, to the incorporation of the Head and the members in one mystical body. This lies embedded in the very designation, *servant of the Lord* ; and only when we grasp what is embodied in that appellation can we do full justice to this glorious paragraph. For if the more ordinary theory held by orthodox interpreters is correct in discerning the personal Messiah in this Servant of Jehovah, it often errs somewhat by defect in making no proper account of Israel's own position, as also the Lord's servant. To Israel this title is repeatedly ascribed, as in xli. 8, 9, xliv. 21, xlviii. 20, &c., while, on the other hand, the Messiah himself seems, at least once, to be called Israel (xlix. 3). Thus the Messiah and the people are made one. He who is Jehovah's Servant is also his Israel ; and they who are his Israel are also his Servant. It is when we catch the real import of this interchange and identification that we discover how the divine idea of the mystical union underlies this paragraph, and also learn how naturally Messiah's sufferings must have a substitutional value for Israel. For how does the prophetic doctrine then unfold itself ? Israel, as the nation, is first set forward as marked out by election and destination to be the servant of God. But the whole elect people thus appointed to realise in a vocation of perfect obedience this ideal of Jehovah's servant denies its calling. Thus there opens up a distinction in Israel between the spiritual seed and the carnal ; and in a more precise

sense, the Israel that is such, not according to the flesh, but according to the spirit, becomes God's servant. But even this narrower Israel comes far short of its vocation; and hence another subject, and one of an altogether peculiar position and character, is needed. This is the Messiah, who at last fulfils the perfect obedience proper to the true Servant of Jehovah. But as this Messiah, who springs from the stock of the people, and is himself a true Israelite, also suffers in his obedience, and that too for sins which are theirs, and not his own, these sufferings must have an import passing beyond himself, and form something of a clearing value to them. And thus by his expiation the new relation is constituted between the Israel to whose lineage he belongs, and the Lord whose Servant he is. They at length become really Jehovah's servants; Israel reaches in him its goal; and a true church at last becomes a possibility. This has been illustrated by V. C hler, by the figure of a cathedral-ascent, in which we are carried step by step from the broad space covered by foundation and walls up to the summit with its dizzy point, where the cross is planted. Still better is the similitude used by Delitzsch, who compares the prophetic exposition of the idea of Jehovah's servant to a pyramid, the base of which was Israel as a whole nation, the central section that spiritual Israel within it, and the apex the person of the Messiah, who springs out of Israel. Thus the Messiah is the core of the people, the centre of a circle constituted by the people, and in him is realised the true and perfect ideal at once of Israel and of Jehovah's servant. To this intent are the Messiah and Israel identified; and from this expansive conception of the servant of the Lord we can understand how truly Christ and his people are here prefigured as one, how consistently Israel may be designated the Lord's servant, and the Lord's servant, in the person of this Messiah, be designated Israel, and how naturally the prophet can pass from this delineation of the sufferings and glory of Christ at once to a similar entrancing annunciation of the glory of the Church that suffers with him.

These are but some of those inimitable characteristics which, without controversy, challenge for this passage the imperial honour of ranking as the climax of Messianic prophecy. But how shall we speak worthily of this priceless crown of the Old Testament, of which Luther declared that, as a matter of most personal interest, every Christian should be able to repeat it by heart? We read sometimes of signal instances of the spiritual power of individual verses of Scripture, of a single text of the Romans bringing swift conversion to an Augustine, and the like. But what a history will this paragraph be shewn to have had when all the eyes confess themselves which it has arrested

and thrilled into tears of godly penitence, and all the stony hearts unbosom themselves which this Cardiphonia of the Messiah has melted and transformed. Exquisitely has it been described as the golden passion of the Old Testament evangelist, for it is Scripture in travail and pain until Christ be formed in it; it is prophecy bearing in its body the marks of the Lord Jesus. The shadows of Gethsemane and the sixth hour's darkness brood over it, but it is transfused also by the lucent splendours of the Mount, and the untold glories of Olivet, and the silver light of the cloud that received him out of sight. Here is the place of skulls, but here too are the gates of the hill of God lifted up that the King may enter. It is as if we saw another finger than that of Pilate pointing solemnly to the figure of one "taken from prison and from judgment," with the alternating appeal: *Behold the man! Behold your king!* For the Ecce Homo of the Old Testament is before us, but also the Ecce Rex. And what phrase or touch is meaningless, or what line could we willingly miss? Speaking of certain matters in the Pentateuch, which, on a hasty view might seem purposeless in a record of divine truth, Augustine illustrates the rashness of so superficial a judgment by the striking figure of the harp, in which only those few strings that are struck give forth the music, and yet all things in the instrument have their object and their use, and are so fitted together as to minister to the parts that emit the melody. But of this prophecy we might rather say, that it is a full-stringed instrument, divinely wrought, in which every member gives forth its articulate sound, and each chord is instinct with the voice of man's Surety, and all its unmatched components combine in one great harmony to swell the "grave sweet melody" of the Old Testament's rehearsal of the story of the cross. Careful and reverent, truly, is the treatment it demands and merits; and to apply to it the processes of criticism seems like the rude and presumptuous handling of something too precious and delicate for common touch. Only with something of the spirit of the apostolic *προσέτις εἰς τὸ σωπρὸσέτις* can it be rightly approached. And when we survey the perplexing history of the efforts of a mistaken criticism to extrude from this most glorious page of Israel's Scriptures the presence of Israel's Consolation, and when we trace the devious course, constant only in its inconstancy, and continuous only in its discontinuity, which a non-Messianic, non-substitutional exposition has run, we shall learn of the Lord's servant that he has been the Misinterpreted, no less than the Rejected One, and we shall feel that the old adage which serves as the unfurled banner of the Christian life is worthy also of erection as the oriflamme of a reasonable exegesis—
Via Crucis, Via Lucis.

S. D. F. S.

ART. VI.—*History of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne.*

History of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne. By WILLIAM EDWARD HARTPOLE LECKY, M.A. In Two Volumes. Second Edition. London : Longmans, Green, & Co. 1869.

THIS is an eminently scholarly work. It abounds with the traces of great and laborious research. It is rich in the fruits of a ripe and varied erudition. It lays history, philosophy, paganism, Christianity, ancient and modern literature, under large and easy tribute to its purpose ; and, while marshalling with a well skilled and powerful hand whatever they yield up, it ranges along with them those separate and independent results which flow only from profound reflection, and from a deep knowledge of mankind. As the reader traverses the vast field over which it conducts him, he may sometimes stare at the positions it lays down, or question the conclusions it draws, or reject the principles it teaches, or fail to account for its vagueness where it should be definite, and for its weakness in points where it should be strong ; but he can scarcely lose the conviction that he is in close contact with a guide most liberally endowed with the culture and the wealth of learning.

Much of the interest created by this important work arises from the style in which it is written. The expression is almost uniformly clear and direct. It flows on with a steady sweep, smooth and graceful, yet lively and vigorous. At one time, it attracts by the rare force with which its sentences are compacted together ; at another time, it delights by its felicitous grouping and presentation of persons and things. In philosophical discussion, it is dignified and free, and addresses itself, rather to the common mass of intelligent people than to those who may be called masters and adepts in that line of things. In pure narration, and in the higher forms of historical delineation, it has many of those qualities which give a singular charm to the pages of Macaulay. And, when treating of moral characteristics at particular times within the period it embraces, and tracing the changes through which these characteristics passed, it proceeds in a strain which is always earnest and well sustained, and which often rises into genuine eloquence. By these means, it engages the reader's attention, and carries him pleasantly along over its wide territory, with the feeling that he is occupied with matters affecting his own highest interests and those of his fellow-men.

The subject, treated of in the manner just indicated, is one of the gravest and most momentous to which a historian can

address himself. It brings him face to face with such questions as these: What is the moral nature of man? Whence came the moral sentiments or principles which men have adopted, and how are they to be analysed? What is the standard or criterion of morality in human feeling and human action, how has that been framed and determined, and what are the changes by which it has been marked? How far has the rule of morals been observed, and to what influences are the degrees to which it has been kept, or departed from, to be ascribed? These are questions of a most searching character, questions which cannot be lightly handled, and which cannot be easily disposed of in connection with any section of human history. But all the importance which attaches to them in any relation in which they may be considered, is intensified by the relation in which they stand in Mr Lecky's volumes. They meet him in connection with people of widely different nationalities, with society in conditions of great dissimilarity, with philosophy of schools not only divergent but antagonistic, with literature, legislation, and government most diverse in their character and tendencies and power, and with outward circumstances favourable and unfavourable to the growth of moral elements. And not only is the period during which they meet him one of great extent, but it is one whose commencement, whose progress, and whose conclusion are marked by features of the most distinctive character, and by some of the most decisive and far-reaching changes which have ever affected the conduct and the welfare of men.

It is obvious that Mr Lecky is alive to the magnitude and difficulty of the task he has undertaken. This must be granted even by those who dissent most explicitly from his views and teaching on points of fundamental importance. For it is apparent in the spirit with which his work is pervaded, in the pains which he has taken to accomplish it well, and in the thoroughness with which he has laid out his strength and resources upon it from the beginning to the close. Had it been otherwise, his work would have lost half its interest, and half its value. And, as it is, the approval which it awakens is not diminished, but increased, by the fact, that the author had to grapple with the most serious questions on ground not a little encumbered, and from points of view often novel and perplexing; and, moreover, that he had to do so throughout one of the longest, most critical, and most eventful periods of human history. An idea of the arduous nature of what he set himself to do may be gathered from his own simple statement of what he has done, as he draws his history to a close,—

“In pursuing our long and chequered course, from Augustus to Charlemagne, we have seen the rise and fall of many types of charac-

ter, and of many forms of enthusiasm. We have seen the influence of universal empire expanding, and the influence of Greek civilisation intensifying, the sympathies of Europe. We have surveyed the successive progress of Stoicism, Platonism, and Egyptian philosophies, at once reflecting and guiding the moral tendencies of society. We have traced the course of progress or retrogression in many fields of social, political, and legislative life; have watched the cradle of European Christianity, examined the causes of its triumph, the difficulties it encountered, and the priceless blessings its philanthropic spirit bestowed upon mankind. We have also pursued step by step the mournful history of its corruption, its asceticism, and its intolerance, the various transformations it produced or underwent, when the turbid waters of the barbarian invasions had inundated the civilisations of Europe."

Mr Lecky has carried out his plan in five chapters, entitled respectively, *The Natural History of Morals*; *The Pagan Empire*; *The Conversion of Rome*; *From Constantine to Charlemagne*; and, *The Position of Women*.

The last chapter should have been omitted. We say so after most careful consideration, and with the strongest emphasis we can utter. It is evident that Mr Lecky himself had serious misgivings about the propriety of its introduction. For he says, "Of all the many questions that are treated in this work, there is none which I approach with so much hesitation, for there is probably none which it is so difficult to treat with clearness and impartiality, and at the same time without exciting any scandal or offence. . . . The first duty of an historian, however, is to truth, and it is absolutely impossible to present a true picture of the moral condition of different ages, and to form a true estimate of the moral effects of different religions, without adverting to the department of morals which has exhibited most change, and has probably exercised most influence." And, after describing a particular aspect of Greek life, he says, "My task has been an eminently unpleasing one, and I should certainly not have entered upon even the baldest and most guarded disquisition on a subject so difficult, painful, and delicate, had it not been absolutely indispensable to a history of morals, to give at least an outline of the progress that has been effected in this sphere." We regret that he has allowed what we think to be a mistaken sense of what he owes to his theme, to prevail over the judgment to which he would otherwise have come on this matter. We do so, notwithstanding the interesting character of much of the information he has supplied, notwithstanding the skill with which he has arranged his facts, and the power with which he has condensed them, notwithstanding the quiet vein of reflection and comment with which he has accompanied them, notwithstanding the

evidence he has adduced of general elevation towards a higher standard in one of the great departments of moral life, and notwithstanding the testimony which he bears indirectly against one of the most demoralising influences sanctioned by the Church of Rome,—a testimony which, coming from such a quarter, specially deserves to be held up before the eyes of Englishmen at this present time:—

“ Nowhere, it may be confidently asserted, does Christianity assume a more beneficial or a more winning form, than in those gentle clerical households which stud our land, constituting, as Coleridge said, ‘ the one idyll of modern life,’ the most perfect type of domestic peace, and the centres of civilisation in the remotest villages. Notwithstanding some class narrowness and professional bigotry, notwithstanding some unworthy but half unconscious mannerism, which is often most unjustly stigmatised as hypocrisy, it would be difficult to find in any other quarter so much happiness at once diffused and enjoyed, or so much virtue attained with so little tension or struggle. Combining with his sacred calling a warm sympathy with the intellectual, social, and political movements of his time, possessing the enlarged practical knowledge of a father of a family, and entering with a keen zest into the occupations and the amusements of his parishioners, a good clergyman will rarely obtrude his religious convictions into secular spheres, but yet will make them apparent in all. They will be revealed by a higher and deeper moral tone, by a more scrupulous purity in word and action, by an all-pervasive gentleness, which refines, and softens, and mellows, and adds as much to the charm as to the excellence of the character in which it is displayed. In visiting the sick, relieving the poor, instructing the young, and discharging a thousand delicate offices for which a woman’s tact is especially needed, his wife finds a sphere of labour which is at once intensely active and intensely feminine, and her example is not less beneficial than her ministrations.”

Our objections to this part of Mr Lecky’s work may be stated in the following order; and, with this statement of them, we pass from it.

In the first place; it carries the author far beyond the express limits of his history, taking him, on the one side, into ages long anterior to the times of Augustus, and taking him, on the other side, into ages long subsequent to the times of Charlemagne, even to the state of French and English society at the present day.

In the second place; the separate and very prominent treatment which he has given to this does not accord with the general method in which he has treated other branches of his great subject; and it might have been dealt with in better proportion, and with greater advantage, if it had been taken up in connection with other aspects of the period over which the history extends.

In the third place; it is neither wise, nor salutary, nor right, to draw forth from the obscurity of a most degenerate past specific habits of the most immoral character, and present them, in fine language, to modern English readers, in the light in which they were regarded at the time, without almost anything to correct the natural tendency of such an exhibition.

In the fourth place; it indicates a disposition in favour of a lower tone, and a laxer code of morals in the particular relation in question, than those which it should be the aim of all truly enlightened moralists to recommend and sustain. Here, indeed, are what we hold to be some of the greatest blemishes in the work, which are the more likely to prove pernicious by reason of the coolness with which they are set down, and by reason of the indefinite and irresolute form in which they are occasionally presented to the reader's eye.

In the fifth place; it fails to distinguish, as it should, between the purely Christian criterion of the morals of domestic society, and the standard which Roman Catholicism has set up, and the legislation to which the Roman Catholic Church has given rise. The confusion thus made is sometimes very glaring and distressing; and the evil likely to arise from it can hardly be less than that which is likely to proceed from an apparent unwillingness to uphold the normal or dominant type of such morality, on the basis of the law of nature, and to strengthen, and hallow, and dignify that basis by the law of divine revelation and the explicit teaching of the Lord Jesus Christ.

And, in the sixth place; it contains an apology for a system which Romanism has encouraged to the fearful detriment of good morals, and pronounces that there is no fact in modern history more deeply to be deplored than that the Reformers, who in matters of doctrinal innovations were often so timid, should have levelled to the dust, instead of attempting to regenerate, the whole conventual system of Catholicism; while, on the other hand, it hints darkly at a certain kind of theological teaching which inverts all the normal principles of judgment, and absolutely destroys intellectual diffidence. It should have told plainly where that teaching is, and by whom it is encouraged, especially when, in reference to theological questions generally, it goes on in a strain of such representation as this:

“Unflinching belief being taught as the first of duties, and all doubt being usually stigmatised as criminal or damnable, a state of mind is formed to which we find no parallel in other fields. Many men and most women, though completely ignorant of the very rudiments of biblical criticism, historical research, or scientific discoveries; though they have never read a single page, or understood a single proposition of the writings of those whom they condemn, and have absolutely no rational

knowledge either of the arguments by which their faith is defended, or of those by which it has been impugned, will nevertheless adjudicate with the utmost confidence upon every polemical question; denounce, hate, pity, or pray for the conversion of all who dissent from what they have been taught; assume, as a matter beyond the faintest possibility of doubt, that the opinions they have received without inquiry must be true, and the opinions which others have arrived at by inquiry must be false, and make it a main object of their lives to assail what they call heresy in every way in their power, except by examining the ground on which it rests. It is probable that the great majority of voices that swell the clamour against every book which is regarded as heretical, are the voices of those who would deem it criminal even to open that book, or to enter into any real searching and impartial investigation of the subject to which it relates. Innumerable pulpits support this tone of thought, and represent, with a fervid rhetoric well fitted to excite the nerves and imaginations of women, the deplorable condition of all who deviate from a certain type of opinions or of emotions: a blind propagandism or a secret wretchedness penetrates into countless households, poisoning the peace of families, chilling the mutual confidence of husband and wife, adding immeasurably to the difficulties which every searcher into truth has to encounter, and diffusing far and wide intellectual timidity, disingenuousness and hypocrisy."

The first chapter of Mr Lecky's work is likely to give rise to more criticism than any other. It may be said, that the discussion of the *Natural History of Morals* is uncalled for in such a work; and that, as the discussion must be, to a large extent, of a purely philosophical character, and deal with great principles, and with very many systems and theories, it is inappropriate in a work which professes to be a mere record of facts in the moral condition of Europe during a given period. But that cannot be said with much force. It is surely as permissible to the historian of morals to refer, at the outset, to the nature and the standard of morals, as to the historian of any of the arts or sciences which have flourished in Europe, to commence his work with a statement of their first principles. If that liberty be denied to him, it seems impossible for him to go about his task under any clear and definite guidance, impossible for him to bring the facts which he ascertains to any satisfactory test, impossible for him to apply any real measure or gauge to the progress he may trace in the course of his investigations, and impossible for him to gather up and to set forth, for the benefit of the present and the future times, those lessons which past times yield. Indeed, the only question which can be fairly raised with any degree of earnestness, in connection with the course which Mr Lecky has felt called upon to take, in making an inquiry into the nature and foundation of morals preliminary to his examination of the moral progress of Europe

is, How has he conducted this inquiry, and to what conclusions has he come?

With this inquiry fully one-third of his first volume is occupied. Large though that may be in proportion to the whole work, it is not too much. As it is, it is one of the most successful instances of compression which the modern literature of ethics contains. We think it impossible for any one at all acquainted with the subject, with the serious difficulties with which it is beset on many sides, with the great extent of ground over which it compels the inquirer to go, and with the rare combination of analytical, and judicial, and constructive power which its proper treatment demands, to regard this portion of Mr Lecky's work in any other light than that of a remarkable specimen of concise and powerful philosophising. This result is not obtained at the expense of clearness, nor at the sacrifice of order, nor by the neglect and disparagement of some of the chiefest and strongest points with which he was bound to deal. These things are all attended to in a way calling for explicit commendation, and for careful imitation on the part of all who enter on discussions so grave and important. But while that is so, the issue named is due, in the main, according to our judgment, to the simple, comprehensive, and just manner in which he has grouped the various conflicting theories which lay in his path, to the happy adjustment he has made of the true relations in which the most distinguished ethical writers stand to these theories, the power with which he distinguishes between the details and modifications of a system and its central principles and essential characteristics, and above all, to the gift of short and luminous statement, and to the quick and trenchant way in which he uses the arguments he draws from a well-stored and skilful criticism. And, although it has neither the form nor the fulness of such a dissertation as that by Sir James Mackintosh, and differs in many respects from the well-known methods in which other writers have discussed the origin, the criterion, and the theory of morals, its brevity and point, and condensed summation give it, in some respects, an advantage over them.

One thing which, perhaps more than anything else, contributes to this, is the great freedom with which it is written. It has not the stiff and formal air which such disquisitions have so often assumed. It is not cast in the old hard and dry mould which has been reckoned most fit for scholastic themes. It has not followed closely in the track well beaten by the disciples of various masters. With great freshness and ease it takes a course of its own, and keeps it with a considerable degree of independence mingled with the deference and respect due to those from whom it diverges, and with whom it comes

into controversy. It is framed for the people rather than for the academicians. It appeals more to the general intelligence of the ordinary class of thoughtful readers than to the mental habits of those who breathe the atmosphere of the schools, and who are the pronounced adherents of rival systems and theories. And yet, though popular enough to attract and interest an audience far larger than more formally philosophic treatises on kindred subjects usually reach, it is academic enough, both in its tone and treatment, to draw to itself the attention of the deepest thinkers and the ablest reasoners. On this account, we should not be surprised if some of the latter class upon whom its arguments and conclusions may adversely press, should reckon it worth their while openly to animadvert upon it. For, while it may be too much to say that it brings any really new elements into the question, or that it deals with the question in any method which may be properly called original, or to any result which may be spoken of as more sure and advanced than results already arrived at, still it does so freely and powerfully present one view which is taken of the question in a most unfavourable light before a large and influential section of society, that the ablest champions of that view may feel constrained to gird their armour on, and do their best to recover the ground from which, not a few will think, with good reason, that Mr Lecky has completely driven them.

The fairness with which Mr Lecky conducts this discussion is entitled to notice. But it is not necessary to do more than mention, that that fairness, as exemplified in the following statements, is clearly carried out through the whole :

“ The two rival theories of morals are known by many names, and are subdivided into many groups. One of them is generally described as the stoical, intuitive, the independent, or the sentimental ; the other, as the epicurean, the inductive, the utilitarian, or the selfish. The moralists of the former school, to state their opinions in the broadest form, believe that we have a natural power of perceiving that some qualities, such as benevolence, chastity, or veracity, are better than others, and that we ought to cultivate them, and to repress their opposites. In other words, they contend, that by the constitution of our nature, the notion of right carries with it a feeling of obligation ; that to say, a course of conduct is our duty, is in itself, and apart from all consequences, an intelligible and sufficient reason for practising it, and that we derive the first principles of our duties from intuition. The moralist of the opposite school denies that we have any such natural perception. He maintains that we have by nature absolutely no knowledge of merit and demerit, of the comparative excellence of our feelings and actions, and that we derive these notions solely from an observation of the course of life which is conducive to human happiness. That which make actions good is that they increase the happiness or diminish the pains of mankind. That which consti-

tutes their demerit is their opposite tendency. To 'procure the greatest happiness for the greatest number,' is therefore the highest aim of the moralist, the supreme type and expression of virtue. . . . The notion of there being any such feeling as an original sense of obligation distinct from the anticipation of pleasure or pain, is a mere illusion of the imagination. All that is meant by saying we ought to do an action is, that if we do not do it we shall suffer. A desire to obtain happiness and to avoid pain is the only possible motive to action. The reason, and the only reason, why we should perform virtuous actions, or in other words, seek the good of others, is that on the whole such a course will bring us the greatest amount of happiness.

"Intuitive moralists acknowledge, indeed, that the effect of actions upon the happiness of mankind forms a most important element in determining their moral quality, but they maintain that without natural moral perceptions we never should have known that it was our duty to seek the happiness of mankind when it diverged from our own, and they deny that virtue was either originally evolved from, or is necessarily proportioned to, utility. They acknowledge that in the existing condition of society there is at least a general coincidence between the paths of virtue and of prosperity, but they contend that the obligation of virtue is of such a nature that no conceivable convulsion of affairs could destroy it, and that it would continue even if the government of the world belonged to supreme malice instead of supreme benevolence. Virtue, they believe, is something more than a calculation or a habit. It is impossible to conceive its fundamental principles reversed. Our judgments of it are not the results of elaborate or difficult deductions, but are simple, intuitive, and decisive. Notwithstanding the strong tendency to confuse cognate feelings, the sense of duty and the sense of utility remain perfectly distinct in the apprehensions of mankind, and we are quite capable of recognising each separate ingredient in the same act."

The conclusions at which Mr Lecky arrives on the questions raised by these just and comprehensive statements may be named in a single sentence. On the one hand, he dissents from the doctrine which bases morals on experience, and which makes utility, under the various forms of happiness, or pleasure, or advantage, the end of human action, and the standard of morality. On the other hand, he accepts the doctrine which teaches that conscience, or the moral faculty, is an original element in the constitution of human nature; that conscience gives directly, or intuitively, the perception of moral qualities; and that conscience, with a supremacy which is one of its most essential and characteristic features, imparts the sense of obligation to do the things that are right, independently of all consideration of the way in which they may bear upon individual or general happiness. He does the former, after a concise and impartial statement of the various modifications of the principles which distinguish the utilitarian school, a powerful appli-

cation of the objections to which they are open, a graphic exhibition of some of the pernicious consequences which would arise in the moral judgments and the moral acts of men from the adoption of these principles, and a searching examination of some of the questions usually adduced for the purpose of confirming and establishing the utilitarian theory,—making altogether one of the most spirited and popularly convincing exposures which that theory has recently received. He does the latter, after briefly shewing the method in which the doctrine of the moral faculty, as an original part of human nature, is arrived at, harmonising the views taken of the moral sentiments which conscience supplies by some of those whom he calls intuitive moralists, accounting for diversities of moral judgments among men, and for the changes which the standard of morals appears to have undergone in different ages and countries, and disposing of some of the objections which have from time to time been brought against the theory of natural moral perceptions, and absolute and immutable moral distinctions.

In regard to the latter, we think that, even on his own principles, Mr Lecky might have taken higher ground. We also think that, in discussing the nature of moral distinctions, the origin of moral sentiments, and the criterion of moral conduct, with an express view to the tracing of moral history during such a period as that which he marked out, he should have taken more notice of the relation of Christianity to the human conscience. He would have served his own cause better if he had been occasionally more explicit and emphatic when speaking in favour of it. He need not have weakened his position by saying that, "Apart from positive commands, the sole external rule enabling men to designate acts, not simply as better or worse, but as positively right or wrong, is, I conceive, the standard of society; not an arbitrary standard like that which Mandeville imagined, but the level which society has attained in the cultivation of what our moral faculty tells us is the higher or virtuous part of our nature. He who falls below this is obstructing the tendency which is the essence of virtue. He who merely attains this may not be justified by his own conscience, or in other words, by the standard of his own moral development, but as far as any external rule is concerned, he has done his duty. He who rises above this has entered into the region of things which it is virtuous to do, but not vicious to neglect—a region known among Catholic theologians by the name of "counsels of perfection." He should not have accompanied his advocacy of what we hold to be the right side of the question, with a caricature of a Calvinistic, or rather a Scriptural doctrine, and with an indiscriminate reference to theolo-

gians as inculcating habits of credulity rather than habits of inquiry, as persuading men that it is better to cherish prejudice than to analyse it, and better to stifle every doubt of what they have been taught, than earnestly to investigate its value. Still, we note with satisfaction the progress he has made in the right direction. We rejoice in the power with which he has controverted the principles of the utilitarians. We gladly accept the declaration of his belief that "the denial of a moral nature in man capable of perceiving the distinction between duty and interest, and the rightful supremacy of the former, is both philosophically and actually subversive of natural theology." And we deem it useful to present that declaration here, along with the following important passage:—

"If induction alone were our guide, if we possessed absolutely no knowledge of some things being in their own nature good, and others in their own nature evil, how could we rise from this spectacle of nature to the conception of an all-perfect Author? Even if we could discover a predominance of benevolence in the creation, we should still regard the mingled attributes of nature as a reflex of the mingled attributes of the Contriver. Our knowledge of the Supreme Excellence, our best evidence of the existence of the Creator, is derived not from the material universe but from our own moral nature. It is not of reason, but of faith. In other words, it springs from that instinctive or moral nature which is as truly a part of our being as is our reason, which teaches us what reason could never teach, the supreme and transcendent excellence of moral good, which, rising dissatisfied above this world of sense, proves itself by the very intensity of its aspiration to be adapted for another sphere, and which constitutes at once the evidence of a divine element within us, and the augury of the future that is before us. . . . The lines of our moral nature tend upwards. In it we have the common root of religion and ethics; for the same consciousness that tells us that, even when it is in fact the weakest element of our constitution, it is by right supreme, commanding, and authoritative, teaches us also that it is divine."

Mr Lecky had an arduous task in tracing the moral history of the Pagan Empire. But it was unavoidable. It lay directly before him as an essential part of his general design. It is obvious that he girt himself to its performance like one undaunted by its magnitude, and resolved to prosecute to the utmost the long and complicated inquiries for which it called. And if he has not discharged it with perfect success, it is not from lack of learning, or skill, or power, but from the narrow limits within which he has been obliged to restrict himself, and especially, from a too sparing use of his opportunities of presenting the true character of the moral elements found in the pagan empire from Augustus to Constantine, as well as from the exaggerated estimate he has formed of some of the principles of Stoicism, and of some of the characters most conspicuously

associated with these principles. Still, the success with which he has accomplished it is highly worthy of note. Within the chapter he has devoted to it there is a singularly compact assemblage of materials shewing the different standards of moral character and conduct which were put before the Roman people during the days of the empire, how far these standards were realised in the actual condition of Roman society, to what causes and tendencies these might be respectively ascribed, and to what issues of good or of evil they naturally led.

His account of the general state of morals at this period is very short and informal. It is not given in a picture of the common life of the Roman people in some of the chief cities of the empire, such as he might have drawn with a master's hand; nor in a set description of their moral relations and moral habits, such as he could have executed with rare vividness and grace. It comes in so incidentally and casually, that it is only now and then the reader becomes aware, for a moment, that he is contemplating nothing less momentous than the moral condition of the Roman empire. But when it does come in, it is in terms so emphatic as to arrest attention, and in colours so dark as to awaken mournfulness and awe. Indeed, so much is this the case, that many may be disposed to conclude that Mr Lecky has acted wisely in not making this part of his work more elaborate and full. When such a writer uses language like the following, what would he have said if he had gone further and deeper, and who would have borne the recital?—

“The dawn of the empire was marked by the immorality of the people.” “Under the empire, luxury rose to excesses which the wildest oriental orgies have never surpassed.” “The complete subversion of the social and political system of the republic, the anarchy of civil war, the ever increasing concourse of strangers, bringing with them new philosophies, customs, and gods, had dissolved or effaced all the old bonds of virtue.” “There were reigns when, in the emphatic words of Tacitus, ‘virtue was a sentence of death.’ In no period had brute force more completely triumphed, in none was the thirst for material advantages more intense, in very few was vice more ostentatiously glorified.” “The Roman had learnt to value force very highly. Being continually engaged in inflicting pain, his natural or instinctive humanity was very low. His moral feelings were almost bounded by political limits. Indomitable pride was the worst prominent element of his character. The kind of excellence that found most favour in Roman eyes was simple, forcible, massive, but coarse grained. Subtlety of motives, refinement of feeling, delicacies of susceptibility were rarely appreciated.” “While the force of circumstances was developing the ethical conceptions of antiquity in new directions, the mass of the Roman people were plunged in a condition of depravity which no mere ethical teaching could adequately correct”—a condition forming, “in some respects, one of the most appalling

pictures on record." "The pages of Suetonius remain as an eternal witness of the abysses of depravity, the hideous intolerable cruelty, the hitherto unimagined extravagances of nameless lust that were then manifested on the Palatine; and while they cast a fearful light upon the moral chaos into which pagan society had sunk, they furnish ample evidence of the demoralising influences of the empire." "It was the most frightful feature of the corruption of ancient Rome, that it extended through every class of the community."

But Mr Lecky is more copious in his treatment of some special elements in the moral life of the empire. In this respect, his matter flows chiefly along two lines. On the one hand, he gives an air of great individuality to his pages, by introducing distinguished personages, by stating, in their own language, some of the leading moral sentiments which they adopted or taught, and by pointing out some of the circumstances and occasions on which they either reached or fell short of their own moral ideal. And, on the other hand, he gives prominence to some of the specific virtues and vices found in the Roman character; dwells upon a few of the definite types of character which were favoured by particular principles inculcated by moralists, and by particular events and influences in the national history; and endeavours to account for both the degrees and the directions of some of the most melancholy and horrible developments of evil in Rome, from the rise of the empire to the triumph of Christianity. In the former case, he takes a line which is full of life and interest; which presents a constant variety of light and shade, of contrast and resemblance, in personal history; which reveals occasionally the ethical preferences of his own mind, but which can scarcely ever be said to awaken the moral enthusiasm of his own nature, unless that can be called moral enthusiasm which he displays in some of his references to Marcus Aurelius, whom he calls the last and most perfect representative of Roman Stoicism, the purest and gentlest spirit of all the pagan world, and on whom he pronounces a panegyric of great eloquence and power. And, in the latter case, he takes a line, upon which he goes down to the depths of moral nature; deals with the inner springs of moral action; discusses the great questions of moral life; and depicts certain courses of moral conduct which the period he surveys made daily pre-eminent. Our limits prevent us from indulging in quotations illustrative of these points. Yet we cannot refrain from citing the following sentences bearing on one of them,—sentences which succeed animated passages on the demoralising influence of the imperial system, and of the institution of slavery:—

"To those who have duly estimated the considerations I have enunciated, the downfall and moral debasement of the empire can cause no surprise. Almost every institution or pursuit by which virtuous habits would naturally have been formed had been tainted or destroyed, while agencies of terrific power were impelling the people to vice. The rich, excluded from most honourable paths of ambition, and surrounded by countless parasites who inflamed their every passion, found themselves absolute masters of innumerable slaves, who were their willing ministers, and often their teachers, in vice. The poor, hating industry, and destitute of all intellectual resources, lived in habitual idleness, and looked upon abject servility as the normal road to fortune. But the picture becomes truly appalling when we remember that the main amusement of both classes was the spectacle of bloodshed, of the death, and sometimes of the torture, of men. The gladiatorial games form, indeed, the one feature of Roman society which, to a modern mind, is almost inconceivable in its atrocity. That not only men, but women, in an advanced period of civilisation,—men and women who not only professed, but very frequently acted upon, a high code of morals,—should have made the carnage of men their habitual amusement, that all this should have continued for centuries with scarcely a protest, is one of the most startling facts in moral history. . . . The influence of these games gradually pervaded the whole texture of Roman life. They became the commonplace of conversation. The children imitated them in their play. The philosophers drew from them their metaphors and illustrations. The artists portrayed them in every variety of ornament. The vestal virgins had a seat of honour in the arena. The Colosseum, which is said to have contained more than 80,000 spectators, eclipsed every other monument of imperial splendour, and is even now at once the most imposing and the most characteristic relic of pagan Rome. In the provinces the same passion was displayed. From Gaul to Syria, wherever the Roman influence extended, the spectacles of blood were introduced; and the gigantic remains of amphitheatres in many lands still attest, by their ruined grandeur, the scale on which they were pursued. They destroyed all sense of disgust, and all refinement of taste, and impelled the people to every excess or refinement of barbarity. Every variety of atrocity was devised to stimulate the flagging interest."

Surely there is good reason for adding,—

"It is well for us to look steadily on such facts as these. They display more vividly than any mere philosophical disquisition, the abyss of depravity into which it is possible for human nature to sink. They furnish us with striking proofs of the reality of the moral progress we have attained; and they enable us in some degree to estimate the regenerating influence that Christianity has exercised in the world, for the destruction of the gladiatorial games is all its work. Philosophers, indeed, might deplore them; gentle natures might shrink from their contagion; but to the multitude they possessed a fascination which nothing but the new religion could overcome."

Our limits prevent us from entering on a critical estimate of the manner in which Mr Lecky has discussed the very important subject of the relations between the morals of the pagan empire and its religion, on the one hand, and its philosophy, on the other. We pass from it by remarking, that his treatment of it, which is much fuller under the latter branch than under the former, notwithstanding some grave exceptions to which it is open, goes very clearly and strongly to the establishment of the following propositions :—

1. That the Religion of the Roman empire in all its modifications of theism or atheism, of pantheism or polytheism, on the one side, failed to associate itself directly with the moral nature of the people, to quicken and educate their consciences, to refine their character, and purify their conduct; and, on the other side, by its principles and rites, by its vileness and superstition, by its teachings and aims, did immediately and powerfully promote the moral debasement of society, and produce some of the very direst forms of moral corruption.

2. That the Philosophy of the empire, whether after the type of the Epicurean, or the Stoic, or the Cynic, or the Platonic, or the Eclectic, was the chief moral influence of the empire,—that it addressed itself to the moral constitution of human nature, sought out the essential elements of virtue, strove to lay the foundations for a rule of moral life, and gave forth lessons for the attainment of moral ends; but that, notwithstanding the extent of its prevalence among the Roman people, and the illustrious examples associated with some of its best forms, it proved no bulwark against the power of evil, elevated not the conception of good, strengthened not the sense of duty, revived not the love of righteousness; and, through its uncertainties and imperfections, through its falsehoods and exaggerations, through its contradictions and absurdities, it degraded the general level of moral sentiment and practice, and mightily helped to bring in that terrible tide which threatened to sweep away almost everything fair and lovely in the sight of God and man from the vast expanse of Roman life.

In such a case, What was the power of Augustus and his successors? what was the multitude of legions at their command? what was the territorial magnitude of the empire over which they reigned? what was the fame of the heroes and conquerors inscribed in the proudest pages of Rome's history? what was the genius of its poets? what was the eloquence of its orators? what was the wisdom of its sages? what were all the achievements of its mighty men? what was all the splendour of its glory? and what was all the wealth of its resources? What were they all, when the morals of its people

from the highest of them to the lowest, were corrupt; yea, when they were corrupted at two of the chiefest sources from which they flowed, religion and philosophy, which were also two of the most powerful influences by which they were borne along in the great current of Roman life? What did they avail in the presence of that disintegration under which its immense moral edifice was crumbling into ruins? How did they compensate for the tremendous loss which it sustained, and for the awful impotence and paralysis with which it was smitten, as the bonds which bound it to the true, the beautiful, and the good, were snapped asunder? In what measure did they conserve its happiness, or strength, or glory, when assailed at the very roots by contempt of God, and conscience, and duty? In all that they were to it on the one hand, and in all that its morals were to it on the other hand, Rome was in the bondage of corruption, groaning under the power of evil, —a sad and signal instance of the truth that paganism, at its best state, has no lamp of life to hang out in the darkness of the world, no balm for the healing of the deep wounds of the human heart, and no virtue for that renewal of human life which turns it from evil to good, from sin to righteousness, from self to God.

In an early part of the chapter entitled "The Conversion of Rome," Mr Lecky says:—

"Although I am anxious in the present work to avoid, as far as possible, all questions that are purely theological, and to consider Christianity merely in its aspect as a moral agent, it will be necessary to bestow a few preliminary pages upon its triumph in the Roman empire, in order to ascertain how far that triumph was due to moral causes, and what were its relations to the prevailing philosophy. There are some writers who have been so struck with the conformity between some of the doctrines of the later Stoics and those of Christianity, that they have imagined that Christianity had early obtained a decisive influence over philosophy, and that the leading teachers of Rome had been in some measure its disciples. There are others who reduce the conversion of the Roman empire to a mere question of evidences, to the overwhelming proofs the Christian teachers produced of the authenticity of the gospel narratives. There are others, again, who deem the triumph of Christianity simply miraculous. Every thing, they tell us, was against it. The course of the church was like that of a ship sailing rapidly and steadily to the goal, in direct defiance of both wind and tide; and the conversion of the empire was as literally supernatural as the raising of the dead, or the sudden quelling of the storm."

On this passage it may be observed, 1. That it is to be regretted that Mr Lecky's treatment of questions that are purely theological is generally unsatisfactory; partly, because

he does not lay hold of them thoroughly, and discuss them fully, when they come in his way; and partly, because of the indistinct and halting character of the conclusions to which he comes,—a character which occasionally attaches to them to such a degree as to make it almost impossible to tell what his views are on matters of prime importance. 2. That it would have been more accordant with Mr Lecky's great subject, and more natural as a matter of arrangement, if he had given some account of the progress of Christianity throughout the empire up till the time of Constantine, and brought forward some at least of the moral phenomena and moral transformations which accompanied and followed that progress, instead of at once taking it for granted, introducing it as a matter of which pagan philosophers and historians took almost no notice, and proceeding summarily to ascertain how far the triumph of the gospel was due to moral causes, and what were its relations to the prevailing philosophy. 3. That the enumeration which Mr Lecky gives of things to which the conversion of the Roman empire to Christianity has been ascribed, is manifestly very incomplete; and that it is, to say the least, somewhat too hasty and indiscriminate, if not too presumptuous and irreverent, to call them, as he does in his contents, "three popular errors."

Having dismissed, as altogether groundless, the notion that Christianity had obtained a complete or even a partial influence over the philosophic classes during the period of stoical ascendancy, Mr Lecky proceeds:—"We come to the opinion of those who suppose that the Roman empire was converted by a system of evidences,—by the miraculous proofs of the divinity of Christianity, submitted to the adjudication of the people." And having stated what he thinks the right way of estimating that view, he asserts that, "with the exception of a small minority of the priests of the Catholic Church, a general incredulity on the subject of miracles now underlies the opinions of almost all educated men;" that "the common attitude towards miracles is not that of doubt, of hesitation, of discontent with the existing evidence, but rather of absolute, derisive, and even unexamining incredulity," and that "the belief in miracles has, in most cases, not been reasoned down, but has simply faded away." Now, apart altogether from the somewhat startling character of such assertions, the simple reader may be permitted to ask how far they are pertinent to the main subject on hand? and he cannot be censured if his suspicions are awakened by the fallacies lurking in them,—fallacies so ominously like those which have been used in the writings of more than one famous assailant of the miracles of Christ and his apostles.

In accounting for the state of mind pointed out in these

assertions, Mr Lecky takes the following course. He refers to fairy tales, to the legends of savage life, and to what he calls an "accretion of miracles which is invariably formed around every prominent personage or institution in certain stages of society," and which may be looked for as we look for showers in April, or for harvest in Autumn. He notices how they lose their hold and pass away before the accumulating force of education, the increased power of abstraction, and the progress of physical science. In doing so, under the last head, he uses language which will disappoint many minds and wound many hearts, for it is language whose tendency is to create the impression that the miraculous should never be looked for, and to cast ridicule on those who trace the ways of God to men in the phenomena of human history, and who believe that humiliation and prayer are reasonable services amid the common events of life, and not less reasonable in the presence of those judgments in the earth, by which men should learn righteousness. He appears to have felt this, and to have been constrained to cover or modify it by saying, "What I have written is not in any degree inconsistent with the belief that, by the dispensation of Providence, moral causes have a natural and often overwhelming influence upon happiness and upon success, nor yet with the belief that our moral nature enters into a very real, constant, and immediate contact with a higher power. Nor does it at all disprove the possibility of divine interference with the order even of physical nature." But any force which that qualification might have had, is taken away by the fact, that he goes on to put the miraculous histories of Christianity as being substantially on the same level with other miraculous stories in the judgment of the Roman people, even after the writings of Cicero and Seneca, in the brilliant days of Augustus and the Antonines. Still more does he weaken it by his attempt to shew that the rash, unthinking, superstitious state of mind which accepted the wildest legends of heathen supernaturalism, was the very state of mind which secured in the Roman empire the acceptance of the miracles wrought by Christ and his apostles, and by his open assertion that Christianity floated into the Roman empire on the wave of credulity that brought with it a long train of oriental superstitions and legends.

Having degraded the Christian miracles, having virtually ignored them, both as an essential part of the Christian revelation, and as an evidence of its divine origin and authority, both as a treasure to the Christian believer, and as a bulwark against the attacks of enemies of the Christian faith, —and having satisfied himself that, from the days of Augustus to the days of Constantine, the Pagans had no capacity for

dealing with them in any other way than that of a blank and indiscriminating credulity, it is no wonder that Mr Lecky arrives at the conclusion that the miracles themselves, and the proof which they afford, had nothing to do with that extension of Christianity throughout the Roman empire, which reached a well-known and definite point in the reign of Constantine. But having otherwise accounted for that great fact, very briefly and comprehensively indeed, but very inadequately, he goes back to the idea of miraculous aid on the side of Christianity, as, in the judgment of some, requisite to account for its preservation and progress in the midst of the terrible fires of persecution which so long raged against it. He attempts to set that idea aside as quite uncalled for in the circumstances. And, in spite of all his acuteness in searching out the deeper sources of these persecutions, in spite of all that is admirable in his statements of them, and in spite of the occasional expression of his sympathy with those who suffered them, he writes very much as an apologist of those who inflicted them, and he leaves the reader to suppose that he wished him to carry away the impression that, after all, these persecutions were neither so fierce nor so wicked as he had been led to believe. And when this is taken in connection with what precedes it in the same important chapter, with the tone in which the whole subject of that chapter is treated, and with the under current of non-accord with the supernatural element in Christianity, and of non-appreciation of the distinguishing spiritual elements which have most to do with its acceptance and diffusion, it proves most defective and unsatisfactory in its treatment of some of the gravest questions to which a philosophic and Christian historian can possibly address himself.

We wish we could speak more favourably of Mr Lecky's fourth chapter. Our space forbids any reference to it. And we can only say, in conclusion, that our conviction is, that the perusal of this important and able work can only give rise to mingled feelings of admiration and of regret, of pleasure and of pain; and that while it is fitted in some respects to promote the great interests of truth and righteousness, it is fitted in other respects to serve the purpose of those who disregard the highest truths, and neglect the first and greatest duty. Whatever may be the character of those whom it is most likely to affect, and whatever may be the extent of the influence it is likely to acquire, one thing is manifest, that it gives a clear and strong call to renewed earnestness, and wisdom, and courage, and devotion on the part of all the true friends of evangelical doctrine, and evangelical righteousness and holiness, in all the churches.

W. B.

ART. VII.—*Old Mortality.*

EPITAPHS have a strangely universal interest. Perhaps, after all, this is not to be wondered at, for they stand in a way that nothing else does between the living and the dead. They are, as it were, the blended voice of both: it is the living who speak, but what is said is spoken for the dead.

All of our readers are in some measure acquainted, we presume, with the character of *Old Mortality*. Robert Paterson, for such was his real name, was a native of Hawick, and was born in the year 1715. The more memorable, if not the larger part of his long life, was spent in visiting those districts of Scotland which had been the scenes of the sufferings of Covenanted Presbytery. For forty years he devoted himself to the unselfish task of erecting, at his own expense, monuments to the memory of the "martyrs," and repairing those already in existence. Such was his occupation from about the year 1760 till the day of his death, when he was eighty-six years of age. The place of his interment was for long unknown (as may be seen from Sir Walter Scott's introduction to the novel), but it has since been ascertained that he died in the neighbourhood of Bankend, some eight miles from Dumfries, and was buried in Carlawerock churchyard. A simple monument, with the following inscription, was placed in November last over the spot where his remains were laid :—

"Erected to the memory of ROBERT PATERSON, the *Old Mortality* of Sir Walter Scott, who was buried here February 1801.

"Why seeks he with unwearied toil
Through Death's dim walks to urge his way,
Reclaim his long-asserted spoil,
And lead oblivion into day?"

It is well that this last office of kindness has been paid to his memory; but we had only to look on the stones which mark the last resting-places of the slaughtered Covenanters to find in each a monument of his untiring zeal and devotion. Few of them but are debtors to his restoring hand. The epitaphs they bear form an unique literature. They present us with the rude language of the country people of the time, and with the impress of the feelings which the events of the period evoked. They are pictures drawn by those who shared the views of the men commemorated, and who lived nearest to their time. Many of them date from between 1700 and 1715, within the lifetime of persons who were spectators of the scenes referred to. The infamous Lagg himself did not die till 1733. So early, indeed, as in 1699, a movement was in progress for

collecting an authentic account of the persecutions; and in 1708 a Commission of the General Assembly instructed the presbyteries "to bring in an account of the sufferings of the late tymes upon account of religion within their several bounds, considering that there is a design of writing a historie of the sufferings of the church under episcopacie." The attention of respectable persons having been thus early drawn to the collecting of trustworthy statements, the inscriptions may be held to give reliable testimony. But they have a value of another sort. Linking the past with the present, these epitaphs have influenced, and do still influence, the popular mind in a remarkable degree, as the visitor may learn from the slightest communication with the inhabitants of their several localities.

We invite the reader to make a tour through a district abounding in these and other relics of the struggle, starting from Dumfries, or rather from Corberry Hill, which, from the contiguous parish of Troqueer, on the Stewartry side of the Nith, overlooks the Queen of the South. Here is to be found an excellent figure of Old Mortality, sculptured by a local artist. He is represented reclining on a flat gravestone,—an interval of rest in his favourite pursuit,—while the old white pony, constant companion of his toils, stands faithfully by his side. From here the tourist's walk will be through localities rich in the most varied associations. Descending the hill, he will cross the river by the old bridge which has spanned the Nith for upwards of six hundred years, having been built in the thirteenth century by Devorgilla, daughter of the famous Allan, lord of Galloway, and mother of John Baliol, king of Scotland. She it was who founded Baliol College, Oxford, in pious memory of her husband. Passing the site of the old Franciscan Convent, where, in 1305, Robert Bruce slew the Comyn,—the house in which is pointed out the room (and, until lately, the bed, now at Drumlanrig), in which Charles Stuart slept during one of his ill-starred expeditions,—the Globe and other inns where Robert Burns wrote many of his songs,—he will soon reach the necropolis of Dumfries. Within this venerable burial ground stood an ancient church dedicated to St Michael, the patron saint of the town; and here, it is said, high mass was for the last time publicly celebrated in the parish churches of Scotland. The churchyard contains three gravestones recording the deaths of Covenanters, and a "martyrs' monument," which bears that it was erected in 1834 in reverent memory of the sufferers for conscience sake during the persecutions in Scotland. The two slabs which lie sunk in the earth at the base of this monument are in a condition of neglect that may well excite surprise, when we consider the

respect in which they are undoubtedly held by the neighbourhood. In other places it will be found that great care has been taken to preserve similar remains from rude touch, and to afford timeous rescue from the destroying hand of the great innovator, by restoring

“ Before decay’s effacing fingers
Have swept the linea.”

Here are their inscriptions:—

“ Here lyes **WILLIAM WELSH**, Pentland Martyr for his adhering to the word of God, and appearing for Christ’s kingly goverment in his house and the Covenanted work of Reformation against perjury and prelacie execute Janr. 2. 1667. Rev. xii. 11.

“ Stay, passenger, read, here interr’d doth ly
A witness ‘gainst poor Scotland’s perjury,
Whose head, once fix’d upon the bridge-port, stood
Proclaiming vengeance for his guiltless blood.”

“ Here lyes **WILLIAM GREIRSON**, Pentland Martyr for his adhering to the word of God, and appearing for Christ’s kingly goverment in his house and Covenanted work the Reformation against perjury and prelacy executed Janr. 2. 1667. Rev. xii. 11.

“ Under this stone, lo, here doth ly
Dust sacrificed to tyranny;
Yet precious in Immenuil’s sight,
Since martyr’d for his kingly right.
When he condemns these hellish druges,
By suffrage saints shall judge their judges.”

The history of the Pentland rising is too well known to be repeated here. Suffice it to say that these men had been concerned, and afterwards fell victims to the justiciary commission, which, at the instigation of Sharp, was sent to Ayr. It condemned twelve persons to death, and it ordered eight of them to be executed at Ayr, two at Irvine, and two at Dumfries. A mandate from the Commission enjoined the local authorities “to sie their sentence for hanging the persounes, and affixing of the heides and right armes of Jon Grier in Four-merk-land, and William Welsch in Carsfairne, upon the eminest pairs of the burgh,” whereupon the town council appointed the bridge port as “the fittest place.” It appears from the minutes of their meetings, that although that body was obsequious to the government, the inhabitants, instead of being intimidated by the horrible sight which met their gaze as they passed the old bridge, resolved to remove those ghastly remains; so the council applied for authority to have them transferred to the top of the tolbooth, and thus frustrate the designs of “disloyall persounes to take them away under cloudes of night, to the prejudice of this burgh.”

Thirty-five persons were brought to the scaffold for having been concerned in the Pentland rising, and among those exe-

cuted at Edinburgh, were Neilson of Corsock, and several other Galloway gentlemen. The heads of Major McCulloch of Barholm, Mr Gordon of Knockbreck, and his brother, were sent to Kirkcudbright for exhibition at the gates of the town, and their right arms were sent to Lanark, where, with uplifted hands, as was their wont, they had sworn the covenant. From inscriptions on gravestones at Kilmarnock and elsewhere, it appears that the bodies of others were similarly treated. The following, for example, is from the churchyard of Hamilton:—

“Stay, passenger, take notice what thou reads,
At Edinburgh ly our bodies, here our heads;
Our right hands stood at Lanark, these we want,
Because with them we swore the covenant.”

The third of the gravestones we referred to in St Michael's churchyard, belongs to a later stage in the persecution. It commemorates the death of James Kirke, who was betrayed into the hands of Captain Bruce in the spring* of 1685. He refused to take the abjuration oath, and was carried prisoner to Dumfries and shot on the *sands*, that is, on the broad margin of ground between the town and the river, now devoted to the cattle markets. His memorial slab is within a few yards of the others, but, having been raised on stone pedestals, has escaped the injuries which have befallen Greirson's, now broken and otherwise damaged by being trodden upon.

“Here lyes JAMES KIRKA martyr, shot dead upon the sands of Drumfreis for his adhereing to the Word of God Christ's kingly government in his house and the covenanted work of reformation against tirranie, perjurie and prelacie 1685. Rev. 12.11. Mar

“By bloody Bruce and wretched Wright
I lost my life in great despight
Shot dead without due time
To try
And fit me for eternity.
A wittnes of Prelatic rage
As ever was in anie age.

The mausoleum in which the remains of our great national poet are enshrined stands within a stone's throw of these slabs, and they are surrounded by monumental sculpture with which,

* Wodrow gives May, others give June, the gravestone indicates March. Some say Kirke belonged to Dunscore, and was lurking in Keir; others that he belonged to Keir, and was lurking in Holywood. His name is sometimes spelt Kirko, the gravestone has Kirka. We may mention here, once for all, that many similar discrepancies are to be met with in dates, names, and places. Thus we have seen the “Jon Grier” sentenced to death by the Ayr Commission called “William Greirson” on the gravestone. These discrepancies arise from communication having been more often oral than written—sound was the guide to spelling—and are, for the most part, quite immaterial.

for antiquity, quaintness, number, and variety of interest, no other provincial burial ground in the kingdom can compete. But we must not linger here. About seven miles from Dumfries is the churchyard of Irongray, which contains a tombstone, with an epitaph written by Sir Walter Scott to the memory of Helen Walker the prototype of Jeanie Deans. And a couple of hundred yards beyond, on a charmingly romantic spot by the banks of the Cluden, and shaded by the foliage of a clump of trees, is a small enclosure, within which are two old slabs thus inscribed :—

“Here lyes EDWARD GORDON and ALEXANDER MACURINE martyres
hanged without law by Lagg and Capt Bruce for adherence to the
word of God Christ's kingly government in his house and the cove-
nantant Work of Reformation against tyranny perjury and prelacy
Rev. 12.11. Mar. 8, 1685.

“ As Lagg and bloodie Bruce command
We were hung up by hellish hand
And thus their furious rage to stay
We dyed near Kirk of Irongray
Here now in peace sweet rest we take
Once murdered for religion's sake.”

These men were seized by Captain Bruce on Lochinket Moor, on the 19th February 1685. Four of the party were shot on the spot, and Bruce brought these two before Lagg with a view to their undergoing some sort of trial. Lagg, however, scoffed at the idea; and as the inhabitants of Irongray were known to sympathise with the Covenanters, he ordered the prisoners to be hanged there in order to intimidate the people. Accordingly, they were hanged from a branch of one of those trees which now stand like sentinels by their grave. Within an hour's walk from this spot is Skeoch Hill, where, in the summer of 1678, Welsh, the ejected minister of the parish, and Blackadder, ejected from Troqueer, convened a field meeting, which was attended by three thousand persons.

“Long ere the dawn, by devious ways,
O'er hills, through woods, o'er dreary wastes, they sought
The upland muirs.
Then rose the song, the loud
Acclaim of praise; the wheeling plover ceased
Her plaint; the solitary place was glad,
And on the distant cairns the watcher's ear
Caught doubtfully at times the breeze-borne note.”

The stones which served as tables for the dispensation of the sacrament may still be seen. They consist of four rows of large stones, each row containing about thirty seats, and at one end is a heap of stones a few feet high, on which, we presume, the communion elements were placed, and beside which the officiating minister stood as he dispensed the holy ordinance.

Passing to Kirkcudbright, we find the churchyard contains a headstone erected to the memory of a lad of eighteen years of age, John Hallume by name, who, perceiving a party of dragoons traversing the adjoining parish of Tongland, endeavoured to escape their observation, but was seen and followed, and twice wounded in the pursuit. Carried prisoner to Kirkcudbright, he was ordered to take the abjuration oath, and, on his refusing to do so, was tried and speedily convicted by a jury of soldiers. He was executed and buried in the spot marked by a small upright stone with the following inscription, one half of which occupies either side :—

Front.

“ Here lyes JOHN HALLUME who was wounded in his takeing and by unjust law sentenced to be hanged All this done by Captaine

*Back.**(Memento mori.)*

Douglas for his adherence to Scotland's Reformation Covenants nationall and solemn league 1685.”

In December of the previous year, six covenanters, among whom was the son of Major Stewart of Ardoch, were apprehended by Claverhouse at Auchencloy, on the Dee, in the parish of Girthon. Four of them were instantly shot to death. Their friends had the bodies decently buried, but three of them were disinterred by order of Claverhouse, and exposed during several days, one of them suspended from the branch of a tree. The inscription on their tombstone, after narrating the story of their apprehension, execution, and disinterment, thus proceeds :—

“ Because they would not perjure
Our Covenants and Reformation pure :
Because like faithful martyrs for to die
They rather chose, than treacherously comply
With cursed prelacie, the nation's bane,
And with Indulgence, our church's stain.”

The other two prisoners, William Hunter and Robert Smith, were taken to Kirkcudbright, where they were first hanged, then beheaded. The gravestone placed over their mutilated bodies bears the following :—

“ WILLIAM HOUNTURE.
ROBERT SMITH 1684.

“ This monument shall shew posterity
Two headles martyres under it doth ly
By bloody Grhame were taken and surpris'd,
Brought to this Towne and afterward were siz'd
By unjust law were sentenced to die.
Them first they hang'd, then headed cruely

Captains Douglas . Bruce . Grhame of Claverbous
 Were these that caused them be handled thus,
 And when they were unto the gibbet come
 To stope their speech they did beat up the drum.
 And all becaus they would not comply
 With Indulgence and bloody Prelacie
 In face of cruel Bruce . Douglas and Grhame
 They did maintain that Christ was Lord supream
 And boldly ouned both the Covenants.
 At Kircudbright thus ended these two saints.

On Kirconnell Moor, in the parish of Tongland, Mr Bell of Whyteside, son-in-law of the Viscount Kenmure, was surprised by Lagg in February 1685. He had been outlawed in consequence of his having been at Bothwell, his house sacked, his crops gifted to the curate, his stock of cattle to the soldiers, himself compelled to wander over the moors or lurk in the woods adjacent to his forfeited home. He was now seized, with four companions and immediately shot. The few minutes he asked to be allowed for prayer were coarsely refused: "You've had time enough since Bothwell!" His remains were buried in the churchyard of Anwoth, a few miles off, and a gravestone was placed to his memory with this inscription:—

"Here lyes JOHN BELL of Whyteside, who was barbarously shot to death in the Paroch of Tongland, at the command of Grier of Lag, anno. 1685.

"This monument shall tell posterity
 That blessed Bell of Whyteside here doth lye,
 Who at command of bloody Lag was shot,
 A murder strange which should not be forgot.
 Douglas of Morton did him quarters give
 Yet cruel Lag would not let him survive.
 This martyr sought some time to recommend
 His soul to God before his days should end.
 The tyrant said, What, dev'l yo've pray'd enough
 This seven long years on mountain and in clench;
 And instantly caus'd him, with other four,
 Be shot to death upon Kirconnel Moor:
 So thus did end the lives of these dear ssints
 For there adherence to the Covenants."

Mr Bell's companions on the occasion referred to, were David Halliday of Mayfield, James Clement, Andrew M'Robert, and Robert Lenox of Irelandton. Clement appears to have been a stranger, and was buried at the spot. The others were buried in the parishes to which they severally belonged, and inscriptions were afterwards placed over each of their graves. In the churchyard of Balmaghie is to be found Halliday's. The family had been landowners in the district for more than a century, and the other Halliday mentioned in the epitaph, was shot by order of Lagg and Lord Annandale, a few months

later in the same year, along with one George Short, who was likewise interred here.

“ Here lyes DAVID HALLIDAY, portioner of Meifield, who was shot upon the 21st of Feb. 1685 ; and of DAVID HALLIDAY once in Glencape, who was likewise shot upon the 11th July 1685, for their adherence to the principles of Scotland's Covenanted Reformation.

“ Beneath this stone two Davids Hallidays
Doe ly, whose souls nou sing their Master's praise.
To know, if curious passengers desyre,
For what, by whom, and how they did expire :
They did oppose this nation's perjurey ;
Nor could they joyn with lordly prelacy.
Indulging favours from Christ's enemies
Quenched not their zeal. This monument then cries,
These are the causes, not to be forgot,
Why they by Lag so wickedly were shot.
One name, one cause, one grave, one heaven do ty
Their souls to that one God eternally.”

As is well known, the intruded curates furnished the authorities with lists of the “ disorderlies ” in their parishes, that is to say, persons who absented themselves from his church services, and were thus suspected of scorning the indulgence, and attending field meetings. These lists were distributed to the troops, who hunted down their prey, and offered them the alternative of the abjuration oath or instant death, holding neither sickness, nor age, nor sex, an excuse. Thus in the churchyard of Kells, was buried one David M'Quhan, “ who, being sick of a fever, was taken out of his bed and carried to Newtoun of Galloway, and the next day most cruelly and unjustly shot to death.” He was shot on the hill of Knockdavic.

Kirkandrews churchyard has a gravestone commemorating Robert M'Whae, who was shot in his own garden. Caldons, in the wild glen of Trool, was the scene of another and more wholesale of these barbarous excutions. Six persons were one Sunday “ surprised at prayer, and cruelly murther'd ” by Douglas with a party of dragoons.

At Craigmodie, in the parish of Kirkcowan, one Alexander Lin was shot to death, and during this same year a party of soldiers from Wigton seized three men in Penninghame, one of whom (Johnston), it appears, had taken the oath to conform to prelacy, but, repenting, had absented himself from the services of the curate, who informed against him. Carried to Wigton, they were brought before Major Winram, and on refusing to attend the ministrations of the curate, and conform to prelacy, were, without trial, ordered to be hanged. The sentence was carried out the day after their apprehension, and they were buried in the town churchyard. This is the inscription over the grave :—

"Here lyse WILLIAM JOHNSTON, JOHN MILROY, GEORGE WALKER, who was without sentence of law hanged by Major Winram for their adherence to Scotland's Reformation Covenants National and Solam league 1685.

We shall not embark on the raging sea of controversy over which Mr Mark Napier delights to hover as the stormy petrel, but before presenting to the reader the two inscriptions following, we shall simply give a brief explanatory narrative. The substantial truth of the story of the Wigton female martyrs, was never seriously doubted until Mr Napier, by his inferences from ambiguous documents—what he calls "excellent negative evidence"—but still more by the violence of his language, caused people to stagger in their belief. He would have us think the story altogether a myth. But the researches of the Rev. Mr Stewart of Glasserton, may be said to have at length placed the matter beyond dispute. To state the case as shortly as possible: Margaret Lachlan, a widow of upwards of sixty years of age, and Margaret Wilson, a girl of eighteen, were sentenced to be drowned for attending field meetings instead of the curate's services, and declining to take the abjuration oath. On the 11th of May 1685, they were conducted, under a guard of Major Winram's dragoons, to the banks of the river Blednoch, where wooden stobs or stakes had been fastened. To these they were secured by cords, and as the Solway flowed up the stream at high tide, the elder sufferer was first thrown in, and "held down within the water by one of the town officers, by his halberd at her throat, till she died." In like manner, Margaret Wilson was held down, but "before her breath was quite gone, they pulled her up, and held her till she could speak." She was then asked if she would pray for the king, to which she replied that she wished the salvation of all men—the damnation of none: may God save him, if it be God's will! Some of her relations cried out—"She is willing, she has said it!"—whereupon Major Winram charged her instantly to swear the abjuration oath. "I will not," she said, "I am Christ's—let me go!" And the executioner thrust her down again into the water.

It is probable that the two gravestones, though differing both in size and shape—Wilson's being a flat one, Lachlan's smaller and standing erect—are of much the same date. There is no verse on the latter, but simply,—

"Here lyes MARGRAT LACHLAN who was by unjust law sentenced to die by Lagg, Strachan, Winrame, and Grhame, and tyed to a stake within the flood for her adherence to Scotland's Reformation Covenants, National and Solemn League. Aged 68. 1685."

The following is the inscription on Margaret Wilson's :—

“ Here lyes MARGRAT WILLSON daughter to Gilbert Willson in Glenvernoch who was drowned Anno 1685 Aged 18. ”

“ Let earth and stone still witness beare
Their lyes a virgine martyre here
Murther'd for owning Christ supream
Head of His Church and no more crime
But not abjuring Presbytry,
And her not owning Prelacy,
They her condem'd, by unjust law,
Of heaven nor hell they stood no aw
Within the sea ty'd to a stake
She suffered for Christ Jesus sake
The actors of this cruel crime
Was Legg, Strachan, Winram, and Grhame
Neither young yeares nor yet old age
Could stop the fury of there rage.”

Such is an Old Mortality tour in Galloway, and we shall now conclude this paper by subjoining two more epitaphs, differing from each other in many respects, but both very quaint and interesting. The first of them has acquired a wider notoriety than the other, and is as follows :—

“ This martyr was by Peter Inglis shot,
By birth a tyger rather than a Scot.
Who, that his monstrous extract might be seen,
Cut off his head, and kicked it o'er the green.
Thus was that head which was to wear a crown,
A football made by a profane dragoon.”

Twelve men were met together at night for prayer in the house of one James Paton, a wright in Little Blackwood, in the parish of Kilmarnock, when they were surprised by a party under the command of Peter (or Patrick) Inglis. “They all started up and went but the house. James White was the last in going but, and having a firelock (which was all the fire-arms that was amongst them) lying upon a chest, took it in his hand as he went; and just as he came betwixt the doors, the parties commanded by Patrick Inglis (son to Captain Inglis who then kept garrison in Newmills) having surrounded the house, knocked at both doors at once and broke them open; upon which James White, offering to fire, his gun burnt priming and did not go off; the light of which did let them see to shoot him, which they did, and he fell betwixt the doors.”

On the entreaty of Paton's wife, they were all promised quarter if they would surrender. With the exception of Paton, they all came, and were “tyed with the yarn and other materials as they found in the house. After this they got candles, and searched all the house, and finding James Paton in the byer, bound him, and set him down with the rest.

They also searched the barn and kiln; and when they could find no more persons, they fell about the spoiling of the house, out of which they took everything, not leaving so much as a spoon or the worth of it, and driving the cows and horses over the dead man. Paton being a wright, they took all his working tools, among which was a big aixe for felling timber, which they took, and with it cut off the head of James White, who was shot betwixt the doors, and took it to Newmills, and next day played with it as a football on the green." Arrived at Newmills with his booty and prisoners, Peter Inglis was about to put them to death, but desisted on being reminded that he had received them to quarter. He was recommended, however, to send to Edinburgh for an order from the council authorising him to execute them, and this he obtained. But the poor men's friends made good use of the interval. "They placed two ambushments, one behind a dyke, betwixt the fore and back castle, the other opposite to the fore castle. Upon their coming in they shot the centinal, and then went into a smith's shop and took his hammers, and broke open the gates. One of the soldiers in the fore castle put his firelock through the iron staunchers, and levelled it along the side of the house, thinking to shoot him who was breaking open the gate, but the ambushment placed opposite to him shot him, and his gun fell down to them. As soon as the gates were opened they carried off the prisoners." The rescue having been reported to the bailie, that functionary "caused beat the town drum and ring the bell." All, however, of no avail. "They tractet their way out of the east end of the town, it being wet weather, and shot two innocent persons, but found none of the prisoners or relievers, though they went as far east as Tintock."

The second of them relates to a Covenanter who was seized and carried prisoner to Edinburgh, but he effected his escape, and spent the closing years of his life as a farmer in Locherben. He was buried in the churchyard of Dalgarno (two miles from the Closeburn railway station), and his tombstone bears this inscription:—

"Here lyes the body of **JAMES HARKNESS** in Locherben who died
6. Dec. 1728 aged 72 years.

"Belo this stone this dust doth ly
Who indured 28 years
Persecution by turranny
Did him persue with echo and cry
Through many a lonsome place
At last by Clavers he was tane
Sentenced for to dy.
But God who for his soul took care
Did him from prison bring
Because no other cause they had

But that he would not give up
With Christ his glorious king
And swear allegiance to that beast
The Duke of York I mean.
In spite of all their hellish rage
A naturel death he died
In full assurance of his rest
With Christ eternally."

These are but glimpses of scenes in the story of the Covenant, yet they are sufficient to enable the reader to judge of the bitter legacy which the government of the Stuarts bequeathed to the memory of the Scottish Lowlanders. The epitaphs have been "sermons in stones," keeping fresh in their minds how "insupportable a burden and grievance" to their forefathers was an alien church. That the Covenanters made a noble stand against a tyranny which threatened alike the national faith and the liberties of the people, is their title to fame. Nor is that claim diminished because of the narrowness, the bigotry, the intolerance, and the fanaticism with which they have been so freely charged by their detractors, and which, it is admitted, some of them at times displayed. Who can dwell upon these things in presence of that heroic spirit of self-sacrifice which never deserted them in their severest trials? Or who would compare these things with the follies and the crimes which disgraced their adversaries?

W. S.

ART. VIII.—*The Counter-Imputations.*

THE counter-imputations—of sin to Christ, of righteousness to his people—are nowhere in Holy Scripture brought into such close juxta-position or related to each other by so firm a *nexus*, as in the celebrated and profound sentence, "He hath made him to be sin for us, who knew no sin; that we might be made the righteousness of God in him" (2 Cor. v. 21). It is reported that when some one, startled by the idea of Christ being "made sin," suggested to Luther that it should be rendered "made a sin-offering," Luther answered, "No: I prefer the words as they stand, for they are more intense." And he spoke shrewdly and well. Besides, there would be equal reason for altering the second clause in a

similar manner; and, indeed, the exactness and point of the antithesis would require that. So that the verse would read, "God hath made him to be a sin-offering for us, who knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness-offering of God in him;" a violation of the proposition so great and manifest as to shew that it ought not to be violated or tampered with at all. Nor is it possible to stop even here. Consistency requires the alteration, if made at all, to go the length of a reading so absurd as this: He hath made him to be a sin-offering for us, who knew no sin-offering! For the word *ἀναγρία* must have *one* rendering, else the antithesis with which this great theological saying is replenished, and the precision of the truth which it is designed to teach, are lost.

It is of course true that God hath made Christ to be a sin-offering, a sacrifice for sin; but that is not the same thing as his having made Christ to be sin. His being made sin is by no means identical with his being made a sacrifice for sin. It goes deeper and farther back into the problem. It is at once the preliminary and the reason for his being made a sacrifice for sin. He is made sin, and *therefore* he is made a sin-offering. It is his being made sin which justifies his being made a sin-offering. In order that he may really and righteously, congruously and consistently, be made a sacrifice for sin, it behoves that he be first made sin. And this *locus insignis* of the Pauline theology does not state the fact that Christ was made a sacrifice for sin; it states a truth which is the ground and reason of that fact. It lays the foundation for the sacrifice in a prior transaction.

That transaction may be viewed in this light. God is seeking out and searching for sin, that he may deal with it judicially; that he may deal with it as the holiness of the divine nature, and the righteousness of the divine law, and the justice of the divine government, require that it should be dealt with. The sword of justice is seen pursuing sin, to inflict the threatened penalty of wrath and death. Meantime, in his supreme sovereignty, God puts forward his own Son manifest in the flesh to represent sin, to personate sin, to stand in the room of sin. "God sends his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh and FOR SIN" (Rom. viii. 3), that is, in lieu or in room of sin. It is the same phrase in Heb. x. 6, though our translators have obliterated the precision of it by supplying a word that was not needed: "In burnt-offerings and sacrifices for sin thou hast had no pleasure:" correctly rendered, "In burnt-offerings, and FOR SIN, thou hast had no pleasure." Even so, God sends forth his own Son "FOR SIN," in lieu or room of sin, to represent or personate sin,—so thoroughly, indeed, that divine law and

justice pursuing sin find Christ in sin's room, and take hold on Christ; for he is "FOR SIN," "made sin;" and thus "God, sending his own Son *for sin*, *condemns sin* in the flesh," even in the flesh of him who is for sin, and in the likeness of sinful flesh. He condemns sin, in condemning Christ; for Christ is "FOR SIN": he is,—to use a common and intelligible expression,—he is *what* is for it. He is "FOR SIN:" and he is so by the authority and appointment of the sovereign Lord and Judge himself; for God hath made him to be sin.

Divine justice and divine wrath, then, are seen searching for sin—our sin—to execute upon it the vengeance due to sin. And in this search divine justice and divine wrath inevitably find Christ; for God hath made him that knew no sin to be sin for us. In like manner, and in exact counterpart of this, divine justice and divine love are seen searching for righteousness—the righteousness of God—the righteousness which God requires—which his own holy nature and his own attribute of righteousness cannot but require. They are seen searching for "the righteousness which God's righteousness requires him to require."* They are searching for it, in order to smile upon it—to lavish on it the love, and complacency, and favour, and blessing of God. And in searching for this righteousness, they find us, if we are in Christ: for we are "made the righteousness of God in him." And they own that their search has been successful. Nor was it unnecessary. Nay, it was more than ever necessary, from the moment that they recognised Christ as "made sin." From that moment the demand for the "righteousness of God" becomes imperious. The wondrous evolution by which the Son of God is "made sin," creates an absolutely imperious and new demand that the righteousness of God should be forthcoming, even as it never was before. And it is met in that which is the counterpart, and fruit, and justification of Christ "made sin,"—even in us "made the righteousness of God."

The renowned *vox signata*, then, which we are considering, does not allege that Christ has been subjected to death "for us men and for our salvation,"—a ransom, a sacrifice, an offering for sin; but rather the reason for that—its ground and justifying reason; namely, his being substituted in the room of sinners, and having their sins imputed or reckoned to him. And it does not allege that we are justified unto life eternal in Christ, but the ground and reason of that, namely,

* The beautiful expression of the beloved and ever-to-be-lamented WILLIAM CUNNINGHAM,—the priceless gem we were honoured to receive from him in conversation,—his own matchless interpretation of the Divine expression, "The Righteousness of God" (Rom. iii. 21, 22).

our being substituted in the eye of God's law and justice, in the room of Christ, and our having his righteousness imputed to us. It does not declare that Christ is made a sacrifice for sin; but that, prior to that, and in order to that, he is made our sin. And it does not declare that we are reconciled to God—which would be the proper and formally exact antithesis, result, and counterpart of his being made a sacrifice for sin; for reconciliation is the natural and immediate fruit of sacrifice. But it declares that, as prior to our reconciliation, and in order thereunto, we are made the righteousness of God in Christ. In a word, it is the EXCHANGE OF PLACES that is the direct doctrine affirmed; and it goes utterly to enervate this profound theological proposition, and to empty it of the specific truth which it so clearly couches and so forcibly conveys, if we fail to read it simply as it stands. It is the twofold exchange of places in respect of sin and righteousness severally, and the counter-imputations thereof, which undoubtedly it embodies and expresses. And it expresses this in threefold antithesis. For each clause contains an antithesis of its own—the first in terms, the second implicitly; and the clauses, moreover, are antithetical as between themselves. It is as if it read thus:—

He hath made him that knew no sin
To be Sin for us :
That we (who knew no righteousness)
Might be made the Righteousness of God in Him.

We do not, of course, propose to investigate either of the antithetical clauses by itself—which would lead us into the *mare magnum* of the abstract, metaphysical, juridical, and ethical principles of imputation generally. We propose to take the two clauses conjointly, and to review them in the light which they reciprocally throw upon each other.

Concerning these two Divine and divinely related transactions, then:—the substitution of Christ in our room, through federal union with us—his being made sin for us: and the substitution of us in his room, through spiritual union with him, founded on and growing out of his federal union with us,—our being made the righteousness of God in him:—we may see, in the *first* place, that the Divine authority regulates them both; in the *second* place, that the Divine power effects them both; in the *third* place, that the will of the parties—Christ's, namely, and ours—is in them both; in the *fourth* place, that they are both strict and simple, unmingled and complete imputations; in the *fifth* place, that they irresistibly carry their contrasted and complete effects with them; and *finally*, that the latter transaction is the result, the sure and inevitable result, of the former.

I. The authority of God decrees and rules these two great transactions. "*He*," even God, "hath made him to be sin." Thus expressly is the first of them at least attributed to the Supreme. It is not indeed affirmed in the same express and explicit terms that God is the author of the second. It is somewhat more generally and impersonally expressed: "*That we might be made* the Righteousness of God in him." But even here the same thing is implicitly involved. For clearly the meaning is: God designed and decreed to make us the Righteousness of God: in order to this, however, it was in God's own righteousness requisite that Christ should be made sin: in order that He might make us the righteousness of God, He did not shrink from making Christ to be sin: He accomplished the one evolution that He might bring about the other. Clearly, both are the doing of the Lord. And it is marvellous in our eyes.

The making of Christ to be Sin, is a transaction of high state and sovereignty. It is a very singular event in the divine government. It could originate with—it could be designed, proposed, carried out by—none but the divine moral governor himself; and by him acting only in his prerogative as the Absolute Sovereign of the universe.

And it affords scope for exercising and glorifying his Sovereignty as no other transaction in all the eternal history of his government can afford. For it illustrates the singular freedom—the high range and all-embracing sweep—of his sheer sovereign will, unto the uttermost. It proves that God's sovereignty is free, in a freedom which could not have been conceived, and has full scope and play in circumstances in which it could not have been believed to be applicable. For God's holy Law is absolute, and unconditional, and unchangeable. No possible circumstances can set limits to its action; for its very claim is to rule all circumstances whatsoever. And, save for sin and salvation, the holy universe must have for ever believed that God's sovereign pleasure also was ruled and hemmed in by his unconditional and everlasting Law. It must have for ever appeared impossible that God's will could act otherwise, in all matters ethical and juridical, than his unchangeable Law should rule. Hence, when sin entered, and death by sin, the sovereign God must have appeared, to all his intelligent and righteous creatures, as shut up to inflict death on all that sinned. The sphere of Sovereignty must have appeared limited by the sphere of Law.

But God designed to shew his Sovereignty to be absolutely unlimited,—not, indeed, in a way of violating law, or setting law aside, but of transcending law;—not as against law, but above law;—as not merely free within the sphere of law, but

free in a sphere comprehending law and rising about it; compassing law about on every side with glory, and rising far above law, into a realm of higher freedom still.

The Sovereign Lord is not shut up to the course which law prescribes—death eternal to the guilty. The freedom of his sovereignty—the council of his will—the sphere of his good pleasure—takes a larger range. He is not shut up to his course of procedure, even by his own holy law. He cannot indeed proceed in violation of it; for it is the very transcript of his own holy nature, and he cannot deny himself. But his nature, while it defines his law, does not hamper or hem in his will. Honouring his law, and acting ever in accordance with his nature and perfections, his will goeth forth in most free, unconditioned, absolute sovereignty. And in the action of his sovereignty, in its most free and glorious forth-going, he makes Christ to be sin for us. No law required this: no law suggested this: no law objects to this. Against this there is no law. To prompt to this there is no law. The everlasting law is honoured by this, but never contemplated it. The sovereign pleasure of God, reigning within and without the law, rises high above it. And his counsel shall stand, and he will do all his pleasure.

Ah! well may we ask,—Why do sinful men quarrel with the sovereignty of God, the mere good pleasure of his will? Its unlimitedness, its absolute unconditionedness, is their only source of hope. And its glory is made great in their salvation.

For, let it be observed that this is exclusively the sovereignty of grace, of mercy, and of love. As high as the sovereignty of God in its absoluteness is carried up above its former apparent range, so high are the love, and grace, and mercy of God exalted, and seen to be of that infinite extent and unconditioned energy, that could have been neither manifested nor imagined apart from the redemption that is in Christ. And now as the principalities and powers of light adore before the glorious expansion which the sovereignty of heaven's high King has undergone or exhibited, they see that it is grace, and mercy, and love, that are shining bright over all former forth-shining of the glory of God: and now they say wonderingly, in mingled ecstasy and awe, as they never said or sang before:—"God is love."

And it is by the same absolute authority, the same sovereign will and mere good pleasure of the Lord, that we are made the righteousness of God in Christ. "He will have mercy on whom he will have mercy, and he will have compassion on whom he will have compassion." The imputation of righteousness to us—not against law—must be above law. We must be "justified freely by his grace." We cannot imagine that it should be otherwise. We cannot imagine God, in the freest sove-

reignty of his will, making Christ to be Sin for us ; and coming down, coming under any constraint, or limitation, or condition, in making us to be the righteousness of God in him. That which shall render us the righteousness of God, can, and must be, simply the onward movement, seeking its intended goal, of that same most free and sovereign will of God, which, in order to make us the righteousness of God, first made Christ to be sin for us. Nay, if we understand the exercise, the glory, the grand extension and expansion—as we have ventured to say—of divine sovereignty in making Christ to be sin, we could not possibly desire to be made the righteousness of God, save by the exercise of this same sovereignty of God from its now loftiest throne—its highest regal seat of power most absolute. Who would wish his righteousness, in the eternal judgments, to shine in any glory of grace, less than the very uttermost of sovereign grace ? Or who desire to see this sovereignty—so glorious in love's own utmost range, and love's own highest liberty—shorn and tamed down, hemmed in and limited, brought in bondage, or constrained by any conditions, just as it stretched forth its hand to grant salvation from eternal ruin ? No. Let it be that very sovereignty of God—rising to the utmost height of its heavenly bent, and acting out, unto the uttermost bounds, or rather in the boundlessness of freedom, its own sweet, free, and loving will—that shall compass and convey my salvation. And even so it acts indeed ; from its absolute throne—the “*THRONE OF GRACE*”—in the freest pleasure of its will. I may tremble, it is very true, to think that my escape from everlasting ruin is at the disposal of the mere and sovereign will of another. But it is at the disposal of the sovereign will of Love. And it is at the disposal of the sovereign will of Power most absolute. And when conscience, and death, and hell, are dooming me, and claiming me, I will not for one moment delay giving thanks that I have heard a voice louder than theirs and as the sound of many waters, saying from the throne of absolute power and infinite grace :—“*I will have mercy on him, sovereignly and simply if I please ; I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy, and I will have compassion on whom I will have compassion.*”

II. The efficacy of divine power is in both these transactions, as well as the authority of divine sovereignty. This is manifestly implied in the language used to express them : “*He hath made him to be sin—that we might be made the Righteousness of God.*” Divine power has effected it, as well as divine authority appointed it. It has been powerfully accomplished

in the fulness of times, as well as sovereignly decreed in the councils of eternity.

"God sends forth his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and FOR SIN." The initial and decisive exercise of Divine power in making Christ to be sin, is in sending him forth in the likeness of sinful flesh. The Word was made flesh, that he might be made sin. Made flesh; not sinful flesh: for it is he who knew no sin that is made sin, and he still remains he who knows no sin: but in the likeness of sinful flesh; the brightness of the Father's glory concealed by the resemblance of the stain only—the express image of the Father's person shrouded under the dark shadow of the likeness merely—of sinful flesh. Here is the substitution: the holy for the sinful; the just for the unjust; the innocent for the guilty; he who knew no sin made sin.

The Incarnation of the Eternal Word is not his being made sin: but it is the immediate preliminary in the order of nature; and it is the proof. The eternal covenant oneness—the federal union—grounds the representative character of Messiah and his substitution and suretyship. Each of these relations, indeed, leans for support on that which precedes it: suretyship justified by substitution; substitution, by real representation; representation, by federal union or covenant oneness. And here ultimately the series terminates and rests—rests in the unchangeable council and will of the Sacred Three. For, viewed by itself, the federal union is simply a decree of the Divine will, a judgment of the Divine mind, and a covenant agreement in the eternal Spirit between the Father and the Son. And if exegetical and inductive examination of Holy Scripture brings this to light as a truth revealed—as we believe it does, though we cannot now pause to shew that—it remains simply to resolve it into the Sovereign will of God, and to defend it by the simple and sublime affirmation: "His counsel shall stand, and he will do all his pleasure."

But this covenant oneness between the Son of God's love, and the people given to him in the Council of Peace, needs no exercise of Divine power for its constitution. It is constituted in Eternity by a sovereign decision of the Divine will, and passes—in the order of nature, that is—into a judgment of the Divine mind. And this is the federal union. But then, unto the actual achievement of the design which it contemplates, exercises of Divine power are needed to constitute more than one real union, each of which must rest in and be represented by an accomplished fact. Hence the union of the Eternal Son to his people, in respect of his assumption of their nature into personal subsistence with the Divine nature in his person—which is his Incarnation. Hence, also, their union to him, in

respect of their being created again in him by the renewing of the Holy Ghost—which is their regeneration.

And hence, as we have said, the Incarnation, which is not in itself Christ's being made sin, is the immediate preliminary and the proof thereof. If the question be asked, What shall be the sign of Christ being made sin for us? the answer is, "This shall be the sign; you shall find the babe wrapped in swaddling clothes, and lying in a manger" (Luke ii. 12). And the two things are simultaneous. In his assumption of our nature, he begins to be made sin. He is a sin-bearer from the virgin's womb to the sealed grave of Golgotha. His consciousness is a sin-bearer's consciousness during all the days of his flesh—as Dr George Smeaton, than whom no greater authority on this theme exists, has done admirable service by so copiously and variously demonstrating.* His being made in the likeness of sinful flesh was indispensable to his being "for sin;" and his being "made sin," followed inevitably on his being made in the likeness of sinful flesh. "Because the children were partakers of flesh and blood, he also himself likewise took part in the same, that he might be a merciful and faithful high priest in things pertaining to God" (Heb. ii. 17). His Incarnation was the indispensable preliminary. And by the grandest miracle of Divine power it was achieved.

Our being made in the likeness of the holiness of the Word made flesh, the express image of the invisible God, is as indispensable to our being made the righteousness of God, as Christ's being made in the likeness of sinful flesh was indispensable to his being made sin. Our being born again, born of the Spirit and the word of God, is as indispensable in order to our having righteousness imputed to us,† as was Christ's being born of the Spirit and the virgin to his having sin imputed to him. His incarnation is not in itself the imputation of sin to him. And our regeneration is not in itself the imputation of righteousness to us. His being made flesh did not cancel his well-deservingness, or make him worthy of death and the curse. And our being made spirit—Spirit-born spirit (John iii. 6)—does not cancel our ill-deservingness, or render us worthy of the blessing and of life eternal. The imputation of righteousness can alone entitle us to favour (Gal. iii. 21). The imputation of sin could alone subject the Son of God to wrath. But the imputation of sin never could have taken effect in his case had he not been made in the likeness of men. Nor can the imputation of righteousness in our case take place if we be

* See his invaluable work "The Doctrine of the Atonement, as taught by Christ himself." T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh.

† More lines of thought branch out from this centre than we can here and now overtake. But the thoughtful reader will observe that the order of these things, as in the Divine procedure, is in some respects reversed, as in the believer's consciousness.

not made in the likeness of God. He was made flesh that he might be made sin. We are made spirit—spirit born of the Spirit—that we may be made righteousness. He had to be partaker of the human nature (Heb. ii. 14–17): we must be made “partakers of the Divine nature” (2 Pet. i. 4). Except God be born, he cannot come into the kingdom of sin. Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of righteousness. And Divine power—the power of the Holy Ghost, the plenipotentiary and executant of all the will of Godhead—achieves the Incarnation of God and the regeneration of men, that the Son of God may be made sin and the sons of men made righteousness. The efficacy of Divine power is in both these transactions.

III. The will of the parties is in these transactions also severally—their full, intelligent, and joyful consent.

Christ is not made sin without his own consent; nor are we made righteousness without ours. “When he cometh into the world,”—the world of sin,—made sin, “he saith, Lo, I come; in the volume of the book it is written of me: I delight to do thy will, O God: thy law also is within my heart” (Ps. xl. 6; Heb. x. 7). His Incarnation, his being made sin, is voluntary. “*He made himself* of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant,” as well as “*was made* in the likeness of men” (Philip. ii. 7). His Incarnation was the Holy Spirit’s work; but his own most active will was in it.

Our regeneration also is the Holy Spirit’s work; but our own will is in it too. Not as the grand determining power: “By grace are ye saved; through faith; and that not of yourselves, it is the gift of God.” Grace is the determining power; the omnipotent and resistless grace of God most high. “Thy people shall be willing in the day of **THY POWER**” (Ps. cx. 3). Still they are “willing.” Their own will is in their regeneration; not supreme, but subordinate: yet not destroyed as will by being subordinated to the will of God, the grand original archetype of man’s will, as at first made in God’s image, and now renewed into it when man’s is subordinated to God’s will, informed by it, actuated by it, made the intelligent consentient engine and agent of carrying out the One Will which shall do all its pleasure. Even thus, then, as Christ’s assumption of our sin was his own voluntary deed, so our assumption of his righteousness must be our voluntary act too. Hence the need, and the office, and the place of Faith. Both these high sovereign transactions of the good pleasure of Jehovah’s will, appeal to the wills of the parties transposed mutually into each other’s places. The Lord God, in the council of his will, deals with their wills. He secures the concurrence of their wills. He gains their full consent on either side.

And has he not in the fact of Christ's consent a wondrous leverage to wield in calling for our consent? Shall not the fact of Christ's consent secure ours? If *he* consent to pass over to the side of sin, shall we not consent to pass over to the side of righteousness? And have not his ambassadors a powerful screw—in a sense most blessed and beneficent—to press upon the sinner's heart and conscience in compassing the blessed work of shutting men up into the faith? And how does the true glory of a profound theology come out to view, as no dry, formal, abstract speculation; but the joyful handmaid, yea, the loving foster-mother, of spiritual life as in all the churches; when theology ransacks all her brightest treasures to turn them into arguments for charming and compelling men to come in, and frames her finest, richest theorems—refined and rich as aught that any science has to shew—into powerful motives for the prisoner to come forth, and for them that sit in darkness to shew themselves! Shall not the consent of God's own Son to be made sin, secure your consent to be made righteousness? His consent could involve him in nothing but shame, and sorrow, and wrath, and death. Your consent brings glory, and joy, and blessing, and the life everlasting. Shall not his consent provoke and carry yours? Nay; shall not his consent be the model of yours? Can your consenting will express itself more beautifully than his: "*Lo, I come*"? Is it not to this "*imitation of Christ*" that first of all you are called? "*Him that cometh.*" "*Come unto me.*" "*Whosoever will let him come.*" Let him come, as I came, when joyfully, though death and hell were before me, I said, "*Lo, I come.*" And by thus coming,—by thus answering the call, and imitating the consent, and twining your will into the will of Christ,—will you not fall heir to all that is implied in Christ's consent, and make it more and more fully all your own, till making thereby both your calling and election sure, you be able to say, tremblingly, perhaps, but truthfully: "*Lo, I come; in the volume of the book it is written of me*" also?

IV. The two transactions are imputations, out and out, exclusively, imputations: pure, unmingled, complete imputation of sin, on the one side: pure, unmingled, complete imputation of righteousness on the other. And the first throws light upon the second.

"He who knew no sin is made sin." It is not indeed expressly said in similar terms, We who knew no righteousness are made the righteousness of God. But it is implied. We are as destitute of personal righteousness as he of personal sin. It is simply and exclusively imputation on his side—our sin imputed to him who is holy. It is simply and exclusively imputation on our side—his righteousness imputed to

us who are sinful. And as his holiness is no bar to our sin being imputed to him, our sinfulness is no bar to his holiness being imputed to us. No bar ! That is the least of it. It is his holiness which renders the imputation of sin to him possible : it is our sinfulness which renders the imputation of righteousness to us necessary ; while, at the same time, it is rendered possible by our sin being imputed to him. For our sin can no longer bar the imputation of righteousness to us, or invalidate, or modify, or alleviate, or impair that imputation, seeing it has been disposed of by its imputation to him who bears it in his own body on the tree, and is made of God unto us righteousness. His holiness, in like manner, does not alleviate the imputation of sin to him ; for the imputation is so thorough, and unreserved, and unimpaired, that he is even made sin. There is nothing confused or commingled in these imputations on either side.

Besides, as they are imputations, pure and simple, so they are complete. He is made *all* our sin, as truly as he has none of his own ; we are made all his righteousness, as truly as we have none of ours. For it is *we*, wholly and completely, that are his sin ; *he*, wholly and completely, that is our righteousness. For *us* he is made sin ; in *him* we are made the righteousness of God. If we are in him, then all our sin,—the sin of our life, and heart, and nature,—our original sin and our actual sin, our sin that has been, is, and shall be, the sin that dwelleth in us,—in short, the sin that we *are*,—*this*, Christ is made for us. All of us that is sin ; all on which the sword of justice could smite and the sting of death fasten ; we ourselves thus are made over to him as his sin. And all his righteousness,—the righteousness of his heart and life and nature ; his original and his actual righteousness ; his every righteous principle of thought, affection, will, word, and deed ; the entire lovely moral beauty of his person ; the righteousness, in short, which he *is*,—*this*, we are made in him. All of him that is righteousness,—all of him on which the approbation, love, joy, and delight of the Father can rest ; he himself thus is made of God unto us righteousness. For it is whole Christ that is the end of the law for righteousness unto every one that believeth.

It takes all the wondrous definiteness, and precision, and personality out of this transaction, to represent the righteousness of saints as merely something that Christ suffered, or something in which Christ served on their behalf. The temptation, in such a view, is very great, to separate his suffering and his service from his person, and to consider them as what may be contemplated and dealt with apart from his person. The beam vanishes when cut off from the sun from

which it flows. And Christ is the sun of righteousness, with healing in his wings. He is the Lord our righteousness. It is he that is of God made unto us righteousness—he himself. Christ is the end of the law for righteousness—Christ himself, in his own person, with that infinite fund of righteousness and moral excellence, the exhaustless fountain whereof is the righteousness of saints.

The “exchange of places” carries this in it inevitably. It effects a very perfect and complete commutation and counter-imputation. And nothing less can meet our case. When we began to be, we began to be sin,—conceived in sin and shapen in iniquity. When he began to be in the likeness of sinful flesh, he who knew no sin began to be sin for us—our sin; holy, harmless, and undefiled, and separate from sinners, yet uniting himself to us, as our sin, he himself, from his beginning to be in the flesh, beginning also to be our righteousness. The very dawn of our existence, which was in sin, he blends with the dawn of his existence as Emmanuel, as made sin for us. The thread of our sinful state and history and ill-deserving destiny, even from our mother’s womb, he hath conjoined with the thread of his own from the virgin’s womb, intertwining the two in one, himself thus made sin for us. And keeping them conjoined in one—not dealing violently with ours, not snapping it, not even diverting it from its rightful destiny and outgoing, but following its course, he hath followed it conjointly with his own, unbroken, down into those depths of wrath, and death, and hell, in which ours had its righteous and inevitable issue. And as, purged from our sin, he rose from the dead, and ascended far above all heavens, still he brought the thread of our destiny with him, entwined still in one with his own, and rivetted it for ever to the throne of God and of the Lamb, on which throne he now sits, made of God unto us righteousness, we the righteousness of God in him. Thus perfect and complete are these imputations.

V. Both these transactions of imputation carry inevitable and complete effects with them.

When he who knew no sin was made sin for us, condemnation, sorrow, shame, exile, desertion, the curse, and death followed remorselessly. These are the consequences, most sure, treading with mighty and resistless march on the heels of the imputation of sin. No power in all the universe can interpose to arrest them; neither height, nor depth, nor any creature, nor the creating God himself. “Father, if it be possible!” And the Father answered him no never a word. For when sin is imputed, death, with its sting and woe, comes in triumphantly. Be it even the eternal God in whose person

imputation takes place ; be it even the Beloved of the Father ; be it the man who knows no sin, who is holy, harmless, and undefiled, the chief among ten thousand and altogether lovely ; sin has entered, and death enters by sin. His Godhead hinders it not. His relation to the Father—O ! how near and blessed ineffably—hinders it not. His holy beauty, from the womb of the virgin, and as from the womb of the morning, hinders it not. His perfect love to the Father, his Father's infinite love to him,—and neither is impaired or arrested for an instant of time,—hinders it not. His perfect wondrous love for those whose very sins are imputed to him hinders it not. Though he be the living God manifest in the flesh ; though he be the Eternal Son ; yet learns he obedience by the things which he suffers. Made sin,—even though lovely in the Father's eyes because he loves those whose sin he is made, and lovely on the very ground of bearing the sin which he is made,—he is inevitably “made a curse” (Gal. iii. 13) ; not merely subjected to the endurance of a curse, but in his person made a devoted thing—made *herem*, a curse—even unto his hanging accursed on the tree.

And, if against considerations so powerful—against his Godhead, his Sonship, his spotless holiness, his matchless moral beauty, resplendent in that he consents to be made sin—imputed sin still prevails to carry all its consequences with terrific and resistless march, bringing in death and hell and the curse ; shall the imputation of righteousness fail to carry all its issues ? Shall they who receive abundance of grace and of the gift of righteousness fail to reign in life by Jesus Christ ? (See Rom. v. 12–21, specially verse 17.) If the worth of Godhead in all its assembled glories and perfections ; and the love of Sonship in its ineffable, inviolable bond of grace unto the Father's heart ; and perfect loveliness of moral beauty ; and an enhanced argument of admiration in this very sin-bearing of the Son of God for sinners,—if all these considerations bar not the curse and death from their inevitable forthgoing on our Divine Substitute : shall any worthlessness of ours, any alienation, any guilt of past sin, or any present sin that dwelleth in us, bar from us the blessing of the life eternal, if we are made the righteousness of God ? If imputation is so imperiously and absolutely triumphant and invincible on the one side, shall it be less triumphant or invincible on the other ? The sin especially which dwelleth in us may seem to plead against and peril the blessed results of imputation of righteousness. But the spotless holiness which dwelt in Christ pleaded not successfully against, nor in the slightest measure perilled, paralysed, or put back the issues of imputed sin. Indwelling sin may indeed make our warfare perilous—“warring against the law of my

mind" (Rom. vii. 23); but a present victory tarries on our helmet and our sword. It may give us in a measure the experience of the poor slave and captive,—“carrying me captive to the law of sin that is in my members” (*idem*); but a present freedom is ours notwithstanding, the law of the spirit of life making us free from the law of sin and death (James ii. 25, Rom. viii. 2). It may give us in a measure the sense of deepest wretchedness,—“O wretched man that I am” (Rom. vii. 24): but a sure and perfect blessedness is still in Christ all our own. For precisely in triumph over this profound experience of warring, captivating, and woe-working sin that dwelleth in us; precisely in celebration of the inevitable, the resistlessly certain, issues of imputed righteousness, is Paul’s blessed and ever-memorable boast,—and without regarding it in this light, we do not hear its true tone and rhythm, nor enter into half its depth: “There is therefore now no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus” (Rom. viii. 1).

Nor is it enough to affirm this inevitableness notwithstanding whatsoever hindrances may arise. The inevitableness of life and the blessing, following in the train of imputed righteousness, is far more grandly seen, just in the light of hindrances, so powerful we might have thought, but so vain and ineffectual. The Sovereign Lord, if he pleased, might sanctify us into celestial perfection in the instant in which he makes us the righteousness of God in Christ. But could our confidence in the resistless, absolute and eternal triumph of that imputation be so great, as in evergrowing experience and consciousness it ought now to be, when the presence and the great power even of sin, are found incapable of marring its perfection, or staying its marvellous and majestic issues of blessing, and favour, and life, and the loving-kindness which is better than life? “Iniquities prevail against me: as for our transgressions, thou shalt purge them away” (Ps. lxxv. 3). “Blessed is the man to whom the Lord imputeth righteousness without works” (Ps. xxxii. 42, Rom. iv. 6–8).

The Son of God is made sin. And though his Godhead is true and is there; though his Sonship is ineffable and inviolable; though his holiness is unspotted; and though the blood burst forth in his agony, and his cry is terrible upon the tree, and the earth reels and staggers, and the sun grows black; death and the curse come on. Let *us* be made the righteousness of God in him. And though sin is true and is here; though Satan stand at our right hand to resist us; though our iniquities take hold on us that we cannot look up; though the “O wretched man,” be our daily cry with growing truth and sorrow; though the dust of battle be upon us, and the damp of death be coming; though the waters roar and are

troubled, and the hills be carried into the midst of the sea; though our house be not so with God, and the fig-tree do not blossom, and our heart and our flesh fail; shall any or all of these things separate us from life and the blessing? "Nay, in all these things, we are more than conquerors through him that loved us. For I am persuaded,"—I am persuaded that that song of persuasion is the heritage of all who are made the righteousness of God.

VI. But besides affirming that these two counter-imputations carry inevitable and complete effects with them, it remains to affirm also that the second of the imputations is itself an inevitable effect of the first: "God hath made him that knew no sin to be sin for us, *that we might* be made the righteousness of God in him." This is the design of Christ's being made sin, namely, that we might be made the righteousness of God. The similar correlative design of Christ's "being made a curse," is brought out in terms exactly analogous: "Made a curse for us, *that the blessing* of Abraham *might come upon us, that we might* receive the promise of the Spirit through faith" (Gal. iii. 13, 14). And the same thing is set forth in the more general formula: "Ye know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that, though he was rich, yet for your sakes he became poor, *that ye through his poverty might be rich*" (2 Cor. viii. 9). This, indeed, to use the language of the geometrician, is just the general theorem, embracing numerous special cases, of which the doctrine of the counter-imputations is perhaps the most important. For if, instead of the general term "riches," we read "righteousness," and if, instead of the general idea of "poverty," we take the special idea of "sin," then the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ stands in this, That he who was righteous was, for our sakes, made sin, that we, through his being made sin, might be made the righteousness of God. And again: if for "riches," we read the "blessing," and for "poverty," the "curse," the general theorem presents the case in Gal. iii. 13, namely, That the Blessed One is made a curse, that we might receive the blessing. And so, if by "riches" is meant "life," and by "poverty" is meant "death," then, We know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that, though he was the Living One, the True God, and Eternal Life, yet for our sakes, and in our room, he died, that we, through his death, might have life, and might have it more abundantly. Be it in the general case, or in any special aspect of it, the *design* is in this same manner uniformly set forth, and set forth as that which is surely and infallibly accomplished. Being God's design it is successful,—not the design only, but the result. For the work of the Lord is perfect, not breaking down in the middle, but reaching the

goal,—that goal, or τέλος, or end spoken of, when it is said, “Christ is the τέλος of the law to every one that believeth” (Rom. x. 4).

For, as inevitably as when Christ is made sin he is made a curse, and wrath and death assail him; and as inevitably as when we are made the righteousness of God, life and the blessing come upon us; so surely, intermediately between these two inevitables, there is another, namely, that they for whom Christ is made sin are infallibly made the righteousness of God. *He* denies the counter-imputations who denies that the second follows necessarily from the first. He misconceives the whole arrangement. For, in reality, the counter-imputations are not so much two transactions as one. The exchange of places is one indivisible evolution. It is not effected in the movement of one of the parties, but in their mutual transposition. It is a reciprocating movement; and when the reciprocation fails, the movement ceases utterly.

Hence it follows, that in giving our consent to be made the righteousness of God, we give our consent to the Son of God being made sin. It is impossible to break in upon this transaction in the middle of it. We must acquiesce in it as it is—one great and perfect whole. We must begin with it at the beginning. For herein is that saying true, “He that entereth not in by the door, but climbeth up some other way, the same is a thief and a robber.” Now, the cross is the door—the gate of righteousness. For no other Christ is made of God unto us righteousness, than Christ made sin for us.

And hence the irrefragable guarantee for the penitence of him that is made the righteousness of God. Blessed is he to whom the Lord imputeth no iniquity, but imputeth righteousness without works. But when I kept silence, my bones waxed old. Then I said, I will confess my transgressions. I will lay my sin on Jesus. I will contemplate him made sin: and by confession of sin, I will acquiesce in his being made sin, and accept him as made sin for me. “And thou forgavest the iniquity of my sin” (Ps. xxxii).—On any other scheme, repentance and faith contradict each other.

Hence, also, the vital and organic harmony between the justification of him who is made the righteousness of God, and his sanctification in all manner of holiness. For whether sanctification be regarded as the believer's duty or God's gift, it is placed on a footing of inviolable safety by these counter-imputations of sin and righteousness. To him for whom Christ has been made sin, and who is therefore made the righteousness of God, the appeal surely must come home with resistless force of obligation when it frames itself in terms like these. How uprightly, how gracefully, how righteously should “the

Righteousness of God" conduct itself, in all holiness and righteousness, before him all the days of our lives! And when overwhelmed by a sense of inability to answer this appeal as its intrinsic force demands and prompts, how blessed to bear in mind that holiness is God's gift as well as our duty; and that when we stand before him as ourselves "the Righteousness of God" in Christ, God's own interest in God's own Righteousness acting righteously, may be heard imparting at once a guarantee of faithfulness and a thrill of power to the voice of majesty and grace that conveys the assurance: "I am the Lord thy God that doth sanctify thee."

μ.



IX.—GENERAL LITERATURE.

The Home Life of Sir David Brewster, D.C.L., LL.D., M.D., Principal of the University of Edinburgh, and Corresponding Member of the Institute of France. By his Daughter, Mrs GORDON, of Parkhill. Edinburgh: Edmonston & Douglas.

The perusal of this volume has been to us a source of unfeigned delight. Mrs Gordon has admirably executed her sacred task, as was indeed to be expected by every body acquainted with her writings and great literary abilities. She has very successfully escaped the Scylla and Charybdis which usually threaten so seriously in the case of such a task as this when undertaken by one so intimately related to the subject of the memoir. We shall say no more, than that we are not reminded of her relation to Sir David Brewster otherwise than we find it uniformly a pleasure to be. The gracefulness of the work in this respect is complete.

As the title indicates, this work is confined to the exhibiting of Sir David Brewster's "Home Life." His scientific life and labours are left to be traced, no doubt, by some distinguished successor in the walks of science. What arrangement, if any yet, has been made in this regard, we have not been informed. An arrangement in every respect satisfactory, it will be extremely difficult to light upon. Probably it will be a joint undertaking, and indeed to do full justice to it, we suppose it must be so. Since, in the meeting of the Institute of France, the whisper went round, "Is that *boy* the great Brewster?" almost to the day of his death, at the age of eighty-six, Sir David's days were spent in one ceaseless round of contributions to science in some of its most profound departments; and we doubt if there be anything on record to parallel that wonderful and so prolonged series of discoveries which came forth so regularly that,—as is said of miracles, that they would cease to be miracles if they became common,—these discoveries almost ceased to awaken wonder. It is almost startling to find, in the early pages of this volume, a narrative of Sir David's interview with La Place; and thus to find the brilliant evening of the author of the *Mecanique Celeste* blending into the early morn of one whose career has carried forward the discoveries of science beyond all that La Place could have anticipated. Our country has been privileged, in God's providence, to possess in Sir David Brewster a Nestor among the kings and in the commonwealth of science, unspeakably more noble than the aged hero whom, under that venerable name, Homer sang. Long may his memory be warmly cherished; his footsteps, alike in science and piety, carefully trod; his brilliant discoveries brilliantly followed up; and his name a watch-word for all that is counted genuine and grand among the higher academics of our land!

It would be out of place to give extracts from a volume which our readers will feel intensely desirous to read in its completeness for

themselves. They will find it eminently readable and amazingly interesting. Moreover, on scientific subjects they will also find it most instructive. For even the "Home Life" of Sir David could not possibly be written without shewing us the *man of science* at home. In science, it may be said, he lived and moved and enjoyed his being; and we are made to overhear him in his study, and with his microscope, exclaiming in reverence and delight, "Good God! how wonderful are thy works!" It is eminently gratifying to find that like Newton, Chalmers, Herschel, Faraday,—and, blessed be God, many more great men of science,—he counted his science a thing of darkening smoke and blindness, if he could not see the bright shining of Infinite Intellect in it and behind it. And we cannot too gratefully glorify the grace of God in him, when we find him on his peaceful bed of death, listening with delight to the perfecting of God's praise in the lips of his little daughter comforting the honoured old man's faith by whispering: "Just as I am, without one plea, but that thy blood was shed for me." Yes: we have redemption in *his* blood who in all things hath the pre-eminence, who is the First of Authors, the Prince of Geometricians, the Head of all humble men of Science, and who, we doubt not, will, in the lands of the eternal redemption, preside over Assemblies of discoverers, where science shall not want her votaries "nor God want praise." μ .

Blindpits. Three Vols. Edmonston & Douglas, Edinburgh.

When wearied with a severe spell of study or composition, we betake ourselves occasionally, we confess, to a work of fiction, in order to relax and to recover mental *tone*. In this way we have come across "*Blindpits*," and we have been greatly pleased with it. Poor Miss Boston! how we have liked the strange, bizarre old lady. "Miss Boston was a single lady, and ugly; or, to put it more euphemistically, plain-looking. She had a very long razor-like face, with a long snub nose lying down the middle of it; her hair was sandy in colour, her eyes light grey, her chin sharp and projecting, her mouth small and round,—it might have been pretty in another situation, but inserted like an eyelid-hole below the big, rugged nose, it looked simply ridiculous. Add to this a sallow complexion, in which the ravages of small-pox were distinctly visible, and you will comprehend that Miss Boston could not be described as eye-sweet. She was tall, slight, and elegantly made in person, so that strangers walking behind her turned round in passing to look in her face: it was enough,—no one looked twice, and Miss Boston knew it." It is wonderful how fine a character our author develops out of this. Then Barbara,—Who would not praise her in the gates? "Barbara never forgot any of those little attentions, the remembering of which is so much more than the things themselves, and gives a kind of fictitious bloom even to life on the wane. She excelled in diffusing a cheering comfort round her; there were no loose ends in her house-keeping, and she had taught common things to a series of girls with such marked success, that she deserved a testimonial as a good servant of the state; and, farther, she kept sight of them in after life, and was always ready with help and advice, which she did not

distribute in brief lectures delivered from a pedestal, but in a quiet, womanly way, thus gaining love and gratitude, when she did not think she had done anything to deserve either. People on the gape for gratitude rarely get it; if they are always meeting with shocking ingratitude, be sure there is a flaw in the administration of the article they demand it for. There is no forcing-house for such growths of human nature as love, gratitude, and respect; they are sensitive plants,—if you catch at them they will shrink; but there are imitations of them, better or worse, always to be had for a price.” *The pen that wrote this ought to write more.* The insight here indicated is uncommonly fine, and the expression is easy, racy, and effective. Coming closer to our own *line*, in a *queer* aspect of it, let us take a look at Mr Pettigrew, probationer. “The popular idea of the ‘sticket minister’ is a thin, narrow-chested individual, studious, and of mental ability, but with a morbid consciousness, destroying self-possession, and farther borne to the earth by a wretched disappointment in love. That class may exist by the dozen. Mr Pettigrew, however, did not belong to it. In person he was large, broad-shouldered, and healthy; in mind small, narrow, and healthy,—there was not enough of it to harbour disease. What put it into his head to attempt the ministry, he knows best; and how the net of the reverend fathers with whom he had to do on the way to his goal, was so large in the mesh as to let him through, they know best. Looking at his physical frame, one would have said that he might have attained eminence if he had betaken himself to countries where men are famous as they bring down the axe upon the thick trees; but he had no notion of hard work or expatriation, and there he was, a decent, honest man, no doubt, who might have been respectable had he not been in a false position, out of which he did not think of extricating himself.” And thus Mr Pettigrew had “lived fifteen years on ten sermons, and saved money”! O, Mr Pettigrew! how could you do it? This may give an idea of the writer’s powers of description, which are remarkably vivid. The characters are well conceived, well sustained, and throughout the action of the story, placed in good circumstances for their natural development. We have indicated our views of the place which works of fiction, except the few of the very highest order, should be considered as sustaining, and in this light we regard “Blind-pits” as a very admirable success. It contrasts most favourably with the vast mass of terrible rubbish which the British press is at present pouring forth under the name of the “Novel.” The publishers have given it every advantage, in the outward “get up” of the book, and the book is worthy of the advantage they have thus given it. μ .

Ancient Classics for English Readers. Edited by the Rev. W. LUCAS COLLINS, M.A. Homer—The Illiad. William Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh.

This is the first of a series to be published in monthly volumes. The object of this series is stated in the opening sentence of the preface. “It is proposed to give in these little volumes some such

introduction to the great writers of Greece and Rome, as may open, to those who have not received a classical education,—or in whose case it has been incomplete and fragmentary,—a fair acquaintance with the contents of their writings, and the leading features of their style." There cannot be a moment's doubt that there is a real and strong call for such an undertaking, and many will be thankful to know that the accomplishment of it is in progress. The first volume, which is now before us, gives every reason to expect that, when completed, this series of handsome little volumes will admirably supply a great want in our literature. It gives the story of the *Illiad* with such fulness as the space at disposal, 148 pages, renders possible. The task is confessedly a difficult one,—the task of giving a *resumé* of such a book as the *Illiad*. On the side of brevity, it is in danger of degenerating into a mere presentment of the *Argument* of the successive books of the poem; and it is in danger again, on the side of prolixity, of assuming the form of a commentary, tinged, of course, by the peculiarities or favourite lines of thought of the commentator. Mr Lucas Collins has very happily avoided both these risks, and the volume reads with all the interest and freshness of a new work. The history, and action, and drama of the piece are given with great spirit, and a very accurate idea is finally carried away of the grand old poet's world-renowned epic. Judicious selections from the translations of Derby, Pope, and Worsley, are here and there interspersed, according as the frequent recurrence of a specially brilliant passage seemed to call for them, and the entire performance is accomplished in a very scholarly and classically accurate manner. This volume is to be followed by one on the *Odyssey*, and then by volumes on Virgil, Horace, Herodotus, *Æschylus*, Sophocles, Aristophanes, Cicero, Juvenal, and others. When completed, it will form, we are persuaded, a most valuable addition to the libraries of well educated and intelligent men, whether competent to read the original authors or not. We have only to add,—what our readers will be prepared to expect of volumes coming from the distinguished press of Messrs Blackwood & Son,—that they are got up in a very elegant and attractive style.

The World of Anecdote; an Accumulation of Facts, Incidents, and Illustrations, Historical and Biographical, from Books and Times Recent and Remote. By EDROM PAXTON HOOD, Author of "Lamps, Pitchers, and Trumpets," &c. &c. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 27 Paternoster Row. 1870.

Some of our contemporaries, we see, have styled the title of this work "pretentious," but we rather think they have mistaken it. The meaning is, not that it contains a world of anecdotes, but that the sphere in which it moves, and to which it confines itself, is the world of anecdote. And, really, considering the bulk of the book, and the wideness of its range, it well deserves its appellation. Our worthy friend has given us the fruits of his multifarious reading in a form which cannot fail to catch the eye and engage the attention of

the most indolent reader; and in the character of the industrious compiler, the most serious reader has the best of all securities that nothing will be introduced calculated to offend good taste, or to injure sound religion. On the contrary, this volume must prove very serviceable to all who are engaged in the various forms of popular address, for which there is in our day such a large and increasing demand. The rich and racy anecdotes with which the volume abounds, and which are arranged under their separate heads, may often serve, if fitly introduced, to relieve the tedium of the lecture, and even to add a charm to the solemnity of the sermon. We cordially recommend this judicious collection to all who would seek occupation for the mind during the interval of a busy life, or relaxation after its labours.

X.—GERMAN LITERATURE.

Theologische Studien und Kritiken. Jahrgang, 1870. Zweites Heft. Gotha, 1870.

This journal consists of four departments: I. The Articles (*Abhandlungen*), or Discussions, on theological subjects. The present number contains three articles: 1. A continuation and conclusion of Dr Beyschlag's article on the "Personal Appearance of Christ to Paul," at the time of his conversion. The portion of the discussion contained in this number bears out fully the high opinion we have already expressed of the first part. It will amply repay a careful study. 2. "The Second Book of Ezra," its contents and its age, by Dr K. Wieseler. This is one of the Apocryphal books. It is of some value as giving an insight into the character of Judaism about the time of Christ. Wieseler thinks it was composed in the time of the Emperor Domitian. 8. "Christianity and Modern Culture." This is a lengthened and interesting paper, dealing with the conflict waged at many points between Christianity and the culture of the present day. It is, however, written from the point of view of "The Essays and Reviews," and has been inserted by the editors with the design of calling forth a similar paper from some other writer who occupies a different standpoint.

II. In the department of "Thoughts and Remarks," there is a paper by Dr K. H. Sack on the meaning of the expression, "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom," as it occurs in Ps. cxi. 10, Prov. i. 7, iv. 7, ix. 10, and xv. 33. It is exegetical and critical in its character, and displays considerable research. He calls in question the usual interpretations of the expression. He translates the Hebrew word *יִרְאָה* by "Das Vorzuglichste," the best, the most excellent, and would read the phrase, "The fear of the Lord is the most excellent wisdom."

III. In the third division, containing "Recensionen" (Reviews), there is a review of a work by H. E. Caspari, entitled, "Chronologisch-geographische Einleitung in das Leben Jesu Christi" (Chronologico-geographical Introduction to the Life of Jesus Christ), which was published at the "Rauhes Haus," Hamburg, last year. Judging from the review, the work is very comprehensive and complete, and is a valuable contribution to the right understanding of the Gospel history of the life of Christ.

IV. Among the "Miscellanies" we have the "programme" of two important societies in Holland.

1. That of the "Hague Society for the Defence of the Christian Religion." Along with the report for the past year, there is the announcement of subjects, for the best essays on which the society offers valuable prizes. Among these subjects are such as these: "On what Theological and Anthropological principles does the recognition of the right of every man to freedom of conscience rest? What view of Christianity fully accords with this principle?" and "On the influence which Philosophical Systems have had on Christian Theology in Holland from the time of the Reformation to the present time." There are in all six subjects appointed. The essays may be written in the Dutch, Latin, or French languages, and must be sent in, in the usual way, before the 15th December of the present year.

2. The "Haarlem-Teylerian Theological Society" is of a similar character. The subject appointed for the present year, for which a gold medal of the value of 400 gulden is offered, is thus stated: "Several writings of Christian antiquity are known as *Pseudepigrapha*. For the explanation and right estimate of these writings, their origin and early use must be closely considered. Therefore, the society wishes to receive a treatise containing an historical survey, along with a genetic exposition and estimate from a moral point of view, of the pseudepigraphic literature of the age before Christ." The essay on this subject may be written in Dutch, Latin, French, or English, and must be sent in before the 1st Jan. 1871, addressed "Fundatiehuis van wijlen der Heer P. Teyler van der Hulst te Haarlem."

Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie. Jahrgang 1870. Zweites Heft. Gotha: Perthes. London: Williams & Norgate.

This, the second number for the current year of the *Journal of Historical Theology*, contains four papers. 1. "A Biographical Sketch of Dr Hieronymus Weller," by Dr H. Robbe, being an abridgment of a larger work which the author is about to publish. Weller was born in 1499 in the old Saxon town of Freiburg. In 1589 he became professor of theology and inspector of the Gymnasium at Meissen. After a life of considerable activity, he died in the year 1572. The article gives an account of the times in which he lived, and of his public and private life, as well as of his various works, a complete edition of which was published under the editorial superintendence of Carpzov at Dresden, in 1702, in two folio volumes, one of which contained those of his writings which are in the Latin language, and the other those which are in German. 2. The second paper is a

lengthened and very learned and minute account of the Controversy regarding the Feast of Easter, as it was carried on during the second century. The Jewish Christians, and particularly in Asia Minor, celebrated Easter at the same time as the Jews, on the 14th of the month Nisan. The Gentile Christians of the West, on the other hand, when the 14th Nisan did not happen on a Friday, celebrated the feast on the first Friday thereafter. Hence arose much controversy. A vast amount of literature has grown out of this subject. The writer of the article, Dr Schüser, Privatdocent at Leipzig, has shewn an intimate acquaintance with it, and has, with most commendable industry, put his readers in possession of all, we believe, that can be known regarding it, and of the various collateral questions, such as the genuineness of the fourth Gospel, that have grown out of it. 8. "Thirteen Letters from Cassiodorus Reinus" to Matthew Ritter, pastor of the church at Frankfort. They are in the Latin language, and are edited by Boehmer of Halle, who now publishes them for the first time. They are dated from Antwerp and Cologne, in the years 1579-1582. They are worthy of being preserved, as reflecting an interesting view of the times within a certain sphere, and of the character of the writer. The editor is about to publish a biographical and bibliographical work on the Spanish Protestants, in which he promises to give an account of the life and writings of Rhenius (von Reina).

Absfassungszeit und Abschluss des Psalters zur Prüfung der Frage nach Maccabäerpsalmen. Historisch-kritisch untersucht von CARL EHRT, Dr Phil. und Gymnasiallehrer zu Dresden. Leipzig, 1869. Pp. 144. Verlag von J. A. Barth. London: Williams & Norgate.

Dr Ehrt is already favourably known in Germany as the author of a brief but comprehensive work on Hebrew poetry, which has gained for him distinction among Oriental scholars. In the work before us, he enters into a critico-historical investigation of the whole theory of Maccabee psalms. It is a translation by the author himself into German, with corrections and additions, of his work in Latin, on the theme "*Examinetur sententia eorum qui hos et illos inter Psalmos Maccabæorum ætate compositos esse statuunt*," to which a prize was awarded by the "Ammon-Stiftung," at Dresden, in 1868. The work possesses the singular merit of being condensed, and at the same time very complete and exhaustive of the whole subject. It is altogether an admirable specimen of historical criticism.

The question regarding those psalms which are said to have been composed in the time of the Maccabees (B.C. 168-106), is intimately connected with that of the canon of the Old Testament. The formation of the Old Testament Canon must have been the work of an inspired man. This must, we think, be accepted as an axiom. All evidence on the subject points to Ezra, who probably survived Malachi, as the only one who could have accomplished this work. But if some of the psalms were composed so long after Ezra's time, so long after the last of the inspired prophets, as is alleged by those who contend for Maccabee psalms, then it is plain that the whole subject of

the Canon of the Old Testament is undetermined. Hence the subject discussed in this work is one of direct practical importance.

The work is divided into seven chapters. In the first the author presents a brief account of the history of the controversy. Among Protestant theologians, Calvin was the first who gave his sanction to the idea that it was a *possible* thing that some of the psalms might have originated in the time of the great persecution of the Jewish church by Antiochus Epiphanes. He made this concession, however, with great caution. In the views he expresses on the subject, Calvin followed the opinion of Chrysostom, Theodoret, and Nicolas de Lyra. The *possibility* of such an origin, which Calvin with hesitation attributed to three psalms (xliv., lxiv., and lxix.), became in the hands of Esrom Rudinger a *certainty*. Rudinger was Melancthon's friend and colleague at Wittemberg, but after embracing Calvin's doctrines, he joined himself to the Moravian brethren. He soon after published (at Görlitz in 1581), his "*Libri Psalmorum Paraphrasis Latina*," &c. This work having passed into oblivion, was brought to notice again by Rosenmüller and J. A. Ernesti, and thus began to exert an influence in this controversy. Rudinger assigns no fewer than twenty-five psalms to the time of the Maccabees. Throughout the seventeenth century, the prevailing theological spirit favoured dogmatic rather than exegetical and critical studies, and hence the controversy about the Maccabee psalms was altogether dormant. But since the commencement of the eighteenth century, the subject has again attracted attention. Herm. Venema (*Comment. in Psalmos. Leovardiae 1762-1767*) pointed out thirty-four psalms which he regarded as bearing the stamp of Maccabee authorship. His views were vigorously opposed by his countryman Herm. Muntinghi (*Die Psalmen uit het Hebr. vertaald*), whose work on the Psalms gained some reputation in Germany, having been translated into the German language by Scholl, and published at Halle (1792-98). A few years before this (1787), a Commentary on the Psalms, by Dathe, Professor of Oriental Literature at Leipzig (d. 1791), was published also at Halle, in which the author assigned forty-four psalms to the Maccabee period. Since the beginning of the present century, the advocates of this theory have proceeded with greater boldness. In 1806, E. G. V. Bengel made (*Opuscula Academica. Ed. Hamb. 1834, p. 13*) this confession: "*Ulterius aliquantum procedere auserim fatendo: Psalmorum seriem non adeo parvam ipsis Maccabeorum temporibus assignare multa esse quæ mihi suadeant.*" The isagogic researches of E. F. C. Rosenmüller of Leipzig (*Scholia in V. T. 1798-1804*), De Wette (*Comm. zu den Pss. 1811*), Bertholdt (*Hist. Krit. Einleit. in Sammtl. Kanon, 1812*), and of H. E. Paulus (*Philol. Clavis ueber die Psa. 2 Ausg. Jena 1815*), seemed to establish it as a certainty that some of the psalms were composed in the time of the Maccabees. The controversy appeared so far settled. But in 1816, the great Hebraist Gesenius came on the field. In a series of articles in the "*Allg. Litt. Ztg.*" of Halle he subjected to a severe criticism the views of these advocates of the Maccabee psalms. The influence of the criticism of this master in the department of Hebrew Grammar and Exegesis, was seen in the fact that Rosenmüller and De Wette un-

hesitatingly recalled their former views on the first opportunity that presented itself in the new editions of their works (of Rosenmüller's *Scholia* in 1821, and De Wette's *Psalmen-Commentar* in 1823). The criticism of Gesenius soon found wider expansion. The first notable work against the theory of Maccabee psalms was by Conrad Dietrich Hassler. It is entitled, "*Commentatio Critica de Psalmis Maccabæis quos fuerunt, particula prior.*" Ulmae 1827. He subjected the alleged Maccabee psalms one by one to a close examination, and shewed that the theory was groundless. He was followed in the same direction and in the same spirit by Winer, Umbreit, Hirzel, and De Wette, the most learned representatives of biblical criticism.

But Hassler's victory was soon disputed. On the very field where he had vanquished so thoroughly the advocates of the Maccabee psalms, a new champion in their behalf appeared. Fred. Hitzig of Zurich (*Begriff der Kritik am A. J. prakt. erörtert* Heidelb. 1831), revived the arguments of Bertholdt and his fellow-labourers; but the number of psalms which, on critical and historical grounds, he ascribed to the Maccabee period was by no means great. His views were stoutly contested by Hävernicks of Königsberg, and by Hassler, who again seized his old weapons, and published a second dissertation (*Comment. Critica de pss. Macc. quos fuerunt particula posterior.* Ulmae 1832), in which he shewed that the canon of the Old Testament was closed before the time of the Maccabees. Two years later appeared Hitzig's "*Psalmen-Commentar*" (1834-35), in which he went the length of asserting, not only that all the psalms of the last three books of the psalter, but that a number in the first and second books also were composed during the Maccabee period. Hesse (*De Psalmis Maccabaicis.* Vratislaviae 1837), follows Hitzig, but is much more modest. He thinks that only seven psalms can justly be traced to the Maccabees. On the other hand, Cæsar v. Lengerke of Königsberg (*Die 5 Bücher der Pss. Königsb.* 1847), and Just. Olshausen (*Kurzgef. exeg. Handb. z. A. T. 14 Lief.* Leipzig, 1858) excel even Hitzig in their zeal in behalf of Maccabee psalms. They do not find in the psalter even a single Davidic psalm. On the side of the advocates of Maccabee psalms, must be ranked also Zunz (*Die gottesdienstl. vorträge der Juden*), Herzfeld (*Gesch. des Volkes Israel*), and C. L. W. Grimm (*Kurzgef. exeg. Handb. zu d. Apocryph. des A. B. III.*). This controversy enters also in various forms into the works of the most noted exegetes and commentators. Besides Hengstenberg, Hävernicks, and Keil, particularly Ewald, Böttcher, Thenius, and Dillmann, have opposed this whole theory. Dillmann, who has recently succeeded Hengstenberg at Berlin, says, "All the later psalms, whose contents admit of or require a historical explanation, can be fully explained out of the circumstances of Israel down to the time of Nehemiah, and are explained out of them alone. To refer them to later relations does not hold as matter of interpretation." Hupfeld adopts for once the view of Hengstenberg, and rejects the theory of Maccabee psalms. Delitzsch in his recent *Commentary on the Psalms* (1867, Einl. p. 10), grants the possibility of the existence of Maccabee psalms in the psalter, though at the same time his exegesis of the psalms in question never confirms this idea.

In chapter second Dr Ehrt subjects the arguments of Hitzig and other advocates of Maccabee psalms to a minute criticism. He specially reviews their exegetical arguments in favour of psalms xlv., lxxiv., lxxix., lxxxiii., and arrives at the conclusion that not one of them contains references which render it necessary to ascribe it to the time of the Maccabees, and that if these cannot be claimed as of that age much less can the lx., lxxx., lxxxv., and cxxxii. In the next section of his work, Dr Ehrt presents the internal evidences of the existence of the Psalter in the pre-Maccabean era. These evidences are gathered (1) from the book of Jonah, and (2) from the first book of Chronicles xvi. 7-86, where the author enters into a rather lengthened and deeply interesting and conclusive argument. Chapter fourth contains the internal evidences for the existence of the Psalter in five books at the time when the first book of Chronicles was written. The argument here is drawn from a comparison of the closing formula of the first four books of the Psalter (Ps. Hebr. xli. 14; lxxii. 18, 19; lxxxix. 58; cvi. 48) with 1 Chron. xvi. 86. It is followed up in the succeeding chapter, which deals with the internal evidences for the existence of the last or fifth book of the Psalter at the time of the writing of the Chronicles. The author compares 2 Chron. vi. 41, 42 with Ps. cxxxii. 8-10 as well as several other psalms comprehended in the fifth book of the Psalter (Ps. cvii.-cl.), and shews that that book as a whole must have existed at the time the book of Chronicles was composed *i.e.* at the time of Ezra. He next presents positive proof of the age of individual psalms, and groups of psalms contained in the fifth, the most recently collected book of the Psalter. This is one of the ablest and most successful chapters in the work. Step by step the author works his way to the conclusion that there is no ground for the hypothesis of Maccabee psalms.

The closing chapter exhibits the external evidences in support of the same conclusion. These are, (1) the argument drawn from linguistic peculiarities; (2) from text criticism; (3) from the book of Sirach; (4) from the Graeco-Alexandrine or Septuagint translations of the psalms; and, (5) from the titles and superscriptions of the psalms as conveying both *historical* and *archæological* information bearing on the origin of the psalms to which they are prefixed.

All the evidences are seen to establish the position that the most recent portion of the Psalter must have been composed during the Ezra-Nehemiah era. The advocates of the Maccabee psalms are fairly driven from the field.

Geschichte des Reiches Gottes unter dem Alten Bunde. Erste Periode. Von Abraham bis auf Mose. von Dr E. W. HENGSTENBERG. Berlin: Schlawitz. 1869. London: Williams & Norgate.

From the year 1828 to his death (28th May 1869), Hengstenberg occupied the chair of Professor of Old Testament Exegesis in the University of Berlin. No man in modern times has wielded a more extensive and beneficial influence in that department of study than he has, not only in Germany, but also in our own country, as well as in

America, where his works, most of which have been translated into English, are highly appreciated for their soundness on the great questions of the inspiration and the divine authority of the Scriptures, and their general accordance with the Calvinistic system. His theology is that of a controversialist and critic. He defends with unflinching boldness the old bulwarks of the faith, and fearlessly goes forth against the rationalists and semi-rationalists, sparing no arrows.

As a Professor there was nothing externally attractive about his lectures. His personal appearance was that of a well-dressed gentleman, of middle size, slender in form. There was nothing impressive or fitted to awaken enthusiasm in his manner. He slavishly adhered to his manuscript lying before him, reading in a half-singing, monotonous silvery tone. His style was very positive and dogmatic. He had always a large number of students attending his lectures, and he attracted them to him, winning their esteem and confidence by the kindness of his private intercourse with them, and by his friendly efforts in many ways to promote their interests.

In association with Tholuck, the brothers von Gerlach, and others, he established the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*, a weekly journal, and continued to edit it till his last illness laid him aside from all his labours. His published works are numerous and valuable. The chief are "Beiträge zur Einleitung ins Alte Testament" (Contributions to the Introduction to the Old Testament), in 8 vols., 1831-39, in which he defends the genuineness and integrity of the Prophecies of Daniel, Zechariah, and the Pentateuch; "Die Bücher Moses und Ägypten" (The Books of Moses and Egypt), 1841; "Die Geschichte Bileams" (The History of Balaam), 1842, where he gives up the literal interpretation, and regards the speaking of the ass, and the appearance of the angel, as only a vision; "Christologie des Alten Testament" (Christology of the Old Testament), 3 vols., 1829, second edition, 1854, which contains a full exposition of all the prophecies relating to the Messiah, from the first promise (Gen. iii. 15), down to the close of the Old Testament; "Die Commentare ueber die Psalmen," 4 vols., 1842, second edition, 1849; "Das Hohelied" (a Commentary on the Song of Solomon), 1858, in which he defends the allegorical interpretation; "Der Prediger Salomo" (The Book of Ecclesiastes) 1859; "Die Offenbarung Johannis" (The Revelation of St John), 2 vols., 1849, second edition, 1861, in which he propounds the strange view that the millennial reign of Christ commenced with the rise of the Papal power in the eighth century, and terminated with the political convulsions of 1848; "Das Evangelium Johannis" (a Commentary on the Gospel of John), 8 vols., 1861, second edition, 1867; "Der Prophet Ezechiel," 2 vols., 1867-68.

The work now before us, is the first volume of his academical lectures on "The History of the Kingdom of God under the Old Testament." It comprehends the period from Abraham to Moses. Such a work as this is a contribution of permanent value to theological literature. It possesses great and substantial excellencies. But it is characterised by the defects which run through all Hengstenberg's works. There is less of the historical element, and more of the polemical and controversial than is due to such a work. In defending

his views, he sometimes lays aside the character of an apologist, and assumes that of an advocate. Professor Kahnis has justly said of him, "Er dachte mit dem Willen und wollte mit dem Verstande" (He thought with the will and willed with the understanding). His tone is frequently dogmatic and harsh, and his style careless and diffuse, yet it must be allowed that his name stands at the present day first among the restorers of the Old Testament to its rightful place of organic connection with the New, and with the divine plan of redemption through the work of the Messiah. From about the year 1844, Hengstenberg gave indication, in his "Kirchenzeitung," of a change of view on church politics. His sympathies had originally been on the side of the Reformed Church (his father having been pastor of the Reformed Church at Fröndenberg, and afterwards at Wetter on the Ruhr), and he was in favour of the Union established in Prussia in 1827, regarding the Reformed and the Lutheran confessions as essentially one on all the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. But he abandoned that position, and became more and more inclined towards Lutheran Realism in his mode of interpreting Scripture. He condemned the Union, and became very intensely denominational in upholding the Lutheran confession, and insisting on its dominance in Prussia. He sided with the High-Church Lutheran party, and frequently assumed an attitude of harsh, uncompromising antagonism to those who differed from him. It was his natural constitution which imparted a sternness to his mode of advocating his views, and therein he resembled the great Reformer, but like him also, he lived a life of simple, childlike faith in Jesus, which shed an air of peacefulness over his home. Tried by many sore bereavements, he had learned the divine art of drawing water with joy from the wells of salvation.

Some of his works will retain a permanent place in theological literature, and chief among these will be the work now in course of publication.

Dogmatik von Dr R. Rothe. Herausgegeben von Dr DANIEL SCHENKEL. Erster Theil. Das Bewusstsein der Sünde. Heidelberg. Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr, 1870. Pp. 315. London: Williams & Norgate.

We have already, in noticing his posthumous sermons, directed the attention of our readers to the life and labours of Dr R. Rothe.* In Germany, Systematic Theology is divided into the two departments of "Dogmatics" and "Ethics," each being studied as an independent science. This distinction was first made by the French Protestant divine Danaeus (d. 1596), who treated ("Ethices Christianæ," Genev. 1577) ethics as separate from theology. Calixtus of Helmstädt, followed the same method ("Epit. Theologiæ Moralis," 1684). Though some advantages may flow from the separate and independent study of Dogmatics, as is now, since the time of Calixt, almost universally the case (Nitzsch's "System der Christlichen Lehre," is an excep-

* See No. LXVI., pp. 869, 870.

tion) in Germany, yet too frequently the result has been that Christian doctrine has been viewed as having no influence upon, or relation to, the Christian life. During his lifetime, Rothe published his great work, "The System of Christian Ethics" (1845-48), a second edition of which appeared in 1867. On this work his fame principally rests. It has a very high reputation in Germany as a profound, original, and masterly discussion of the important questions appertaining (1) to "Güterlehre" (the doctrine of the good), (2) Tugendlehre" (the doctrine of virtue), and (3) "Pflichtenlehre" (the doctrine of duties). The work now before us on "Dogmatics" is the fitting sequel to it. Influenced by the philosophy of Hegel, and yet more by the speculations of Schleiermacher, Rothe did not follow in the track of either. In the tone and tendencies of his mind he was closely allied to the theosophist Oetinger. Schleiermacher sought to mediate between Rationalism and Supernaturalism, and so to combine the two as to form a harmonious system. He regarded dogmatic theology as simply the exhibition of the Christian consciousness manifesting itself in the church. His speculations have tinged, to a greater or less degree, the whole course of theological thought in Germany since his time. Some of his followers adhered to his system, and attempted from that standpoint to defend all the doctrines of Biblical orthodoxy. Others, as Twisten and Nitzsch, have sought to bring Schleiermacher's system into harmony with the symbols of the German Protestant Church. Others, again, have professed to follow out the true spirit of Schleiermacher, in claiming the fullest independence of thought on all theological questions, untrammelled either by the Bible or by the symbolical books. Schweizer, Baumgarten-Crusius, and Dr Daniel Schenkel, the editor of Rothe's posthumous works, are representatives of this last school. The Tübingen school, founded by F. C. Baur, is the result of a combination of the tendency which originated with Schleiermacher with that originated by Hegel. Schenkel represents the same combination, and develops his system of Christian doctrine from the standpoint of conscience. Rothe's system grew up under the same influences, but there was in him a larger element of reverence for the word of God, and besides a larger element of personal religious sympathy with the truth. Schenkel can by no means claim Rothe as of the same school with himself. Rothe's Dogmatics are not an exhibition of the dogmas of the church confessions. These he does not regard as a full expression of Christian truth. He ingeniously attempts to give them a new scientific form. He affirms that speculative theology cannot but be at war with the church creeds, inasmuch as it must be controlled by the laws of thought, and of the principles of dialectics, and yet he holds that whenever it contradicts the Bible, it must be admitted to be in error. While disregarding the church symbols, he wishes, nevertheless, to be on the side of the Scriptures. "Unconditional faith in Christ as the real and only Redeemer, and love to him," are, he affirms, "the animating principles of his theological speculations." He develops his system from the standpoint of the consciousness of God in the human soul, which he regards as more certain than self-consciousness (the Cartesian "*Cogito ergo sum*") which is the starting point for philosophical speculation.

In his Preface to the volume before us Schenkel says, "When the late Dr Rothe published in a separate form his excellent Dissertation on dogmatics (*Zur Dogmatik*), which first appeared in the Quarterly Journal *Studien und Kritiken*, he closed his preface with the promise, that if life and health were granted to him he would continue the discussions there begun. He appears therefore to have had the intention of laying before his thoughtful contemporaries in successive parts the results of his dogmatic investigations, after careful revision, and perhaps also with a reference to the most recent works in the same department. It was not, however, granted to him to fulfil this desire. Among his papers no trace has been found of a continuation of these so important dogmatic dissertations. But on the other hand, there were found, along with manifold preparatory statements and excerpts bearing on the study of dogmatics, two extended treatises of Christian dogmatics which unmistakably formed the foundation of his academical lectures in that department. The one, the older of the two, was not perfect, but was in part embodied in the other, the more recent production, which is a connected completed whole, frequently revised, with supplements, enlargements, and corrections. The system of dogmatics developed in this dissertation divides itself in accordance with the already published introduction, '*Zur Dogmatik*,' into two principal parts, the first of which treats of the 'consciousness of sin,' and the second of the 'consciousness of grace.' Of the propriety of giving publicity to this treatise, there could not be a moment's doubt. Rothe's view on dogmatics come here distinctly out to view. They are bold and free, and yet also neither arrogant nor unrestrained."

The first part of this treatise is now before us. It comprehends under the general title of "The Consciousness of Sin" the two departments of Theology and Anthropology. The second part on "The Consciousness of Grace" will, it is expected, be published in two volumes similar to the present one during the course of the year.

The subjects treated of in this volume are, 1. Theology, including (1.) The Existence of God, (2.) The Trinity, (3.) The attributes of God, (4.) The works of God,—creation, providence, the angels; 2. Anthropology; and, 3. Hamartiology, or the doctrine of sin. His views on these subjects cannot be regarded as orthodox, either according to the Lutheran or the Reformed standard, yet the manner in which he develops his opinion will constrain the reader to agree with Schaff in the application to him of the words of Cardinal Cajetan, with reference to Luther, "*Habet profundos oculos et mirabiles speculationes in capite suo.*"

Aus Schelling's Leben in Briefen. Erster Band, 1775–1803. Leipzig. Verlag: Von S. Hirzel. 1869. Pp. 484. London: Williams & Norgate.

"Schelling" is one of the great names in the history of German philosophy. Kant (d. 1804), the Königsberg philosopher, appeared at the time when the systems of Leibnitz, Wolff, and Locke had produced new elements of conflict in the region of philosophical speculation. He saw that no dogmatic system of philosophy could be set up

till the faculties of the mind were themselves examined and criticised. "Before we can attain the knowledge of truth," said he, "we must first examine whether the medium of truth, viz., our mind, is able to know truth." This he termed "*Kritik*," and hence his system has been called the "*Critical Philosophy*." After him the course of investigation flowed into a new channel. John Gottlieb Fichte (d. 1814) became an enthusiastic follower of the great critical philosopher. He was professor of philosophy at Jena, which was then the great centre of German erudition. His system he styled, "*Wissenschaftslehre*," i. e., the doctrine of knowledge or of science. It dealt with the foundation and essence of all knowledge, taking its start from self-consciousness,—the Ego. F. W. J. Schelling was a disciple of Fichte's. From the time of Fichte, in whom the subjectivism of the 18th century culminated, there arose two divergent tendencies which have continued since to develop themselves,—a speculative tendency of which Schelling and Hegel became the leaders, and a religious tendency represented by Schleiermacher. In one of his letters to his young disciple Schelling, Fichte said, "Who knows where even now the young and ardent head is at work which will go beyond the principles of the *Wissenschaftslehre*, and will endeavour to prove that it is erroneous and defective." That task was in due time undertaken by Schelling himself. He studied under Fichte at Jena, and when that philosopher removed to Berlin, he succeeded him as professor of philosophy, where he continued for some three years. He then removed to Würzburg, and afterwards to Munich and Berlin, where he delivered lectures in the University on "*Philosophy*" and "*Revelation*." He died in Switzerland in 1854. He styled his system, "*Natur-philosophie*," the Philosophy of Nature.

The volume before us contains a most interesting biography of Schelling, from his birth in 1775 down to the year 1808, when he accepted a call from Würzburg as professor of philosophy. The work is edited by Dr Plitt, professor of theology at Erlangen. It was the intention of Fr. Schelling to have completed his edition of his father's works with a biography; but this intention was interrupted by his sudden death in 1864. A fragment of that biography, however, remains, and it is here inserted, occupying the first 179 pages. It extends over the period from Schelling's birth to the time of his entrance on his duties as professor at Jena in 1800. The remainder of the volume consists of Schelling's letters to his parents, and to Hegel, Fichte, A. W. Schlegel, Steffens, and other distinguished men of that period, together with their letters to him; the whole being skilfully interwoven when necessary with connecting narratives by the editor, so that the work partakes largely of the character of an autobiography, and admits the reader into intimate fellowship with Schelling and his contemporaries in the varied phases of their character. The letters give a remarkable insight into the times out of which such influences have come forth, not only over Germany, but over the whole field of intellectual activity during the present century.

The editor expects soon to issue the second volume, which will complete the work, which cannot fail to be highly appreciated by all who wish to gain an intimate acquaintance with the men of that

busy age, among whom Schelling held a conspicuous place. As Fichte began his career from the standpoint of Kant, so Schelling began his from that of Fichte, and Hegel from that of Schelling. The whole tendency of these philosophers was towards pantheism, and more and more intensely so till it culminated in the atheism of Hegel.

Ueber das Böse und Seine Folgen. Von HEINRICH RITTER. Gotha: F. A. Perthes. 1869. Pp. xxxv., 368.

While this work was passing through the press, the author died (3d Feb. 1869). It was completed under the supervision of Dr Peipers of Erlangen, who has issued it with a preface, in which he sets forth the origin and design of the book. The doctrine of sin and its consequences which is here discussed, was the favourite theme of the author. In all his works it had a place and an influence more or less prominent. Julius Müller ("Die christliche Lehre von der Sünde," a translation of which has been published by the Messrs Clark of Edinburgh) recognises only one source of evil, viz., selfishness (*selbstsucht*). He regards the highest moral precept, the real principle of good, as love to God. But the relation of man to God and to this highest precept is conditioned by the divine fact of the creation, and particularly by the salvation of man through the incarnation of the Logos. Evil as contrasted with good has as its real principle the estrangement of man from God. There is only one cause of evil, and that lies in the freedom of the will. To these views Ritter took exception, and in different ways he assailed Müller's position. Above all things he objected, that in Müller's definition of sin there was nothing positive. He held that evil as such never exists as an absolute opposition to good, but is always united to some good, and that every action we perform is a development of that which is implanted within us, and tends to the highest good as its last issue. The good action is a step towards this issue, the bad deed a step backwards, and betrays by its existence a twofold striving in man. The causes of this internal conflict are partly the want of power in the individual reason, and partly the dominance of passion. The work consists of thirty-two chapters, in which the different branches of the subject are described in a comprehensive and closely argumentative manner. The work is a valuable contribution to the study of Hama-tology, though we cannot say that the author has impressed us with the conclusiveness of his reasoning or the soundness of his views. He denies the doctrine of eternal punishment, and as a consequence, believes in a universal restoration. This will sufficiently indicate his tendency.

Das Recht der eignen Ueberzeugung. Von J. FROHSCHAMMER. Leipzig: Fues's Verlag. 1869. Pp. 231. London: Williams & Norgate.

The author of this work is one of the professors in the Roman Catholic University of Munich. He has already acquired a considerable reputation as the author of a work on "Christianity and Modern Science." The work above mentioned is a contribution to the solution of the problem, How the relation of the State and the Church

should be ordered in conformity with the opinions and the rights of modern society. The whole question of the "Right of Private Judgment" is here discussed, as viewed by an intelligent and able divine of the school of Munich, in the light of the remarkable movements of the present age. Students interested in the subject of the relation between church and state should by all means study this comprehensive and able treatise. There is a freshness and a clearness about it which cannot fail to aid materially in the discussion of the subject from our own point of view in this country. With many of the opinions here expressed, we cannot of course agree, yet the field may be profitably surveyed by the help of Frohschammer.

We may here also mention two other works having the same general tendency which have recently been issued from the Catholic press of Germany. We refer to Dr Pichler's "*Die Theologie des Leibnitz*," in two volumes, published at Munich, and to "*Die wahren Hindernisse und Grundbedingungen einer durchgreifenden Reform der katholischen kirche in Deutschland*," by the same author, just published at Leipzig. The former of these works is an elaborate and very successful attempt to exhibit from published and unpublished sources the opinions of the great German philosopher on such subjects as the church, creeds, confession, doctrines, and projects of union, &c. Pichler presents Leibnitz as the great model of a theologian, and regards his system as supplying the true foundation for a union between Catholicism and Protestantism, and the formation of a *German national church*. The Protestant philosopher and the Catholic theologian here agree. The reason of this agreement is, that Pichler has much sympathy with the Protestant spirit of the present day, and is a bitter enemy of the Romish system, as it develops itself in Ultramontanism, and particularly that he approves of Leibnitz's reduction of essential doctrines to the smallest number. In the second of his works named above, Dr Pichler deals with "the true hindrances to a radical reform of the Catholic church and the fundamental conditions on which it ought to be effected." The spirit of this work is the same as that which he displays in his work on the theology of Leibnitz,—longings after a union of Protestantism and Catholicism. He thinks the basis of union should comprehend but very few articles, and leave ample room for individual religious necessities and for the development of science. He moves, however, in the same line with the "Protestanten Verein" and the Rationalists of Germany. The Protestantism which has infused itself into his Catholicism, and is destructive of it, is not that which springs directly from a believing acceptance of the teachings of God's Word. Not much good is to be looked for in the meantime, we fear, from a movement such as that which Dr Pichler here represents, and which has of late become so powerful in Germany within the Catholic church, beyond the influence which it will undoubtedly exert toward the demolition of the whole fabric of Popish superstition, an event which seems to be in these days hastening rapidly onward.

XI.—FRENCH LITERATURE.

Social Questions.—Instruction and Morality of the Working Classes.

1. *Le Paupérisme and les Associations ouvrières en Europe suivis d'un Plan.* 1. De Société d'économie de consommation ; 2. De Société de prêt mutuel ; 3. De Société de production : des Status de la Banque d'avances de Delitzsch ; et de la loi française de 1867 sur les Sociétés. Par CH. D' ASSAILLY, ancien Ministre Plenipotentiaire. 2me Edition. Paris : Guillaumin. 1869.
2. *De l'Etat moral et intellectuel des populations ouvrières et de son influence sur le taux des Salaires.* Par PAUL LEROY-BEAULIEU. Ouvrage couronné par l'académie des sciences morales et politiques. Paris : Guillaumin. 1868.
3. *De l'Influence de l'Education sur la Moralité et le Bien-être des classes laborieuses.* Par A. P. DESEILLEIGNY, Membre du Conseil Général de Saone and Loire. Ouvrage ayant reçu de l'Académie des sciences morales et politiques la récompense de 8000 francs, dans le concours du prix Beaujour. Paris : Hachette. 1868.
4. *Conférences sur les Sociétés Co-opératives de Production, de Consommation, et de Crédit.* Par J. DUVAL, Professeur d'Economie Politique. Paris : Hachette. 1867.

Times and manners have altered since the days when St Louis regulated the functions of each handicraft, in these words, "Every one shall have his own handicraft, and nothing but his handicraft, in order that there be no cheaters." In this way the manufactures were good, and labour was protected from the exactions of the strong. But everything is liable to abuse, and the corporations did not escape the general law. Every trade came to be subjected to oppressive regulations,—the nature and quality of the material, the width and length of the web, the number of threads in the woof, the manner of dyeing, and even the assortment of the colours. Each handicraft was penned up,—divided like the provinces in a kingdom. Thus the hatters had their five provinces (four handicrafts) ; one handicraft had to do with felt hats only, another with cotton hats, &c. Woe to the tailor who mended old clothes, or to the broker who sold new ones. Woe to the woman who embroidered,—“this power belonged to the bearded gentry.” Every new invention had to receive the approbation of the *jurande* or jury. Quinquet, the inventor of the lamp which bears his name, was fined for having improved it without informing the competent tribunal.

The middle ages lasted long in France : these abuses were still in existence rather more than half a century ago. But how changed is the condition of the tradespeople now ! *Crèches*,* infant and other

* Such is the name given to establishments where poor women, going to their day's work, may deposit their infants till evening. They are attended to by sisters of mercy. The name *Crèches*, or mangers, is an allusion to the infancy of the Saviour.

schools, gratuitous medical attendance for the indigent, &c., have been provided, but the best thing that has been done is the creation of savings banks and mutual aid societies, "which are," says M. d'Assailly, "the true savings banks, with fraternity besides." Friendly societies had been established in England several years before there were any in France. In fact, M. de Gerando wrote, in 1836, in his work upon Public Beneficence, "Paris does not even possess five mutual aid societies which have been above forty years in existence." In 1852, France possessed 2,488 mutual aid societies, comprising 271,000 members.

In every other part of Europe, these societies have been allowed to retain their purely philanthropic character. But, unfortunately, in France the Government has tried to transform them into an administrative machine. In order to get control over them, in 1852 it took them under its protection, and made them a grant of 10,000,000 frs. But, as a condition of its approval, it took at the same time the right of choosing their presidents from them. "The identification of the funds of the mutual aid societies," says our author, "with the finances of the State, is not without its inconveniences, in a country so often exposed to political crises. . . . According to the last report (1st January 1869), there were only 1,702 societies not approved by the Government, against 4,127 approved. Upon the 862,000 members, 112,000 were honorary members. The general property was 46,310,000 frs. (£1,852,400).

For some years past political economy has been exercising itself in three new fields, and has created producing societies (*Sociétés de Production*), mutual loan societies (*Sociétés de prêt Mutuel*), and societies for economising upon consumption (*Sociétés d'Economie de Consommation*). The delegates from the working men at the Exhibition of 1867, specified in their report the advantages they hope to gain from these three sorts of aid: "By the producing societies, we hope to reap the fruits of our labour ourselves; by the economical societies, we shall secure more comforts for our families, at a lower rate; by the mutual loan societies, we shall escape from usurers."

Notwithstanding these generous aspirations, France is still far behind Great Britain, particularly in regard to the application of the ideas. In spite of the noble example given by M. de Madre in Paris the creation of the *cité's ouvrières* at Mulhausen by Jean Dolfus, the personal encouragement of the Emperor, and the improved sanitary condition of the dwellings of the working classes at Lille, Rouen, Rheims, St Quentin, France is yet far from attaining the 2000 buying and building societies, with their 200,000 members, of which England can boast. Political agitation is the great culprit in France. The workmen have never yet been able to distinguish questions belonging to the workshop from those belonging to the Forum, and the jealousy of the authorities has only augmented the confusion. In certain cases, even agricultural boards have not found grace in the eyes of the prefects, and the central societies of certain departments have been for thirty years obliged to endure an official president. The parties did not understand the advantages of the associations any better than the State did; the conservatives were

not more favourable to the workmen than the Government. After the insurrection of 1849, as well as after the *coup d'état* in 1852, all the working men's associations in Paris and Lyons disappeared under the anathema of the authorities. In 1867, a law was proposed tending to diminish the obstacles in the way of these societies. The inquest occupied ten sittings.

We shall just throw a hurried glance over the history of these societies. At Lyons, in 1848, the working men's families clubbed together to buy alimentary provisions at wholesale prices; associations were then formed. All these were suppressed, and forced to liquidate their affairs, in 1851 and 1852, by military authority.*

Elsewhere the working classes were scarcely more fortunate. In the department of Isère, at Beauregard, they could not succeed in establishing a farm and a manufacture, but the company was able to indemnify itself by founding a *Société de Consommation* at Vienne. In the first case, experience had been in default. Our author therefore ardently solicits the co-operation of men accustomed to business, who have leisure and means, were it only as managers and cashiers.

But to return to the *Sociétés de Consommation*. In 1855, the Orleans Railway Company established alimentary stores at Orleans, Tours, and Bordeaux, and, in 1865, at Périgueux, for the use of their workmen and their families. The economy over the ordinary retail prices is from 14 to 20 per cent. upon an average; in some places, and for some articles, it may rise as high as from 40 to 50 per cent.* Another important creation of this company is an eating-house at Ivry-Paris for its workmen. A thousand of its employés go there every day to get their three meals. They may take food home with them for their families. Vegetable and meat soup, veal or mutton done up with fresh or dried vegetables, fish, pork, cheese, eggs, &c., are given out at each meal. All these articles, according to the season, can be distributed in portions not exceeding 1d. each. The wine, brought direct from the wine districts, is given at 12 c. (1½d.) the quarter of a litre. A meal, composed of bread, wine, soup, meat, vegetables, is given at the price of 47 c. (4½d.)" (*Rapport de la compagnie du chemin de fer d'Orleans* 1866). Besides this, the Company possesses a clothing-store, created in 1856. The clothing is in great part made by the workmen's wives and daughters. The sale of

* The *Travailleurs unis* had procured a tun of oil in 1848. Two years later, this society was composed of 2,500 members. They paid 1d. per week, and with this modest sum they had been able to form seven groceries, three bakehouses, two butchers' shops, wine and coal stores, and to bring up the sum of their annual operations to a million frs.—£40,000. It was upon this association that Marshal Castellane laid his ban in 1851.—See *Le mouvement co-opératif à Lyon*. Par E. Flotard. 1869.

† M. Cochin, the administrator of the Orleans Railway, gave the following facts at the inquest which was held in 1865:—As regards fuel, the economy over the ordinary retail prices is,—45 per cent. upon wood, 64 per cent. upon charcoal, 43 per cent. upon coal, 75 per cent. upon bundles of small sticks; as regards aliments,—100 per cent. upon salt herrings, 127 per cent. upon smoked hams, 56 per cent. upon potatoes, 66 per cent. upon salt meat, 115 per cent. upon salt, 62 per cent. upon vinegar, 33 per cent. upon wine. It was necessary to have special bottles made to contain exactly a litre.

the articles,—shoes, bedding, &c.,—is at 80 per cent. below the usual rate. The Company employs 14,000 workmen, and enables each of them to economise not less than 100 frs. (£4) annually upon their food and clothing. With regard to Paris, things are rather on a different footing. “In Paris,” says M. d’Assailly, “industry, on a small scale, predominates. The census of 1861 shews that, out of 101,171 manufacturers, only 7,492 employed above ten workmen; 80,580 employed each from two to ten workmen; the immense majority, 62,199, worked alone, or with a single workman. In regard to this majority, the distance that separates the workman from his master is ill-defined and easily overstepped. An active, intelligent workman will soon get an apprentice in turn. The *Société de Production*, difficult to realise elsewhere, would almost seem to constitute itself naturally here. Yet, in 1868, along with 100 mutual loan societies, and 12 *Sociétés de Consommation*, there were only 55 *Sociétés de Production* in Paris, all applied to industry in detail, without reckoning a single manufacture.

In the departments, the proportion of *Sociétés de Production* is far from reaching so high a figure. Paris excepted, the figure is only 80 for the whole of France. Lyons, which possesses 27 *Sociétés de Consommation*, and 5 Mutual Loan Societies, has only 5 *Sociétés de Production*. “Statisticians would require to specify the precise meaning of this last word, which is often employed in a vague manner, and to cease confounding store dépôts with bazaars hired for the sale of objects made by isolated workmen, whose relations are confined to the juxta-position of their products.”—P. 93.

In France the working-men are particularly partial to the *Société de Production*. They see that it is a means of elevating their position (for they will have their share of authority) and of increasing their comfort (for they will have a share of the profits of the masters). But there are also many obstacles as regards the working-man: “A less direct private interest, and consequently less energy in the work, contestations among the partners, want of discipline, difficulties in the management, relating to the opportuneness of the extension or restriction of the manufactures and the sale of the products; difficulties not less serious as to the formation of capital, the stock of tools and the installation of workshops. The co-operative workshop, say the workmen, renders the salaries (guaranteed under the rules of the workshop) uncertain. The contractor alone has sufficient resources to make head against the sudden falls in prices, and to continue momentarily working at a loss. His position, his relations, give him that knowledge of the home and foreign markets which is indispensable. The success of the collective workshop requires choice men; it supposes besides, that these men will always be willing to subject themselves to the unity of direction. They are thus forced to end in having a sort of elective master, of all masters the most difficult to institute, to support, and to maintain.”*

* See the Slaters’ Report—Delegation of working-men to the Exhibition of 1867.

The partisans of the *Sociétés de Productions* answer that instruction will form the workmen as soon as it is more spread; that the prospect of becoming master will stimulate their zeal; and that capital will be guaranteed by the mutual loan banks. It may be so, but as industry on a large scale permits the manufacturers to buy wholesale, the competition will always be terrible for the working-men. This explains why the number of associations in Germany was only forty-nine in 1867. In Paris the society of *labouring masons* has succeeded, but the speciality of the trade perhaps explains its success; the mason transports his building yard everywhere and installs his workshop nowhere. "It is a restricted oligarchy which takes numerous auxiliaries into its pay, but gives them no part either in the direction or in the profits" (p. 92).

Whatever be the case in regard to these barriers to associations, our author thinks that more terrible ones are coming down. Socialism, he says, is losing its prestige over the masses every day. They no longer look upon the state as a terrestrial providence, but walk rather in the steps of the Rochdale pioneers.*

"We aspire after greater comfort," say they, "not merely in order to procure material satisfaction for ourselves and our families, but principally in order to secure the means of completing our instruction. . . . Our statutes ought to repress whatever tends to throw discredit on the association."† This noble aim is generally felt: "Our Lyonese societies," says M. Flotard, in the inquest of 1866 already quoted, "not only aim at lowering the price of the necessities of life and facilitating the conditions of loans by united and vigorous action, but they pursue an intellectual and moral aim."

M. d'Assailly mentions a trait which it gives us pleasure to repeat. Professor Laboulaye lately received a deputation of working-men at his house: "Sir," said they. . . . "we have bought a little library out of our savings; we wish to enlarge it, and to have your advice so as to choose our books well." They then shewed him a list of their books; there were several among them belonging to the eighteenth century, of doubtful morality. "These books," said they, "we bought in our younger days, but we have laid them aside, for we should blush to put them into the hands of our sons; help us to give them and ourselves moral instruction." A few days later, the wives of these workmen came to ask the professor to choose some religious books for them.

In order to encourage these excellent dispositions, an establishment was opened some time ago on the Boulevard du Mont Parnasse in Paris. It contains a library, a reading-room, an art museum, a billiard and music-room, and a refectory. Twice a week, scien-

* Gladly would we subscribe the foregoing opinion, but, in face of the progress of the *International Society*, the workmen's league against capital, and the project of a vast *Representation* of the working-classes such as is being organised in Belgium, a representation which is to ignore that of the nation assembled in parliament, we much fear that the socialists, though they have repudiated the utopian projects of St Simon, Fourier, Cabet, &c., are only the more ardent in their efforts to proselytise, and are continuing to gain ground.

† *Sociétés co-opératives* by Jules Duval.

tific and literary lectures are given here; and there are annexed to it a savings bank which gives 5 per cent., and a *Société de Consommation* for buying tools and clothing. This noble institution is due to one citizen who has bought the ground and organised the association.* Before taking leave of our author, we shall give some details concerning the study of political economy in France.

Socialism, we have stated, under one form or another, continues to infuse its baneful influence slowly but surely among the masses. And these masses are, in general, ignorant of the first principles of political economy. The government has begun to take this into consideration, and the Minister of Public Instruction has declared, that from this time forward "the elementary notions of political economy shall form part of the *special higher branches* of instruction:" thus, for the last two years, examinations for degrees have included the usual legislation, agricultural, industrial, and commercial economy, the institution of credit, &c.†

In Paris there are four professors of political economy. In 1867 courses of lectures were opened at Nancy, Grenoble, and Toulouse. At Lyons the chamber of commerce has created a chair at its own expense. Two professors lecture in the industrial towns of the North and East. And, lastly, the higher branches of instruction include the agricultural, industrial, commercial, and administrative geography of France; the elementary history of industrial inventions; rural, industrial, and commercial economy; working-men's associations; and, in short, the relations between morality and political economy. Such is the plan traced by M. Duruy, former minister of public instruction (Official programme, &c., pp. 187, 189). May it succeed in conquering socialism; for socialism, as Lamartine said, is the *plague*.

The working-men's congresses have brought to light very dark spots in the social body. The workmen laying down the law to the manufacturers, the extortion of capital, the undue raising of the price of labour, and the diminishing of its length, the making of strikes a *tomahawk* to be brandished in the face of industrial civilisation—such are some of the dangers; and they are not to be lightly treated, for the working-classes are a force with which it would be madness and injustice not to count. They form the fourth, or even more, of the population in France. In 1866 there were 5,574,818 men, and 5,884,278 women living directly or indirectly by trade; in all, 10,989,091 persons.

But we must pass on to another author. In 1868 the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences offered a prize for the best essay upon

* At Berlin, in the Sophien-Strasse, there is a fine edifice open every evening, with a garden, games of skill, a library, and special lectures, where the workmen can listen to men such as Engel, Virchow, Twiestera. The wives of the workmen are admitted once a week to lectures of a more general kind. It is by means of a monthly contribution of 3 silber groschens (4d.) that the members of the association have created this institution, the teaching of which is reckoned equal to that of the best commercial and scientific schools. In seven years, from 1860 to 1867, 70,000 apprentices, from all parts of Germany, had come to Berlin for instruction (p. 102).

† "Statistique de l'enseignement supérieur," 1865-68.

the following subject :—"The influence of the moral and intellectual state of the working-classes upon the rate of wages"—a problem simple in appearance, but in reality difficult to answer, and one which cannot be thrown aside, considering the place that the question of wages occupies in the public mind at the present time. Has the intellectual and moral state of the workman any influence upon the wages he earns?

In order to clear up this point, the author enumerates facts tending to overthrow the laws proclaimed by the English school from Ricardo downwards to Stuart Mill, namely, that the rate of wages is in direct ratio to capital, and in inverse ratio to the population. This theory reposes on very simple data. If capital increases faster than population, wages rise : if population increases faster than capital, wages fall : if population and capital occupy the same level, wages do not change. These are generalities and abstractions with which particular cases come into collision. Is there no way for the working-man to modify his financial position but by his savings? They are so small that it would take years for them to acquire any kind of solidity. Until this takes place, must he remain rivetted to an immutable condition? Or must he fall back upon the hope of seeing the number of those gaining their bread by their labour diminished? In that case, he must reckon with time, with generations, and hope that they may decrease in order that wages may rise. This is a means against nature, and one that may even lead to immorality. Wages, according to our author, ought not to depend, first and foremost, upon population and capital. For what is capital? According to one economist, it is the general riches of a country in moveable and landed property; according to another, it is the circulating part of a nation's fortune; while a third holds, that capital is merely that part of the public fortune which is destined to provide the merchandise to be used up by the labouring classes.

During the first forty years of our century, political economy did not get beyond these definitions. "But," asks our author, "are not morality and instruction also capital? Does not the well-behaved, zealous, well-instructed, skilful workman possess, in this good behaviour, zeal, instruction, and skill, an accumulating capital, susceptible of developing the social manufactures, and of giving a personal remuneration? Michel Chevalier and Wolowski have affirmed that such is the case. These eminent economists hold that man is an *accumulating capital*. The intellect is an instrument. 'The head directs the arm, and the intellect is the first of tools'" (*Michel Chevalier*). If morality and instruction are capital, then this capital must necessarily have an influence on the rate of wages; and the workman will be able to raise his position, not merely by abstinence and moral restraint (supposing this last means admissible), but by the voluntary development of all his faculties, natural, moral, and intellectual. Society has nothing to fear from working-men educated on these principles; and even Ricardo and M'Culloch could not have found any antagonism between labour and capital viewed in this light.

Having laid down these premises, the author goes on to demonstrate that instruction and morality ought to go together because of their

good understanding, and the means they mutually furnish to each. He then treats, in a clear and practical manner, of energy and assiduity in work, of probity and sobriety, of population, and of morality.*

Among the means indicated for raising the level of morality among the working-classes, the author mentions elementary instruction, in which he classes drawing, and particularly music, domestic economy, hygiene, &c. He does not even seem to suspect that the religion of the gospel may be a means of moral regeneration, at least he gives no indication of it. He pleads, notwithstanding, in favour of the observance (not the sanctification) of the Lord's day: "Waste of strength, expense of fuel and oversight, ought to be avoided"—such are the reasons he gives for resting on a fixed day." Compare the industrial situation of a Protestant country like Scotland, where the Sabbath is observed with scrupulous minuteness, with that of a country half sceptic, half indifferent, like France, where the workmen take any day they choose for their pleasure, and you will find, by an exact analysis, that from this cause alone, there is an element of superiority quite notable in favour of Scottish manufactures over French ones." This testimony is worthy of note, coming, as it does, from the pen of a man who understands so little of the spirit of a day set apart for worship, that he nearly confines the use of it to two hours for riding or fencing for the sedentary student, and two hours of reading, drawing, and music for the working-man (p. 77).

We close our remarks on this book by quoting the opinion of M. Hippolyte Passy, in his report upon it, read before the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences:—"The author has drawn his information from all sources hitherto known; and there are none out of which he has not brought much light. . . . He had to examine and demonstrate what influence this degree of instruction possessed by the workman can exercise upon the manual labour he performs; and in surveying a field hitherto but little explored, he has gathered a good number of observations incontestably valuable. The most enlightened men did not doubt that every amelioration of the intellectual and moral state of the people would prepare the way for, and finally succeed in, raising the rate of wages. The author has pursued the demonstration of this truth with praiseworthy ardour, and has succeeded in placing it in full and complete evidence" (p. 26). We may add, that M. Passy, who is a good judge in such matters, has not allowed M. Leroy-Beaulieu's opinion upon the system of Malthus to pass in a form so absolute as the author has given it. "The law of Malthus," says M. Leroy-Beaulieu, "is, theoretically speaking, incontestably true; but contemporaneous experience and facts prove that it does not apply to France, at least not in the present state of the public mind." "But it would be strange," replies M. Passy, "were this law, theoretically speaking, incontestably true, that it should be contradicted by facts in a country of vast extent, containing nearly 40,000,000 of inhabitants.

* M. Leroy-Beaulieu gives his opinion against large families among working people, and against marriages under thirty,—not at all from a moral point of view, however, but merely as regards work and wages.

In face of such an anomaly, it appears to us, that the author ought to have conceived some doubts, and examined a little more closely. He would thus have seen that the law of Malthus reposes upon two affirmations : the one exact, as regards the relation of the whole population to unengaged capital ; the other erroneous, as regards the numerical development of the population. If it be true, as Malthus supposed, that the human race tends naturally to multiply faster than the means of subsistence, which it wrenches from the soil, it could never have raised itself out of its primitive barbarism. Vainly would successive discoveries have added to the efficacy of its efforts ; every new resource would have been totally consumed by generations whose increase would have been still more rapid. . . . The author has demonstrated that in France savings and riches are being amassed more rapidly than the population is increasing. He might have demonstrated that things are going on in the same way in all known countries ; and also, that such has ever been their general and regular march, not only in Europe, but all over the globe. Not but what this march has been liable to interruption ; still, it is only in places, and at times when society, having become the victim of the violence of brute force, or having fallen under the yoke of oppressive laws, has become incapable of preserving all its former activity, or of realising new industrial conquests" (18).

Thus we see that both the foregoing authors propose the instruction of the working-classes as the great panacea to all the evils of the present social state, but neither of them lay down religious instruction as the basis of the morality and well-being of those in whom they are interested.

This brings us to M. Desseilligny's book, which is worth our attention, from the fact, that deeply imbued with the necessity of extending elementary instruction to every grade of society, he also holds that to be of any real use it must be founded on a religious basis. He is very impartial in his appreciation, and quite ready to allow the superiority of the instruction of Protestant countries over that of the Roman Catholic ones.

In Prussia he admires the preponderance given to the religious element in the national schools. "From the time," says he, "when the Reformation suppressed the greatest part of the exterior rites of worship, and the reading of the Bible became the principal form of religious practice, those who were unable to read fell out, not only of the current of progress, but also of religion. Therefore Luther and all the great founders of Protestantism were zealous promoters of instruction. . . . Under the laws of the Prussian monarchy, education became extended to the Roman Catholic provinces, and now that its work is done, we see that it has not been confined to the formation of religious mind, it has also formed men, so that when the German nation was called to appear on the great theatre of European politics, it was found to be on a level with the most advanced nations, and the efficacy of the system under which it has been for more than two centuries, was made evident" (pp. 10, 11).

In the eighteenth century, Frederic the Great drew up a set of regulations which are still in vigour, and which may be summed up in

these words: compulsory education; penalties imposed on parents not sending their children to school; obligation imposed upon every commune to have elementary schools, to which the towns are required to add burgess schools. In drawing up these regulations, Frederic did not act in his quality of a philosopher, and the friend of Voltaire, "but as king of a Protestant country, and deeply imbued with the necessity of religion."*

We cannot follow the author in his review of the education of the other countries of Europe, but must be satisfied with a few words upon the Dutch system, and a remark or two upon England and Scotland.

About the end of last century, Holland, like most other countries, was not very far advanced in regard to the instruction of the people. Twenty years sufficed to produce a complete revolution. The initiative of the movement is due to John Newenhuysen, a Baptist minister of North Holland. In 1784, when he founded the association for the *public good*, the children whose parents were not registered as members of a church, could not attend any school, and the masters, left entirely without control, often gave examples of gross ignorance. The association circulated elementary and other useful school books, and established model schools. The Government, by degrees, adopted the new principle. In 1806, M. Van den Ende proposed and carried a short and simple law by which the Government adopted the schools already in existence, and laid down two principles, namely, the preliminary examination of the teachers, and the inspection of the schools. Religious toleration was at the basis of this organisation. M. Cousin, after what he had seen in Germany, was led to doubt the perfection of a popular institution which was neither wholly secular nor wholly religious, and yet he noticed with satisfaction, Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Jewish children, sitting side by side in the schools of Amsterdam, The Hague, Rotterdam, and receiving the same instruction without any manifestations of religious animosity. In 1862 it was found that only 21,000 children in the whole country were deprived of the benefits of education.

It would seem that there could be nothing to change in a system so flourishing, but, as early as 1848, the Romish party, emboldened by the ideas of liberty that were at that time making the round of Europe,

* The celebrated philosopher, Victor Cousin, in his Report upon education in Germany in 1833, wrote to the Minister of Public Instruction in France, in speaking of the Bible, the Catechism, and the sacred history: "These three books form the basis of popular instruction here, and every wise man will rejoice in it; for there is no other source of morality for mankind but religion. The great religious monuments of a people are its reading books. . . . I am not ignorant, Monsieur le Ministre, that these counsels will sound ill in the ears of more than one person, and that in Paris I will be found very superstitious, but I am writing you from Berlin and not from Rome. He who speaks thus is a philosopher formerly in bad odour with the priesthood, by whom he has even been persecuted; but this philosopher has a heart superior to the insults of which he has been the object, and he knows humanity and history too well not to regard religion as an indestructible power, and Christianity properly taught, as a necessary support for the individuals upon whom society imposes painful and humble functions, without the prospect of fortune, or the consolation of self-interest" (p. 137).

complained that the spirit of religious neutrality had been violated, and that by little and little Protestantism, which is in preponderance all over Holland, had extended its influence to the schools. In 1857, the question came before the houses of parliament, and, in a memorable series of debates, M. Groen Van Prinsterer, one of the most remarkable men in Holland, says our author, maintained the union of religion and education. "No education without religion," said he, "no religion without the adoption of a religious community, else you fall into a vague deism which is only the first step to atheism." "Education ought to be common to all: without distinction of sects," said his opponents; the school, like the State, ought to take no side in religion." Roman Catholics, Dissenters, Jews, Rationalists of the university of Groningen, in short, the whole liberal party, adopted these principles, which triumphed. The law declares, "That the object of elementary instruction is to develop the reason of the young, and to form it to the exercise of all Christian and social virtues." As was to be expected, these rather vague expressions pleased no party, there was not enough for the Protestant conservatives, and too much for the liberals, who wished to see every religious expression eliminated from the law upon instruction. It was too much for the Romanists also, who were afraid of the abuse which a zealous Protestant master might make of it, in speaking of Christianity to Roman Catholic children (p. 53). The principle of obligatory instruction was not adopted, and the voluntary system has proved quite successful. If we have lingered rather long over these debates, it is because, as our author remarks, "They are full of interest for the solution of the difficult problem which is at the present moment agitating England and Germany."

While reviewing with pleasure the degree of development to which elementary instruction has attained in some districts in England, M. Deseilligny deplores its very great inferiority in others: "Are we to conclude," says he, "that, contrary to what we have seen in Holland, obligatory attendance at school is alone powerful enough to enable elementary instruction to make rapid progress? Ought we not rather to say, that this insufficiency in the results is the consequence of the very peculiar system pursued in England, of the absence of a central authority, and a consequent unity of effort? I am tempted to think so" (p. 65). On the subject of the Ragged Schools (the appellation of which the author finds fault with, as conveying an idea of degradation), he thus expresses himself: "We see with regret this division, which puts the children of parents in easy circumstances on one side, and the children of the poor and vagabonds on the other, unfortunately it would appear to be necessary; but we cannot help feeling that there is something amiss with the civilisation here; we remember the German and Swiss schools to which all the children are required to come, and where the only difference between them is, that the children belonging to families whose means are small, receive their education gratis" (p. 66).

As for Scotland the author quotes with great praise the principle which is at the basis of the national education, and the act of parliament of 1567 granting the clergy the right of inspection over the

schoolmasters; and he applauds the statute of 1638, authorising a special tax for the schools. At the same time, judging from the Commissioners' Report, he thinks that much remains to be done in the large towns, especially in Glasgow.

He is right; efforts need to be made everywhere and by all. "Give me education for a century," Leibnitz used to say, "and I will change the face of the world." Is a century enough? Whether or not, let us work.

C. de F.

XII.—AMERICAN LITERATURE.

The Bibliotheca Sacra. Andover. January 1870.

This quarterly was established twenty-seven years ago. The aim of its founders was to make it a Journal, "which should embody the results of profound thought, and the most thorough investigations in theology, philosophy, and biblical literature," and such, in a good degree, the *Bibliotheca Sacra* has been. The present No. contains the following articles: 1. On "The Incarnation" which presents a comprehensive, and acute critical exposition of the different views that have been entertained on the subject, and a vindication of the doctrine. 2. Dr Barrows continues his papers on Revelation and Inspiration. He presents here the fifth of the series. The subject of it is "The Credibility of the Gospel Narratives." This is an able discussion of the subject in opposition to the views of Renan and others, who have rejected the Gospel narratives as plain statements of facts, on the ground that no supernatural events such as the Gospels record, can happen, and therefore that no such event can be authenticated. The paper exhibits a beautiful portrait of the character of Christ as it is described in the Gospels. 3. "The Human Intellect" by Professor Bascom. The article is a review of Dr Porter's (of Yale College) recent work on the same subject. The writer maintains, in opposition to Dr Porter, that consciousness is not a power of mind; not a distinct act or power of mind, but the intuitive, regulative idea, the inseparable condition of mental phenomena, and that sensations and perceptions are purely subjective, and are made the mediums and conditions of a complete knowledge of the external world. The writer also maintains that the inductive and deductive processes of reasoning are radically different, and spring respectively from the form of knowledge due to observation and intuition, in opposition to Dr Porter, who makes the two to rest in their final analyses on the same basis. We have no room to notice the views taken by the writer on the subject of Intuition as opposed to those of Professor Porter, but would recommend the whole article as well worthy of the perusal of all interested in mental philosophy. 4. The fourth article is on "The Progress of Truth Dependent on Correct Interpretation." It is a

discourse which was delivered by Dr Sweetser before a convention of Congregational ministers at Boston. 5. Dr Macdonald of Princeton is the writer of the next paper, on "Bethesda and its Miracles." He gives first a historico-geographical account of the pool of Siloam, which he identifies with ancient Bethesda, and then he treats of the miracles our Lord wrought upon the impotent man there. He rejects the passage (John v. 8, 4.) beginning with the words, "waiting for the moving of the waters," to the end of the 4th verse as spurious. This he does on the authority of the best critics of the original text, and some of the ablest modern expositors. 6. The article on "The Doctrine of the Apostles" based on Messner's "Lehre der Apostel," is here concluded. 7. The seventh article discusses "Recent Theories on the Origin of Language." This is followed by minor papers, on "Assyrian Studies," and on "The Topography of Jerusalem." This Journal does not contain anything like so full a supply of "Notices of Books" as does the *Princeton*, which perhaps exceeds due bounds in this department.

The Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review. New York. January 1870.

Our excellent Transatlantic contemporary presents eight readable Articles of varying interest in this No. The first treats of the "History and Liberation of Civil Service Reform" as found in the experiences of Roman, and Mediæval, and Modern governments. The article is based on Durand's "Des offices considérés au point de vue des Transactions Privées et des Intérêts de l'Etat," published at Paris in 1868. The second paper is on "The early regeneration of Sabbath-school children"—a most important practical subject treated in an earnest intelligent spirit. Next is a review of "The Life of Dr Samuel Miller," for nearly forty years second professor in the Theological Seminary at Princeton. He was "one of the commanding spirits of the day, one of the greater lights of the American Church." "What the Greeks thought of the religion of the Jews" is the subject of the next article, being a fragment translated from the "Moralia" of Plutarch from the version of the Abbé Ricard. The fifth article is a review of the Duke of Argyle's "Reign of Law." The "Law" which controls the course of nature, and the operations of the mind of man, his Grace regards as absolute, binding together the whole universe in the relation of cause and effect, as in a chain of necessity which is never broken even by the power of the Deity himself. He discards the word "supernatural," and would define a miracle as the work of superhuman power acting in strict accordance with natural laws. He extends the bounds of the natural so as to include within it whatever is essential to the being of a personal, wise, powerful, and all-controlling God. The reviewer has produced an admirable paper shewing the value of this hypothesis, and at the same time bringing out its defects. The question of the relation between science and revelation is ably discussed. There follow two articles bearing on the recent union of the two branches of the Presbyterian Church in America. In the first of these there is a record, from which we have given an extract below, of

the *Proceedings of the two Assemblies* which met at Pittsburg, on 10th Nov. of last year, when the union was consummated. The action of these assemblies will henceforth hold a conspicuous place in the history of Christianity in America. The second of these articles referred to, contains some judicious and important observations on the responsibilities now lying on the united church—"The Presbyterian Church—its position and work." We may quote from it a sentence or two.—"The union has brought into one organisation the largest body of Presbyterians in the world, which, when thoroughly compacted together with buoyant energies and bright anticipations, can do much for the enlargement of its borders. It embraces 4582 ordained ministers and licentiates, 4371 churches, and 431,463 communicants. In sympathy with this church, or brought under its influences, are at least two millions of people."—"The creed is intact. No revision of its statements, no lowering of its doctrines, no drifting from old landmarks have been proposed. 'The Confession of Faith shall continue to be sincerely received and adopted, as containing the system of doctrine taught in the Holy Scriptures,' is the basis which brought the two branches together, and nothing less than this could ever have effected the union—our creed remains the same. It is not toned down to gratify the wishes of any assailant, nor enlarged to guard against or meet every conceivable error. It sets forth no new opinions, it enters into no new domain of thought or speculation."

This No. contains also an interesting account of "The Life of Joseph Addison Alexander, D.D." Professor of Theology at Princeton. The biography on which the article has been based, has just been published in New York, in two volumes. The writer of the article, who is, we believe, Dr Hodge, says, "Dr Alexander was ours; our friend; our colleague; our *decus et tutamen*. He was a Princeton man; and the *Princeton Review* cannot refrain from placing its chaplet, though withered and tear-bedewed, upon his grave. His memory is loved, revered, and cherished here as it can be nowhere else." He is chiefly known in this country as the author of commentaries on Isaiah, on the Psalms, on the Acts of the Apostles, on the Gospel of Mark, and on the first sixteen chapters of Matthew, which evince great learning, profound scholarship, and remarkable power of analysis. As a commentator his method resembles that of Grotius rather than that of Calvin, he is verbal rather than doctrinal, he deals with the text and the context rather than with the truths taught by the sacred writers.

Consummation of the Presbyterian Re-union in the United States.

We make no apology for transferring to our columns the following account of the consummation of the Presbyterian re-union in the United States, from the last number of the *Princeton Review*. The consummation of a union, so large in its scale, so harmonious in its result, so satisfactory to the friends of truth, and so fraught with the promise of future good, is as delightful as it is marvellous, and presents a scene which has seldom been witnessed in the history of the church. We may safely venture to predict that, in this auspicious event, we see the

commencement of a new era in the annals of Presbyterianism on either side of the Atlantic, and throughout the world :—

“Early on the first day of the session, both Assemblies referred all matters concerning re-union to the joint committee, who arranged the plan of union last sent down to, and approved by, the Presbyteries. The stated clerk of the Old School Assembly reported :— ‘We have thus *one hundred and forty-four Presbyteries*. One hundred and twenty-eight of these have answered the overture sent down affirmatively in writing. Three—Hudson, Rio de Janeiro, and West Lexington—have answered in the negative. Fifty-eight have been unanimous in the vote. Not including Presbyteries in which the divided vote is not specified in the answers, and those in which the want of unanimity is expressed only by a *non liquet* and ‘excused from voting,’ there may be counted two hundred and forty-five negative votes detailed in these returns, and distributed among sixty Presbyteries, and in about equal proportion of ministers and ruling elders. The Presbytery of Nassau has reported a formal protest along with the detail of negative votes.’

“The stated clerk of the New School Assembly reported that,— ‘The number of Presbyteries connected with this General Assembly is one hundred and thirteen. Official responses have been received from every one of them. They have *all answered the overture in the affirmative*. In each of the Presbyteries of Albany, Millsboro, and the District of Columbia, a single negative vote was cast. In each of the remaining one hundred and ten Presbyteries, the vote was *unanimous*. Respectfully submitted.’

“EDWIN F. HATFIELD, Stated Clerk.

“PITTSBURG, November 10. 1869.”

REPORT FROM RE-UNION COMMITTEE.

“Elder Henry Day, Secretary of the Joint Committee of Conference on Re-union, submitted the following report from the Committee :— ‘The Joint Committee of Conference on Re-union met on the 10th of November, 1869, in the lecture room of the First Presbyterian Church.

“The following resolutions and plans of procedure for the consummation of the re-union of the churches, were adopted, and recommended as proper to be passed by the respective Assemblies :—

“1. That each Assembly should declare the vote of the Presbyteries in the following language :—

“This Assembly having received and examined the statements of the several Presbyteries on the basis of re-union of the two bodies now claiming the name and rights of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, which basis is in the words following :—

“‘The re-union shall be effected on the doctrinal and ecclesiastical basis of our common standards. The Scriptures of the Old and New Testament shall be acknowledged to be the inspired word of God, and the only infallible rule of faith and practice. The Confession of Faith shall continue to be sincerely received and adopted, as containing the system of doctrine taught in the Holy Scriptures, and the government and discipline of the Presbyterian Church in the United States shall be approved as containing the principles and rules of our polity ;’

“Do hereby find and declare that the said basis of re-union has been

approved by more than two-thirds of the Presbyteries connected with this branch of the church.

“And, whereas, the other branch of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, now sitting in the Third Presbyterian Church, in the city of Pittsburg, has reported to this Assembly that said basis has been approved by more than two-thirds of the Presbyteries connected with that branch of the church; now, therefore, we do solemnly declare that said basis of re-union is of binding force.”

[Here follow some preliminary arrangements.]

“All other business having been concluded, the Assemblies met, in conformity to the plan proposed by the Committee of Arrangements, on Friday morning, Nov. 12th, at 9 A.M. Committees were sent from each body to the other, to announce from each to each the votes of the Presbyteries on the Re-union overture, and its full ratification in each body. Then, in each Assembly, the following resolution was adopted by a unanimous and rising vote:—

‘Whereas, This Assembly, having received and examined the statement of the votes of the several Presbyteries on the basis of the Re-union of the two branches now claiming the name and the rights of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, which basis is in the words following:—‘The Union shall be effected on the doctrinal and ecclesiastical basis of our common standards; the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments shall be acknowledged to be the inspired word of God, and the only infallible rule of faith and practice; the Confession of Faith shall continue to be sincerely received and adopted, as containing the system of doctrine taught in the Holy Scriptures; and the government and discipline of the Presbyterian Church in the United States shall be approved, as containing the principles and rules of our polity’—does hereby find and declare that said basis of union has been approved by more than two-thirds of the Presbyteries connected with this branch of the church.

‘And whereas, The other branch of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, now sitting in the Third Presbyterian Church in the city of Pittsburg, has reported to this Assembly that said basis has been approved by more than two-thirds of the Presbyteries connected with that branch of the church;

‘Now, THEREFORE, WE DO SOLEMNLY DECLARE THAT SAID BASIS OF RE-UNION IS OF BINDING FORCE.’

“From this moment the two bodies became organically one—constituting the one Presbyterian Church of the United States of America. Each Assembly was dissolved in the usual form, and another required to be chosen in like manner, to meet in the First Presbyterian Church in the city of Philadelphia, on the third Thursday of May 1870, at 11 A.M.

“After close examination, the Committee of Arrangements found the Third Presbyterian Church the most commodious room in the city for the union meeting of prayer and praise, solemn gratulation, and jubilation, which it was agreed should immediately follow the consummation of the Re-union. Accordingly, it was arranged that the New School Assembly should move in procession, two by two, headed by their officers, and their portion of the Re-union Committee, to the First

Church, and meet the other Assembly, marshalled and headed in like manner. Then the Moderators, followed by the other officers, the Re-union Committee, and the members, locked arm in arm, each member of one Assembly with one of the other. And so the two Assemblies, now, we trust, happily united, marched, arm in arm and two by two, to the union meeting in the Third Church. The streets, balconies, and windows along the line of march were filled with thousands of deeply interested spectators, handkerchiefs were waved from hundreds of hands, prolonged and hearty cheers rent the air.

"The streets were thronged all along the route of procession, and at the Third Church an immense assemblage had collected in anticipation of the opening of the audience room.

"When the head of the procession approached the church, the doors were thrown open, and the combined assemblies entered the centre aisle.

"The gallery had already been filled to overflowing, and a goodly number of vocalists occupied places about the organ. As the procession entered, the audience rose and sang, to the tune "Lennox," the stanzas beginning :—

'Blow ye the trumpet, blow !
The gladly solemn sound ;
Let all the nations know,
To earth's remotest bound,' &c.

"The officers of the respective Assemblies, and as many of the commissioners as could find room, were then invited to seats on the platform, which was soon filled to its utmost capacity.

"The pressure outside the church was immense, and in a few minutes—we might almost limit it to seconds—the spacious audience chamber, including the aisles, was literally packed with men and women. Thousands more would fain have entered, but that was impossible.

"The surroundings were crowded, not only with the vast Presbyterian and other population of Pittsburg and vicinity, but with thousands of ministers and people that had come in from all parts of the land to witness the august scene—a scene to be witnessed but once in a lifetime—a scene of such moral sublimity as occurs but once, if once, in a century. It was truly good to be there ; it was a very Mount of Transfiguration. The Moderators shook hands in token of the union now accomplished between the two bodies over which they presided. Addresses, highly pertinent and eloquent, were made by the two Moderators, Doctors Musgrave, Adams, Fisher, John Hall, Judge Strong, William E. Dodge, Henry Day, and (in answer to a call from the audience) George H. Stuart, Esq., with appropriate prayers by Doctors Beattie, Hatfield, and Robert Carter, Esq. The chief scope and end of all their addresses, and of the whole service, was that the re-union ought to be signalised by a great advance in prayer, effort, and liberality in all the departments of Presbyterian evangelisation, and that, if it ended in mere exultation and glorification, without such advance, it would be a disgrace and calamity, rather than a blessing. It was also urged that there ought to be an immediate and special contribution, of the nature of a thank-offering for so great a boon, which should at once replenish and enlarge the resources of the various

institutions and agencies of the church, now weakened by the scantiness or endangered by the exhaustion of their funds; one that should at once lift theological seminaries, colleges, missionary boards, the education and support of ministers, every evangelic agency, to a higher grade of strength and efficiency. Dr Fisher, from the committee on this subject, offered the following resolution to the meeting:—

‘*Resolved*, By the ministers, elders, and members of the church here assembled, as in the presence and behalf of the entire body of the disciples connected with us in this land, and those beloved missionaries on foreign shores, now meditating our action with tender and prayerful interest, that it is incumbent on the Presbyterian Church, in the United States of America, one in organisation, one in faith, one in effort, to make a special offering to the treasury of our Lord of one million of dollars; and we pledge ourselves, first of all, to seek, in our daily petitions, the blessing of God to make this resolution effectual; and, second, that we will, with untiring perseverance and personal effort, endeavour to animate the whole church with the like purpose, and to secure the accomplishment of this great work before the third Tuesday of May 1871.

‘*Resolved*, That this preamble and resolutions be signed by the Moderators and Clerks of the Assemblies of 1869, by the members of the late Joint Committee on Union (and all the members of the two Assemblies), printed by the Stated Clerks, and sent to every pastor of our church.’

“This was adopted, after being amended by substituting 5,000,000 dollars. Let not the church come short of this high mark—she has wealth enough to reach it. May her zeal be in proportion, and may God speed the effort!

“There was a united celebration of the Lord’s Supper in the First Church in the afternoon, and a large meeting in behalf of Foreign Missions in the Third Church in the evening, as there had been one in behalf of Home Missions in the First Church on the previous evening.

“Thus the re-union of the sundered Presbyterian Church is fully completed and inaugurated. What next? Shall this great body content itself with rejoicings and jubilations over this grand event? We quite agree with those who would count such an issue of the re-union of these great bodies simply a disgrace and a calamity. We trust that the energies of all, whatever may have been their hesitation or opposition at any previous stage of this movement, will now be devoted to rendering it, in every good sense, a success—a success not of pride, self-complacency, and vainglorious boasting, but a success of real inward unity, animating this external organic union, so that the one body may be inspired by one spirit; that it may be cemented and consolidated in a real, great, and glorious advance of truth, unity, and charity; in an immense growth of sound Christian evangelism, true piety, and of Presbyterian doctrine, order, polity, institutions, life, and manners. Among the periodicals now existing in the United Church, this belongs to the few planted in the original undivided church, years before the division. It then laboured to build up the church, and prevent disruption, by advocating the doctrines and order of our

standards against heterogeneous and divisive elements. It often incurred the censure of extremists on all sides, while approved by the great heart of the church it sought to edify on the basis of sound conservatism; and its labours have not been in vain, nor have we spent our strength for naught. The cardinal principles which we have maintained in regard to the immiscible nature of Congregational and Presbyterian polities; the conducting of church work by church agencies, and Presbyterian work by Presbyterian agencies; making the standards the only doctrinal and ecclesiastical basis of union, leaving to the several series of courts of the church to decide what deviations from their *ipsissima verba* are not inconsistent with the essentials of the system they contain, are now accepted as the true and characteristic principles of the re-united church. And in this church again undivided, with that charity which rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth, it will endeavour to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace; to promote wholesome progress and a sound conservatism; to contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints, against the triple alliance of rationalism, ritualism, and materialism; to study the things that make peace, and things whereby one may edify another; and to summon to its aid the ablest contributors, new and old, from all, of whatever past or present ecclesiastical connection, who are ready to make common cause with us in maintaining and spreading true Christianity, Calvinism, and Presbyterianism, to the end that—

“SPEAKING THE TRUTH IN LOVE, WE MAY GROW UP INTO HIM IN ALL THINGS, WHO IS THE HEAD, EVEN CHRIST: FROM WHOM THE WHOLE BODY FITLY JOINED TOGETHER, AND COMPACTED BY THAT WHICH EVERY JOINT SUPPLIETH, ACCORDING TO THE EFFECTUAL WORKING IN THE MEASURE OF EVERY PART, MAKETH INCREASE OF THE BODY UNTO THE EDIFYING OF ITSELF IN LOVE.”—*Eph.* iv. 15, 16.

Θεω μουν δοξα.

XIII.—CRITICAL NOTICES.

Ecclesia : Church Problems Considered, in a series of Essays. Edited by HENRY ROBERT REYNOLDS, D.D., President of Cheshunt College, Fellow of University College, London. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 27 Paternoster Row. 1870.

The remark has often been made, and there is certainly some truth in it, that a striking feature in the religion of the present time is a tendency in every section of the church to push its peculiar claims into prominence, and to assert these to their utmost extremes. In other words, each party seems determined, to use a Scottish phrase, to "ride on the riggin' of their kirks." To begin with the oldest, though not the most primitive, of our churches, the Romish, we need only appeal to the desperate zeal of the Ultramontane party in that church to establish, with the aid of a pretended general council, the dogma of papal infallibility. In the Church of England we see a party equally intent on setting up the claims of apostolical succession and priestly power. Among ourselves there are some who display an ecclesiastical conservatism, to a degree which our ancestors, whom they are constantly quoting, never, we believe, contemplated, and which, from all we know of them, they would never have approved, had they lived to our day and in our circumstances; while on the part of English Nonconformists, there is manifested the same tenaciousness of party distinctions, the same resolution not to abate one jot or tittle of the essential principles of their constitution. To this tendency of the age, the present volume, we fear, can hardly be regarded as an exception. And yet it may be esteemed as a valuable contribution to the great cause of evangelical religion. The essays, nine in number, of which it is composed, are the productions of an equal number of Congregational divines, justly esteemed for their learning, talents, and piety. The problems which they consider are all connected with questions of present interest, and are the following:—1. Primitive Ecclesia; its Authoritative Principles and its Modern Representations, by John Stoughton, D.D.; 2. The Idea of the Church, regarded in its Historical Development, by J. Radford Thomson, M.A.; 3. The Religious Life and Christian Society, by J. Baldwin Brown, B.A.; 4. The Relation of the Church to the State, by Eustace Rogers Conder, M.A.; 5. The Forgiveness and Absolution of Sins, by the Editor; 6. The Doctrine of the Real Presence, and of the Lord's Supper, by R. N. Dale, M.A.; 7. The Worship of the Church, by Henry Allon; 8. The Congregationalism of the Future, by J. Guinness Rogers, B.A.; 9. Modern Missions and their Results, by Joseph Mullens, D.D. In so far as this volume aims at such a solution of church problems as might promise the healing of our lamentable divisions, and the promotion of a blessed unity among the churches of the Reformation, it must, we regret to say, be pronounced a failure. As Presbyterians of course we did not expect to find the authors at one with us in all points of discipline and government; but we were disappointed to see that in their representations of "the church," they have followed in the old traditional track marked out by the English Independents of former days, without any indication of a desire to modify their views on what we must regard as the main wall of partition between them and other churches. It seems strange to us that they should still insist with so much pertinacity on the meaning of the word "church" in the New Testament, as if that should settle all questions pertaining to church government; or as if the constitution of the Christian church depended upon proving that a church means only a

chapelful of believers, and that the five or eight thousand Christians of Jerusalem must regularly have met in one room. The term, no doubt, has been misapplied in more modern times, when it is used to designate mere political organisations; but in point of fact it is impossible to speak of the visible society of Christians, as distinguished from the world, and as marked by outward peculiarities of position and principles, without using the term in a wider and more general sense. We have marked down several instances in which the term is so used by the writers of these essays themselves, and the very title of the book, "*Ecclesia*," plainly points to a sense of the word, referring, neither to the spiritual body of Christ, about which there are no problems to be considered, nor to a mere Independent chapel, but plainly to the visible church of Christ at large, to which he has given laws and institutions, of which he is the only Head, which has an earthly history of its own, and which is capable, as it was in the days of Saul of Tarsus, of being persecuted and wasted, or of being protected and enlarged, till it has filled not a single apartment, nor a city, nor a country, but the whole area of the habitable globe; but, indeed, why ring the changes on the word *Ecclesia*, which just signifies an assembly of any sort, and the precise meaning of which in the New Testament must be determined by the connection in which it stands. We confess that, in this nineteenth century, and after the experience of two hundred years, we expected to find in these essays, the productions of the most liberal and enlightened minds in the communion to which they belong, some suggestions pointing to a larger measure of unity among all evangelical Christians. In this we have been disappointed. The only essay bearing on the subject is that by Mr Rogers on "the Congregationalism of the Future." But although the writer adverts to certain slight, practical modifications of the system as probable or desirable, particularly in reference to the old practice of demanding positive evidence of conversion as a condition of church membership, he never seems to have looked over the wall of his party, or to have contemplated anything looming in the future of the church but "Congregationalism." To our view, the grand church problem which requires solution in our day, is the possibility of uniting all sections of evangelical Christians in one truly Catholic communion. To effectuate this glorious object, we must look no doubt at the essential pre-requisite to a special effusion of the spirit of light, love, and peace; but as the first-fruits of that heavenly gift, we may anticipate, on the part of the leaders and teachers of the Christian church, that they will be lifted up far above the influences of a narrow sectarianism, and of all party pride and prejudice into the empyrean of pure love to the truth as it is in Jesus, and of unbiassed submission to divine authority. Guided by such a spirit, and animated by the charity which rejoiceth in the truth, might we not hope that by mutual concessions and reciprocations, each church borrowing from the other what is good in it, and none of them claiming an ascendancy over the rest, the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, which now seems impracticable, may become so plain and so pleasant, that we shall look back on our past differences and disputes with as much wonder as we now do upon the wars of the Tudors and the Plantagenets. It is with sincere regret that we see no attempt in the present volume to meet this great question, compared with which the other topics taken up are of passing and minor importance. On the contrary, the writers seem disposed to magnify the points of difference which distinguish them from other churches. Thus, one of them seems to take comfort from the tendency of the times towards democracy and self-government as likely to be of advantage to Congregationalism; as if any form of government ever existed, or could exist without representative councils and courts of appeal. Another of the writers, in denouncing all creeds and confessions as of no value for maintaining purity of doctrine, appeals to the miserably divided state of the Church of England, in which

subscription to the articles is imperiously demanded from all her ministers ; without adverting to the notorious fact that purity of doctrine and practice depend not on the mere subscription of church standards, but on the faithful administration of discipline in accordance with them, of which the Church of England knows nothing. If the church is to be reformed and purified, if she is to be brought into a position fitted to meet the serried ranks and the organised assaults of popery, if she is to keep the step, and move onwards in a steady march to contend for Christian truth and freedom, we gravely suspect that little help can be expected from Congregationalism, and that "enlargement and deliverance must arise from another place." Call it Convocation, or Conference, or General Assembly, or Union, there must be some centre of counsel and action to give unity, consolidation, and concert to the movements of the church. At all events, there must be a system of mutual co-operation among the churches, and we can hardly see how any part can be taken in such a system, if the idea of a church advocated in these pages is to be carried out, according to which isolated sections of the Christian community, if they allow themselves to be called a church at all, would be a church without a creed, a kingdom without laws, and a body without cohesion of parts, without a mouth to speak or a hand to act for itself.

While we have been compelled to speak with so much frankness of what we consider the defects of this volume, we are equally ready to express our admiration of the varied talent and ability displayed in the construction of the essays. Without meaning to detract from their general excellence, we cannot help referring particularly to that by Mr Henry Allon, whose remarks upon public worship display much fine taste and discrimination, and deserves the special attention of all who desire to see the line of demarcation drawn by a master hand, between a sensuous ritualism on the one hand, and a bald spiritualism on the other. Had our space permitted, we should have liked to transfer to our pages his high tribute of praise to David's psalms, which he declares are "more precious than all Charles Wesley's hymns"—a testimony which some one-sided, wall-eyed partisans would no doubt quote with triumph against the use of all hymns, but which, coming as it does from one of the most accomplished of our modern hymnodists, we regard as furnishing the best answer to those who would allege the incompatibility of love to Christian hymns with a supreme regard to the inspired psalms of David.

Horae Hebraeae. By FRANCIS J. CRAWFORD, Ex. Sch. T. C. D., Member of the Philological Society of London, and Rector of Derryloran, Ireland. Williams & Norgate: London and Edinburgh.

"This little volume professes to offer to the reader many novel speculations on the subject of Semitic Philology." Some of the views presented in it were, in a more fragmentary and less complete form, published in "The Transactions" of two learned societies, at whose meetings the papers containing them were read. The work does not lay claim to be a complete treatise on the interesting and difficult subject with which it deals ; but it aims to give a tolerably distinct outline, and affords a frame-work which may hereafter be filled in by more competent hands. The writer has ventured to deviate very far from the beaten track, and differs widely from eminent scholars, who are esteemed authorities on the questions discussed, and to whose learning he can make no pretensions. He submits his suggestions to the decision of the learned, and awaits their judgment with some anxiety.

The central idea, the great design of the author is to prove that there is a closer analogy between the Hebrew language and the Indo-European, and other extra Shemitic languages, than is generally allowed ; not only

in its primitive roots, but also in the composition of its derivative words. He declares that the chief impediment, which has prevented the right investigation and analysis of Hebrew on the part of eminent scholars, has been their inveterate attachment to the *tri-consonantal* theory of its roots. That theory, he rejects, and adopts in its place the comparatively recent theory of *monosyllabic* roots. He adduces numerous examples of words from the Hebrew itself, the Syriac and Arabic; and also from the Sanscrit, the Celtic, and other Indo-European tongues, to establish and develop his theory. In the manipulation of these words he shews great dexterity, and occasionally considerable boldness.

The method of the author's speculations casts a new light on some points, and furnishes a strong inducement to pursue the investigation further. But in our opinion, if the same method be adopted, it must, in order to lead to reliable results, be employed with more caution than Mr Crawford has sometimes used. And, besides, if it is to produce beneficial results, it must be conducted by one who has a definite and correct idea of the *nature* and *origin* of the primitive words of language, the so-called *primary roots* of Mr Crawford and others. The designation *roots*, though it may be allowed in a loose and general way to denote the primitive words of language, is not strictly accurate; and it suggests, if pressed too far, a false analogy. The use of such a term, in an attempt at scientific treatment of this subject, indicates a want of that definite and correct knowledge of the real nature and true origin of words, without which any amount of mere analysis, however skilfully conducted, will only

"Lead to bewilder,
And dazzle to blind."

If we are to think correctly and to speak with precision, we will not say that the stem proceeds originally from the root, any more than that the root proceeds originally from the stem. Strictly speaking, both proceed originally from *the germ*. To go on attempting elaborately and persistently to trace everything to the root as the original cause of the whole, is simply absurd. The roots of some trees, as of the oak, when the trunk has been cut off, will live and send forth shoots; the roots of others, as of the fir-tree, will not grow nor even live if separated from their stems. If, then, a term taken from the analogy of vegetable life is to be applied to a primitive word, it ought to be not *root* but *germ*. The latter term, so far as we are aware, has not been hitherto used by writers on this subject. The use of the term *root*, instead of the more correct word *germ*, indicates a misconception of the nature of primitive words. And thus we have a proof and illustration of the principle, a most important one, that, *Language has an essential subjective significance, as well as a possible objective application*.

If there be, and it is now generally admitted by those acquainted with the subject that there is, a natural connection originally between the primitive words of language as signs and the objects which they signify; then, it is capable of demonstration that all these primitive words cannot be monosyllabic. A simple idea will naturally have a simple sign; and a complex idea must naturally have a complex sign. Take the representation to the eye by points and lines of a mathematical idea. A mathematical line requires two points to be given in order to fix it. When two points are given, the line can be drawn between them. But an additional point must be given, in order to fix and to represent to the eye a mathematical plane. It is simply impossible to fix in space and to represent a mathematical or any other plane, with fewer points than three. Reasoning from analogy, it seems likely that the number of parts requisite to represent an idea to the eye, will be requisite to represent the same idea to the ear. A simple idea may be represented to the ear by a simple sound; but a complex idea must be represented naturally and originally

by a complex sound. Letters are the names of sounds. Well, now, let us suppose that the consonants correspond to the points in a mathematical figure; then, the idea of a line will be denoted by two consonants and a connecting vowel. This is, in fact, the way in which the thing is done. We have the Hebrew עֵינַי, the Greek λιν-ον, the Latin *lin-um*, the Celtic and French *lin*, and the English *lin-e*. Here the endings, *ον* and *um*, and the final *e*, are not of the essence of the word. As was expected, we have two consonants exactly corresponding to the two points that fix the position of a mathematical line. It may be asked, Why is the initial consonant not the same as the final? There is a reason for that; but as it does not affect the present argument as to the number of parts, we do not stay to point it out. Take now the indicating to the ear of the same idea as is presented to the eye by the mathematical figure of a plane. Here we expect three firm sounds or consonants; and they are actually found, in the Hebrew עֵינַי, the Greek πλαν-ον, the Latin *plan-um*, and the English *plan* and *plan-e*.

It is to be observed that the principle we have laid down, as to the relation of the sign to the thing signified, *has respect to language in its original state*. It is admitted on all hands that language is not now in its original state. If this fact were borne in mind, and an additional fact, immediately to be mentioned, kept always in view, many futile speculations in regard to language would be prevented. The additional fact, established by the oldest authentic records on the subject extant, is that *the language of the whole earth has been confounded*. While we keep these facts in view, we cannot share the hope which Mr Crawford seems to cherish, that "some future Grimm" will discover and lay down a law of order reigning throughout this disorder. Why, then, have we attempted to prove the existence even now of the principle of correspondence in the examples we have adduced? Why seek for order in the midst of confusion? We reply;—our belief, founded on historical testimony and actual observation, of the prevalence of disorder, does not exclude the idea of some remains of order still existing. In a ruined building there may be some complete parts and some entire pillars still standing; and these may furnish sufficient data to one well versed in the principles of architecture for forming with some certainty a complete plan of the original proportions of the whole building. But this view is quite consistent with holding and defending the firm belief, that no one is likely to make much for this purpose out of any amount of unconnected chips and scattered fragments.

Mr Crawford says (p. 49), "There remains a very interesting but difficult question, how and when the Semitic form was superinduced on what was essentially an Aryan base." We submit that there is a previous question, namely, Was the Shemitic form ever so superinduced? The assumption that it was so, is made without proof. The argument drawn from the shorter or simpler form, in which the ultimate elements of the extra Shemitic languages—as compared with that of the ultimate elements as generally understood of the Shemitic—are now found, is not at all conclusive. As well might it be argued that the foundation stones of Solomon's temple did not exceed a certain size, because none of the bricks used in the building of Babylon were large. On some such principle the testimony of Josephus as to the size of these stones was strongly impugned; but by actual exploration his testimony has recently been proved to be true. These large stones, moreover, are so nicely fitted to each other, that it is very difficult to detect their joinings. And here also, as well as in regard to their size, they are analogous to Hebrew words. The component parts of composite words in Hebrew are so finely and closely joined, that to perceive their joinings requires a keen eye and close inspection.

D. N.

A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles. By PATON J. GLOAG, D.D., Minister of Blantyre. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1870.

The Book of Acts is a portion of the New Testament to which a large amount of attention has been given of late years. While on the Continent it has been the chief battle-field in the controversy with the Tubingen school, in the course of which the scrutiny to which it has been subjected has led to a deeper insight into its purpose and meaning, in this country it has been very fully illustrated in so far as it bears on the life of Paul, from the history, geography, and antiquities of the classical world. The author of this work aims at neither of these objects, but simply at furnishing a critical commentary on the text, verse by verse, and clause by clause. He divides it into sections according to the subject, and gives in each of these, in the first place, a revised translation founded on the text of Tischendorf's 7th Edition. Then follows a statement of the more important various readings, with a summary of the MS. evidence for or against them, and then a careful exposition of the words. Dr Gloag has made diligent use of the best modern commentaries on the Acts, and gives a summary of the views of the principal expositors where they differ from one another, indicating that which he prefers; his work displays throughout sound and careful scholarship, and his own conclusions on particular points, so far as we have been able to examine them, seem to be judicious and sensible. To some of the sections are also subjoined brief additional dissertations, in which the author discusses more fully than the limits of a note would admit some of the more interesting or disputed topics suggested by the sacred narrative. It is an indication of the author's caution and good sense that on some points, such as the much vexed question as to the brethren of our Lord, he is content to hold his judgment in suspense, without pronouncing decidedly for any of the views that have been zealously contended for by different theologians. This is a matter on which it seems really impossible to arrive at any certain conclusion; and the weight of different probabilities will always be differently estimated by different minds. We are inclined to regret that Dr Gloag has followed a plan that confines him very much to a critical exposition of the text of the book on which he comments, and does not give him occasion to unfold its real nature and spirit as a living picture of the growth and development of the Church of Christ. This would have been a far more valuable contribution to Biblical literature. There are many critical commentaries of great value accessible to the student, but there are few works that attempt, and fewer still that at all succeed in the attempt, to seize the central idea of the book, and, by following its leading, to bring out its unity and completeness as a historical work. The commentary of Baumgarten is the most suggestive and instructive in this view that we know; but while he has, as we believe, laid hold of the true idea, we cannot regard him as having worked it out altogether satisfactorily. Often he seems rather to be led away by his own fancy than guided by real and sure indications in Scripture, and the great prolixity of his discussions renders his work often tedious to an English reader. There is surely therefore room for a more cautious and judicious following out of his fundamental idea, which would confirm and establish its truth. We are disappointed, however, to find that Dr Gloag has not seen his way to acquiesce in the view, that the key to the narrative of the Acts is to be found in its being the history of the continued working of Jesus himself in his state of exaltation. This is inferred from the introduction to the book (Acts i. 1), where Luke refers to his former treatise as an account of all that Jesus began both to do and to teach; thereby implying, as Baumgarten, Alford, Lechler, and others think, that his second book was to contain the history of what he continued to do. Dr Gloag

thinks that this is finding too much in a single word; and prefers the rendering of De Wette, "of all that Jesus from the beginning did and taught until the day that he was taken up." But this is surely a less natural translation of the word *ἄνωγει*; and the emphatic position of that word seems to warrant the stress that is laid on it by the other explanation. And this thought once apprehended may be carried out through the whole book, and serves to explain both what is narrated and what is omitted. With a little attention we can trace all along the working and the teaching of the exalted Saviour. It is to him that the choice of an apostle in place of Judas is referred; it is he that sends the Holy Spirit at Pentecost; it is by his name that miracles are done; it is by his providence, almost against the will of the apostles, that the church is extended among the Gentiles, and the middle wall of partition is broken down. In short, the activity of Jesus himself may be discerned, once it is pointed out, with greater or less clearness from the beginning to the end of the book. We cannot therefore regard the title "Acts of the Apostles," however ancient, as an appropriate one, or one which Luke himself would have given to his book; he evidently regarded it rather as simply the second part of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. It is also to be regretted that Dr Gloag has not done justice to another view, the presentation of which gives a special value to Baumgarten's work, that in consequence of the unbelief of the Jews the development of the church assumed a somewhat different form from what it might have done; and that thus the ideal of the New Testament Church was not realised then, but deferred till the time when Israel shall be brought back again to the Lord. This has been too much forgotten, and the expectations of the apostles about the restoration of the kingdom to Israel, and their clinging to Jewish observances and feelings, have come to be regarded as mere mistakes of men still to some extent carnal in their ideas; whereas they were looking for what had really been promised and is to be, but was delayed by the rejection of Israel for a time on account of their unbelief. A work on a wider plan than that before us, which might bring out Scripturally and judiciously these views, is still a desideratum, and would be a valuable service to the church. Meanwhile, however, we welcome every contribution to the thorough and exact study of the text of God's Word; and we must not omit to add that, in addition to its other merits, this work contains careful and satisfactory replies to the chief objections that have been brought against the Acts by rationalistic critics.

J. S. C.

The Apostolic Church: Which is it? and Scriptural Baptism. By THOMAS WITHEROE, Professor of Church History, Londonderry. Belfast: C. Aitchison. London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co. Edinburgh: A. Elliot.

This small volume consists of two essays, the first being a defence of the ecclesiastical polity adopted by Presbyterians, to one section of whom the author belongs, and the second, a defence of baptism by sprinkling, and of the baptism of infants.

The systems of ecclesiastical polity under which the vast proportion of professing Christians have respectively marshalled themselves are especially three, Prelacy, Presbytery, and Independency or Congregationalism. Many have affirmed that the New Testament is wholly silent, or gives no distinct utterance on the question of church government; that placed, therefore, beyond the sphere of divine authority, it cannot have the obligation of law on the conscience, and that it is left to the judgment of the church to adopt for itself a system of polity such as may be best adapted to its condition, at any particular time and in any particular country. Most Christians, however, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Independents, claim for at least the leading principles of their respective systems divine right.

If then any of these systems bears the superscription of heaven, the New Testament must furnish sufficient data for the settlement of the question, for the Word of God alone, to the exclusion of tradition and of the testimony of the early fathers, is the only authoritative and infallible standard of the church in all matters of religion. But in the controversies to which this question has given rise, the field of discussion has included not only Scriptural exposition but historical research; and in this wide field every point has been often investigated by theologians of eminent ability and learning, the results of whose labours have been given to the world in voluminous works.

The plan of the author of the volume before us is not so extensive. It being his object to supply a manual in defence of Presbytery for the people, and for the higher classes of Sabbath schools, he has limited himself wholly to the Scriptural argument, and has brought it within a narrow compass, excluding whatever is irrelevant, and presenting it in a compressed and popular form, in a style at once clear and vigorous. The logical spirit in which he approaches and conducts the discussion, is entitled to commendation, and though more intent upon the *fortiter in re* than upon the *suaviter in modo*, he has yet avoided all acrimony of dispute.

The leading principles laid down in the Word of God, which the author enumerates as forming the chief elements or the ground plan of the government of the church, are six: that the office-bearers of the apostolic church were chosen by the people; that presbyter and bishop were in *their first origin* only different names for the same ecclesiastical office-bearers; that in each church there was a plurality of elders; that in the apostolic church ordination was the act of the presbytery—of a plurality of elders; that in the apostolic church there existed the privilege of appeal to the assembly of elders, and the right of government exercised by them in their corporate character; and that Christ is head over all things to the church. Having shewn that these six principles were all embodied in the apostolic church, he proceeds to bring the existing systems successively to the test of the apostolic standard. The result at which he arrives is, that these six principles are all acknowledged among Presbyterians, and that every one of them is a main feature of the Presbyterian system, but that the same thing cannot be affirmed with respect to the other forms of church government.

The other essay in the volume, that on Scriptural Baptism, is written with the same ability, perspicuity, and earnestness, as the essay on the Apostolic Church.

History of the Church in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries. By K. R. HAGENBACH, D.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Basle. Translated from the last German edition, with additions. By Rev. John F. Hurst, D.D. Two vols. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1870.

Dr Hagenbach occupies a high position among the learned men of Germany. A theologian of the German evangelical school, he ranks with the class to which Tholuck, Julius Müller, and Dörner belong, whose aim it is, in opposition to the long prevalent rationalism, to restore orthodoxy in their country, by the reconciliation of reason and revelation, science and faith. His manual of doctrine-history, and his German rationalism, in its rise, progress, and decline, which have been published by the Messrs Clark of Edinburgh, are well known in Britain and in America.

The volumes before us, like the author's other historical works, the most of which were delivered in lectures to mixed audiences, are remarkable for the perspicuity, ease, fluency, and often graphic power with which they are written; at the same time they are the result of extensive, accurate, and careful research; and from their candour, liberality of sentiment, and

soundness of judgment, they are well adapted to attract the attention, and to remove the prejudices of such as may differ widely from the orthodox sentiments of the author.

The transition that took place in Germany in the first half of the eighteenth century, by the transformation of the old substantial German life of the period of the Reformation, and even of the century after, into French customs and morals, marks an important epoch in the ecclesiastical history of Germany, and in its literary and intellectual taste. This transition period the author describes with great fidelity and effect, shewing that the frivolity and dissipation of mind which this strong passion for whatever was French, whether in clothing, cookery, furniture, dancing, or music displayed, soon and inevitably operated injuriously on the religious sentiments and character of the Germans. German naturalism in the eighteenth century followed, and the direct and powerful influence of Voltaire—whose special weapon against Christianity was ridicule—for evil on the state of Germany in that century is well known.

The author's lectures on the Pietists during the eighteenth century, we would here refer to simply as presenting not only in respect of fulness, but also in respect of accuracy and candour, a striking contrast to the history of that party by Dr Mosheim, who, from the strength of his Lutheran prejudices seemed unconsciously incapable of doing them justice. When it is remembered that Halle, the chief seat of Pietism, remained long the University in Germany which educated a larger number of theologians than any other great school, and impressed upon them its own peculiar spirit; that more than six thousand had there received their complete education during the first twenty-nine years of the existence of that University; that thousands besides had been brought up in the Orphan House founded by A. H. Francke; and that these noble institutions flourished, and continued to be blessings in the further course of the century, and called into existence other similar institutions; there is something here which demanded, even from Dr Mosheim, something different from the contemptuous tone in which for the most part he speaks of the Pietists, "many of whom" he says, "deluded by the suggestions of an irregular imagination, and an ill-formed understanding, or guided by principles and views of a still more criminal nature, spread abroad new and singular ideas, false visions, unintelligible maxims, austere precepts, and imprudent clamours against the discipline of the church, which excited the most dreadful tumults, and kindled the flames of contention and discord." To discover the extravagance of this misrepresentation, the reader has only to consult the pages of Dr Hagenbach, who has found in the story of the Pietists materials for an exalted history. But the peculiar portraiture of the Pietists drawn by Dr Mosheim will hardly excite surprise in any, who are in a moderate degree acquainted with what has been written against the English Puritans. The author does not restrict himself to the history of the church, and religion in the narrower sense of these terms; but traces the revolutions which, in multiplied forms, took place during the period embraced by the history, in the departments of philosophy, literature, education,—phenomena which have taken deep hold of the history of Protestantism, and indeed constitute an essential part of its history.

The Conditions of Ministerial Success. A Sermon preached in the Marylebone Presbyterian Church, at the Induction of the Rev. Donald Fraser, M.A., on Friday, February 4th, 1870. By the Rev. J. OSWALD DYKES, M.A. Published by desire of the Presbytery of London. London: Nisbet & Co. 1870.

This is in every respect a remarkable sermon—remarkable for originality of thought, felicity of style, and force of reasoning, but not less remarkable

for the value and importance of the truths and lessons which it inculcates. It is the triumph of genius to bring forth plain, old truths, with a freshness and novelty which makes us wonder that we should never have seen them in the same light before. In this Mr Dykes has succeeded. Much as we have read on the subject of his discourse, we have risen from its perusal more impressed than we have ever been with the weight and magnitude of the conditions necessary to ministerial success. From a web so closely woven, it seems hardly fair to tear out a piece as a sample; but we cannot refrain from giving the following :—

“Of course, an indolent minister, who loiters through his duties with an official saunter, who ‘gets up’ his sermons easily, and never feels, either in soul or body, the agony of a man who travails for the conversion of his fellows, has no right to expect success; hardly any right, I should say, to ask God for it. Let all the people pray God rather to deliver them from such pastors! Other ministers there are, however, too honest in serving Christ to be indolent; but so unskilful, or so inattentive to the way in which they serve Him, that they mar what they would make. The workman, who blunders in the use of his tools will come no speed, let him be ever so anxious. We have our tools. The living manifold Word is in our hands, with all treasures of God’s great world, and the learning and thought of countless generations to help us to use it. We have to study how best we may bring the life of the Word to bear on certain living men, whose habits, accessible sides, and practical requirements, we may daily observe. Our business is to find the key which fits the lock of each man’s heart; to speak the truth as each will best understand and feel it; to discover the capabilities of our instrument, try all ways of using it, and be on the watch for the hour when men lie most open to its persuasion. Skill, tact, invention, experience, vigilance, patience; can these be less needful in saving souls than in raising plants? But how, if the minister despise these homely virtues of the workman? How, if he say, ‘I am here to preach, and it is the people’s part to hear; if they will not, they may forbear,’ and so continue preaching after a quite unsuitable, ineffectual fashion, trying no experiments, fetching no compasses, becoming nothing new or different to any man, so as to win any? I think a man may mostly find out what hinders or lessens his success, if he will; and he ought to be carefully improving his methods, adapting them to new cases, or inventing fresh ones till the close of his ministry. It is hard, you say; yes, but what right have we to expect our work to be easy? Other men do not succeed by neglecting the conditions of success. Hard that preaching does not come by instinct! Hard that slovenliness, routine, old-fashioned methods, and lack of adaptability, are not what God chooses to employ for converting men from sin any more than for anything else that is worth doing! Hard that only one who is wise can turn many to righteousness! Dan. xii. 3. Pardon me if I seem to speak bitterly. God knows it makes me sad enough to see how unbusinesslike we all of us are! Which is worse, that, here and there, there should be one downright lary, and careless minister in Christ’s visible Church, or that even the best of us should be half-trained workmen, who use their implements so ill, that through their awkwardness men perish?”

Prophetical Utterances and their Accomplishment. By the Rev. DAVID MITCHELL, Senior Minister of Free St Luke’s, Glasgow. Edinburgh: Duncan Grant. Pp. 208.

This volume seems to us to accomplish, in a very satisfactory manner, the object for which it has been composed and published. That object is—as stated in the author’s preface—“to present the reader with such a summary representation of prediction and fulfilment as will enable him, in a very short

time, to take a cursory view of the leading features of prophecy, as bearing upon the credibility of Scripture, and as corroborated by the history of the nations of the earth. . . . We present it to the public in its present form, with the prayer that the great Head of the church may render it instrumental in arresting the attention of some of those who are in danger of being led astray by the baseless speculation and unwarrantable conclusions of their fellow-creatures, and leading them to examine, earnestly and impartially, the pillar and groundwork of truth." A work with this aim, and within the compass observed by this volume, was needed. The works of Bishop Newton and Dr Keith are invaluable. That of Dr Keith, especially, has gone through an all but unprecedented number of editions, and the venerable author has continued to enlarge and extend it from time to time. That very enlargement, however, is fitted to carry it beyond the reach of a class of readers whom a briefer and less elaborate work may be fitted greatly to profit. And exactly such a work our author has in this volume supplied. The "simplicity of the scheme and style adopted," renders it all the more directly fitted to be useful. The prophecies designed to be illustrated are first quoted and explained; and the facts of history in which they have been fulfilled are then given with a degree of plainness, with a point, a brevity, and a cumulative force calculated to carry conviction very abundantly to every one that reads with an unprejudiced mind.

There never was a time when the argument from prophecy should be urged more plainly and peremptorily in the straightforwardness of shrewd Scottish common sense. It seems to us to be of all others the argument that must go home with irresistible force, when its appeal is brought to bear upon our peculiarities of national character. It is an argument that is incapable of being mystified and sophisticated to any honest mind. It is *per se* conclusive. Let the enemies of the truth say what they please, there is enough of most obviously prophetic statement in Holy Scripture, known with absolute certainty to have been put on record ages before the events in which their fulfilment may be read, as face answers to face in a glass,—there is enough of this, after every havoc their criticisms can make or pretend, to found an argument of the divine origin of Holy Scripture, which is perfectly conclusive and impregnable. Whatever mysteries may be thrown around other lines of proof, and however they may become complicated by the intrusions of learning and science with the apologetic argument generally, here is one medium of proof perfectly comprehensible by every family circle in the land, from the parents down to the children who have learned to read. They are entitled to derive from it a "full assurance" of conviction: and no sophistry in the world can take exception to the position they take up, when they say:—This *proves* to us that the Scriptures are the Word of God; and that being *proved*, no *difficulties*, arising in quarters with which we are not familiar, can possibly *disprove* it. That is a logically and scientifically impregnable position; and it is a very admirable service which thus enables the "common people gladly" to get hold of and master an unanswerable line of proof in the evidences of divine revelation. This our author has admirably well accomplished. We agree with him in the hope that his volume "may be found not only suitable to intelligent readers of Holy Scripture generally, but also specially useful to Christian parents and to Sabbath-school teachers of adult classes." It is well fitted to be so, and we trust it will have a large circulation. *μ.*

Frank Oldfield ; or, Lost and Found. A Tale. By the Rev. T. P. Wilson, M.A., Rector of Smethcote. T. Nelson & Sons, London, Edinburgh, and New York. 1870.

When we read "A Prize Temperance Tale" on the brightly coloured, plentifully gilded boards of any book, we know what to expect. The actors

we are prepared to find, sooner or later, reprobates, respectable persons who have become such, or reprobates who become respectable by joining the Band of Hope Union and taking the pledge. As often as a new character is introduced, we have our suspicions aroused: there is either a strong smell of ardent spirits diffused in their company, or there is something unaccountable in their behaviour, which is cleared up by the discovery that they are secretly given to intemperance. The fairer, more attractive, and spotless the hero is at the outset, the darker, more repulsive, and spotted, we have reason to fear, his character will become by the time the tale ends; and the entire plot of the story hinges upon and hangs together by means of drinking customs, drunken frolics, and the drunkard's misery.

"Frank Oldfield" is no exception to the general run of such tales. The very first character we are introduced to, at the opening page, is a woman, "the regularity of whose features shewed that she had once been good-looking, but from whose face every trace of beauty had been scorched out by intemperance." Then when we come to the hero of the story, as described in the fourth chapter, we tremble when we read of his open, generous, handsome face—laughing blue eyes—rich, brown, curling hair—joyous, confiding voice—and thorough openness and freedom in all that he did. We are sorry Frank is so good-looking, and so capable of "drawing all the cords of the heart," for we greatly fear he will become a wreck and a heartbreak. And he does so very speedily. He appears for the last time in the chapter entitled "A Miserable Death"; and then his eyes glitter with an unnatural light, his cheeks are deeply flushed with fever heat, and his hair, that mother's pride in former days, waves wildly over his forehead."

Notwithstanding the absence of neutral tints and shading in the characters, and of anything like quiet, ordinary everyday incident in the plot, this prize temperance tale is above the average of such productions, and has merit of a certain, if not of a very high order.

There is a breadth in the canvass, and a refreshing breeziness in the atmosphere,—pit life in Lancashire, life on board ship, and colonial life in the bush are all dealt with by the writer as he traces the steps and fortunes of Frank Oldfield, and Samuel Johnson, *alias* Jacob Poole; there are now and again touches of description which prove the reverend tale-writer to possess considerable appreciation of the humorous and pathetic; while throughout the tale there breathes an earnest Christian purpose. The point against which the Smethcote rector evidently desires to direct his strongest battery, is the danger of any position in reference to intoxicating drink short of total abstinence and of pledged abstinence. "The pledge, the whole pledge, nothing but the pledge," might be his motto more appropriately, perhaps, than the one he has chosen, "Nothing extenuate, or set down aught in malice."

The three adjudicators appointed by the committee of the Union selected this tale as the one entitled, in their judgment, to the first prize of £100. Our adjudication is that the prize tale is worthy of a favourable reception at the hands of all promoters of temperance, and of endeavours to secure its extensive circulation on the part of those who regard total abstinence as the only position of safety in reference to intemperance and its accompanying miseries.

On the Reason of Faith, to which are added, A Modest Inquiry, Whether Regeneration or Justification has the Precedency in the order of Nature; and an Inquiry into the Nature of God's Act in Justification. By THOMAS HALYBURTON. A New Edition carefully revised. London: James Nisbet & Co.

Halyburton and William Cunningham are beyond question the two greatest theologians that the church of Christ in Scotland has produced.

In Halyburton, of whom we now speak more particularly, a combination of burning piety and intensely analytic intellectual power qualified him for taking one of the highest places among the scientific theologians of the church catholic; and his pen produced nothing finer than the treatises which Messrs Nisbet & Co. have rendered valuable service by reproducing in the present edition. A complete edition of Halyburton's works was published many years ago by Messrs Blackie & Sons of Glasgow, with an *Essay on his Life and Writings* by the late Dr Robert Burns. That volume, we presume, has been for some time out of print. It contains the well-known series of practical discourses entitled, the "Great Concern of Salvation;" the eminently intellectual and powerful treatise, so much esteemed at the time, and in all the essentials of the argument incapable of being put out of date, on "Natural Religion Insufficient, and Revealed Religion Necessary;" his very rich and beautifully evangelical "Communion Sermons;" and his "Memoirs," than which a more powerful delineation of intense and valid spiritual experience and consciousness has never been given to the church. Strange to say, while the title page of the collected works makes mention of all these productions of the author's sanctified genius, it does not specify any of the three very remarkable essays which are presented in the handsome little volume before us. Not that these essays are omitted in the book itself; for, many years ago, we made our first acquaintance with them there, but probably at that time it was thought less necessary on the part of publishers to call special attention to them, because the study of accurate and scientific theology was then at a low ebb. They form the portion, however, of Halyburton's works to which the theologian will award the palm of manifest superiority and undying value. The "Reason of Faith," profoundly attractive and suggestive by its very title, is by far the ablest treatise in existence on the self-evidencing power, or Divine self-luminousness, of Holy Scripture. In no respect less profound than John Owen's somewhat lumberous treatment of that topic, it greatly excels in literary treatment and logical arrangement, while occasionally it breaks out into eloquence of the highest order. Those of our readers who are not familiar with Halyburton will thank us, we are persuaded, for producing the following passage:—

"This Light, whereby the written Word evidences its divine origin, is the impress of the majesty, authority, omniscience, truth, wisdom, holiness, justice, grace, and mercy of God, stamped upon it by the Holy Ghost, beaming on the minds of believers, and affecting them with such a sense of those perfections, both in the sublimity of the matter, and in the majestic manner becoming the Most High, as fully satisfies them that God is the speaker. Moreover, the impressions which are stamped upon the matter, being conveyed by the Word only, do combine with those that are made by the manner, to strengthen the evidence of the divine original of the Scriptures. The Word of God, by a manifestation of the truth, that scorns the arts of insinuation by fair and enticing words and artificial argumentation, with the like confessions of weakness, that are in all human writings, commends itself to the conscience, dives into the secret recesses of the heart, guides, teaches, directs, determines, and judges, in the name and authority of the great God. And when it thus enters, the soul is so filled with the light of the glory of those perfections, that it is constrained to cry out, The voice of God, and not of man.

"The Power whereby the Scripture evidences itself to be the Word of God, is just the authority and efficacy which, by means of it, He exercises over the minds and consciences of men; working in them divinely, and leaving upon them the evident marks of his glorious almighty power. It enters into the conscience, a territory exempt from the authority of creatures, and subject to God alone. It awakens, challenges, convinces, threatens; it sets the conscience a roaring, so that the whole creation cannot quiet it again. It

commands a calm ; and the sea, which was troubled before, is stilled so that men and devils cannot disturb its repose. It enters into the understanding ; opens its eyes, fills it with a clear, purifying, and glorious light, and sets before it wonders hitherto undiscerned, concerning God, concerning ourselves, our sin, our duty, our danger and relief ; concerning the works, the ways, the counsels and purposes of the Most High. It speaks to the will ; converts it, and disengages it from what it grasped before, so firmly, that no art or force of eloquence, no argument, fear, or hope, could make it quit its hold. It turns the bent of the will another way, yea, the opposite way ; and causes it to embrace, with open arms, what nothing before could induce it to look at. It overcomes the strongest aversion ; making the will, not only to go, but to run, after that which it hated before ; and obstinately to refuse anything else offered in its place. It enters the affections ; raises them from the earth, and gives them so divine a touch, that although, through their fickle nature, they may, at times, be carried by force another way, yet they are never at rest, until they are pointing heavenward. It comes to the soul that is sunk under the pressure of unrelievable distresses, refusing comfort, and apparently incapable of it : pulls it out of the horrible pit and the miry clay, sets its feet upon a rock, fills it with joy, yea, makes it exceeding joyful, although all its outward troubles may continue, or even increase. It enters into the soul that was the willing slave of reigning lusts ; tries and condemns those powerful criminals, and causes the soul to throw off their yoke, and to join in executing the sentence upon them. Now when the power of the Word is thus felt, how can the soul do otherwise, than fall down and acknowledge that God is in it of a truth ?”

This essay is additionally valuable for a masterly discussion of the foundations of the rationalism of Locke, on whom, indeed, our modern rationalists fall back, in the last resort, as their real master and the founder of their school. But it is especially valuable as searching out, and positing, and establishing, and defending the real “reason,” or formal ground, on which we assent to the Holy Scriptures as the Word of God. He shews, with marvellous clearness, that that ground or formal reason is not (1.) The authority of any man or church ; nor (2.) The rational arguments whereby the truth of the Christian religion is demonstrated against atheists ; nor (3.) Miracles ; nor (4.) Any secret intimation by the Spirit of God, distinct from the written Word, assuring us that it is the Word of God ; nor (5.) The authority of any particular proposition of Scripture, bearing testimony to all the rest ; nor (6.) The fact that its doctrines are suitable to our natural notions of God, and adapted to our necessities, desires, and capacities ; nor (7.) That God hath by his Spirit wrought faith in us, and thereby enabled us to receive them. But the formal reason of our obligation to believe the Scriptures, and to receive them as the Word of God, and the ground on which we so receive them, is the authority of the God of truth speaking in them, evidencing itself, by its own light and power, to our faith when duly exercised about them.

No true student of theology, we presume, can read these statements without seeing to how subtle and conclusive a search Halyburton has subjected this most important question. The *fifth* of his excluded grounds may especially be pointed to with confidence, as an instance of his surprising keenness of intellectual and analytic power ; and the entire treatise bears testimony to it throughout. It is a treatise, moreover, which is peculiarly seasonable at the present time. The pretensions of Rome to infallibility are not always rejected with *intelligent* scorn. Many, we fear, abject them on grounds which imply that no *infallible* certainty in Divine things is attainable at all. It is this, and this alone, that gives any *prima facie* aspect of possible reasonableness to papal pretension. And met on such a ground, Rome will hold her own, and even in a sense will deserve to do so. Protestantism, if able to hold the field, must hold it on

the ground of the *true* infallibility, the infallibility of the Word and Spirit of God, the fitness of the Word and the power of the Spirit to commend infallibly to rightly exercised minds the Holy Scriptures as the true and lively oracles of the living God. In this view, we consider the republication of this treatise as at present most eminently seasonable. No true theologian, and no student of theology aspiring to the name of a theologian, can fail to appreciate and respond to its charm. It is distinguished by subtilty, breadth, lucidity, brevity, and completeness; in fact, by every characteristic that marks the hand of an immortal master of a science. And the two remarkable essays in relation to justification are mostly to be spoken of in the same terms. We know of nothing more profound and satisfactory than that which investigates the relation between regeneration and justification. No well-instructed scribe in the things of the kingdom of God can avoid feeling his mastery of those mysteries of which he is a steward, other than greatly enlarged by a careful study of it; while the exact nature and import of God's act in justification is in the third and closing essay, set forth with a warmth and evangelical charm which contrasts most favourably with the frigidity with which, arising perhaps from its being a judicial transaction, justification has by many evangelical writers been too often presented. We have sufficiently indicated our appreciation of this little golden volume, and we trust it will have a circulation in some measure worthy of its renown, and never cease to be esteemed by the most influential preachers of our land.

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Scenes and Interviews with the Risen Saviour. Being a Sequel to the "Voices from the Cross." By the Rev. JAMES GRIERSON, D.D., Minister, Errol. Second Edition. Edinburgh: J. MacLaren. 1869.

We are inclined to think this latest book of Dr Grierson's his best. All his books are characterised by simplicity, purity, and elegance of style, and this one not least so. It may be that an additional charm is lent to this last, by the propriety of the author's characteristic style, to the subject of this volume. The quiet grace and the somewhat copious eloquence, are well fitted to bring out the character of the post-resurrection scenes in the gospel history. It may be also, that the circumstances and the duration of the author's own ministry have peculiarly qualified him for treating this delightful theme. It seems to us as if there breathed through these chapters something of the beauty of that charming rural life, and leisurely piety, and ripened pastoral experience, with which his lot in providence has made him so familiar. One passage, too long to quote in this brief notice, where the feelings of a communicant in the reminiscence of past seasons of spiritual fellowship with his Lord, and with his loved ones in the Lord, are described with great felicity, will illustrate what we mean. The preface introduces this enlarged edition of the work with these noticeable words, "The date at which this is done, *the fiftieth anniversary*, as it has singularly happened of the author's ordination, impressively reminds him both of the goodness and mercy of God in honouring him to labour so long in the ministry of the gospel, and of the solemn account which he must ere long have to render." A term of service in the ministry so prolonged is in itself a special talent. From the summit of such a rising pile of years, as has been happily remarked, the light of the word of life faithfully held forth and kept burning, shines with commanding advantage. To the use of that talent Dr Grierson has been true. The light is undimmed. Neither the natural nor the spiritual force is abated. In these lectures he expatiates on the interviews of the risen Saviour with his disciples, and on the instructions and commands communicated to them with a zest fitted to bring out the undying freshness of that "everlasting" gospel which it has been so long his own privilege to proclaim.

In its graphic narrative power the book reminds us of Dr Hanna, whose volume on the same subject was preceded by the earlier edition of this one. A more homely and practical style of application, however, characterises the present treatment of it. Indeed, we can hardly imagine a better specimen of the quiet homiletic mode of treating the gospel narratives than some of these lectures afford. We would particularly specify those on Mary Magdalene, on Thomas, on the scene by the Sea of Galilee, and on the words, "Lo, I am with you alway." This last is especially excellent in its working out of the theme for Christian edification and comfort. A brief passage in the first mentioned lecture following the account of Mary mourning the removal of her master's body, presents itself as quotable:—

"From her case, then, it is obvious that in proportion to the love which we have cherished toward every object, will be the sorrow which we feel when bereaved of it. It is obvious, also, that so long as we entertain only partial and mistaken views of the Saviour's character, our love may possibly be ardent, but our faith can never be such as to afford us consolation or peace. When the mind is not enlightened in the knowledge of Christ, and firmly stayed on Him in the exercise of a comprehensive faith, the perplexities, disappointments, and sorrows which overtake will be in danger of overwhelming us. The state of agitation, grief, and apprehension into which we may happen to be thrown by the unexpected events of Divine Providence is calculated to hinder us from perceiving those very sources of comfort, and those very means of support and deliverance which still remain to us, and which are even at the moment so nearly within our reach. Many a believing soul, though weak in the faith, has been so much in darkness and sorrow, under the hiding of his heavenly Father's countenance, and has been so completely bowed down under the consciousness of being deprived of all sensible comfort, as to be incapable of perceiving the very intimations which were presented to him, that the night was far spent, and that the daylight was at hand. As we are incapable of seeing distinctly through our tears, or of breathing with the usual regularity when sobbing with grief, so are we often incapable of realising the gracious presence of Him who is in all cases touched with the feeling of our infirmities. . . . The earth needs the clouds and the rain as well as the sunshine. It needs to be refreshed with showers as well as to be cheered with light and revived with heat. We ought to be able to dispense with the rain altogether, hence we complain that, during the time of its falling, the face of the sun was hid from our view. It is surely nothing wonderful that He, who was "a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief," should sometimes subject even those whom He loves, nay, *because* He loves them, to such sorrows as may make them feel that this is not the place of their rest. They are not yet in heaven, though He is. It is enough that their present treatment and experience should be calculated to prepare them for being at last for ever with the Lord."

Another feature of these lectures, passing beyond mere narrative treatment, besides this one of practical deduction, is the clear outline of Christian doctrine here and there suggested by the narrative, or by the utterances of our Lord in the course of it. These are necessarily condensed, and somewhat incomplete. We could have desiderated for example some discussion of the nature of our Lord's resurrection body, and the bearing of the statements about it on the doctrine of the resurrection generally. It is passed with little more than an allusion. Another subject which might have well fitted into the plan of the book is the testimony of some of these post-resurrection appearances in favour of a distinction purposely conferred by the risen Redeemer on the first day of the week, and the light thence shed on the authority of the Lord's Day. This point appears, so far as we have noticed, to be passed in silence. But, of course, these are directions in which it was impossible to exhaust

the field. On the promise of the Holy Ghost, and on the institution of Baptism, the treatment is full and satisfactory.

We have much pleasure in commending this careful and useful volume to our readers.

Stepping Heavenward. By E. PRENTISS. Golden Ladder Series. London James Nisbet & Co. 1870.

We can hardly conceive a more difficult task than that E. Prentiss has set herself to in the writing of this story. Two hundred and seventy-three pages of extracts from a young lady's journal, extending from the year of grace 1831 to that of 1858,—these form the contents of the entire volume ! It would require no ordinary amount of literary and fictional skill to impart interest to such reading as this, and to sustain the interest supposing it to be imparted. We cannot congratulate E. Prentiss upon any marked success in overcoming the difficulties of her self-imposed task. Her heroine—Catherine Mortimer—passes through what are supposed to be the ordinary stages of a young lady's career from girlhood to womanhood, from flirtation to courtship, and from courtship to "the warmth of a double life," as our laureate poet terms it. On her own shewing, she is an uncomfortably clever girl, who can say smart and sharp things, ask very awkward questions, and make herself exceedingly unpleasant to those who give her real or imaginary offence ; to us she appears to be simply a person of impressive temperament, hasty temper, kindly feelings, and awkward manners, but with nothing so overpowering in her originality or wit as to cause us to feel compassion for Dr Elliot, to whom she is unjustifiably rude on the occasion of their first interview, but whose wife she ultimately becomes.

While there are not wanting some elements of interest in the story, the form into which the writer has cast it renders it impossible for us to call it attractive ; and we suspect even its young lady readers, once they get past the entries in the journal which record the breaking off the engagement with Charles Underhill, with the letters that passed upon that occasion, and those that detail the steps in the successful courtship of the New York Dr, will be found *skipping* not a few of the journal-extracts that follow.

That mention of New York reminds us of the fact that we had made some progress in our reading before we made the discovery that the story is an American one. There is no intimation of this on the title page,—the introductory quotations are from Wordsworth, Rutherford, Leighton, and Augustine ; it is only when the erratic journalist condescends to localise as well as date an entry that we learn on what side of the Atlantic she was "raised."

Preaching ; Its Properties, Place, and Power. An Address to Students of Divinity. By CHARLES J. BROWN, D.D., Edinburgh. Published by request. Edinburgh : John MacLaren, Princes Street. 1870.

The object of the author in this tract is not to treat of the great themes which constitute the preaching of the gospel, all important as they are,—Christ crucified ; sin and Christ ; ruin and salvation ; repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ. He limits himself to the form, in contradistinction to the matter. The tract, thus limited as to the topics which it handles, is replete with suggestions of the greatest practical value, and may be read with profit, not only by students of theology but by ministers of the gospel, who, when actually encountering the duties and difficulties of the pastoral office, in dealing with the understandings, consciences, and hearts of men, feel more frequently the necessity of a guide than the mere theological student. What adds greatly to the value of this

address is, that it contains the results of the experience of a Christian pastor who has "laboured in the word and doctrine" for the period of thirty-two years, partly in Glasgow and partly in Edinburgh.

We are often told in the present day that the power of the pulpit is gone, and that the press has taken its place. Dr Brown's observations on this point are so just as well as so suitable to the times that we shall here quote the passage entire:—"I believe that this whole allegation about the power of the pulpit being gone is baseless. I will tell you what is gone. The power of a neat little manuscript carried to the pulpit, and prettily read,—that is gone. Oh never attempt, by the reading of a little manuscript book in the pulpit, to compete with the volumes which issue from the press, or you shall be miserably cast in the competition. But carry to the pulpit *a different thing altogether*,—carry to it well-digested thoughts, with suitable words to express them,—written in your inmost soul, and if needful also in your manuscript,—thoughts and words wherewith to stir the souls of your hearers to their inmost depths; wherewith to hold loving intercourse with them, and tell them what God has been telling you; and both you and they shall find that the pulpit still wields a power altogether its own. As for the press, I am confident that in this age of rapid communication and ceaseless living intercourse of man with man, books are not *actually read* to any such extent as is apt to be imagined."

From his frequent use of the personal pronoun in the address, the author is concerned, as if it presented a certain appearance of egotism. This feeling is, we think, wholly groundless. On reading the address we were struck with the entire absence of assumption, or of the dictatorial, and with the free, frank, and easy manner which its whole tone and style bespeak.

Bishops and Clergy of other Days ; or, the Lives of two Reformers and three Puritans. By the Rev. J. O. RYLE, B.A., Vicar of Stradbroke, Suffolk. London: William Hunt & Co. 1868.

We take blame to ourselves for having so long delayed to notice this excellent production. Our only apology is, that looking only to its unpromising title, we had laid it aside and forgotten it. On re-opening the volume, we were agreeably surprised to find that it contains admirable sketches of Bishops Hooper and Latimer, together with three of our Puritan Divines, Samuel Ward, Richard Baxter, and William Gurnall. These are all executed with equal fidelity and impartiality. In his treatment of the Nonconformists, the worthy and respected author manifests, not merely superiority to all prejudice, but that cordial and brotherly spirit which recognises in them the faithful and devoted servants of our common Lord, and men who might have retained their place in the Church of England, had they not been compelled by a tyrannical edict to conform to certain rites which they conscientiously condemned. In his introduction, Mr Ryle has given an admirable exposure of the gross misrepresentation vented by Dr Littledale against the whole body of our Reformers in a lecture, the spirit of which may be estimated from the following sample: "Robespierre, Danton, Marat, St Just, Couthon, and the like, merit quite as much admiration and respect as Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Hooper, and the others who happened to have the ill luck to be worsted in a struggle wherein they meant to serve their adversaries as they were served themselves." In the same spirit he attacks honest Fox the martyrologist, charging him with mendacity, and his book with being "a magazine of lying bigotry." If such rabid and reckless hostility to the cause of true religion prevails, as we fear it does, to an alarming extent among the Anglican clergy, we may have the battle of the Reformation to fight over again. Meanwhile it is of the last importance that such bare-faced perversions of our national history should be met by a calm and well authen-

ticated re-exhibition of the truth. And this we have in the volume before us. By quotations from a long list of witnesses, beginning with Archbishop Parker and ending with Macaulay and Froude, Mr Ryle has established beyond all question the trustworthiness of the venerable Fox. This introduction, together, with his sketches of the Reformers should, we would humbly but earnestly suggest, be reprinted in a small and cheaper form, and scattered broadcast, and we should hope gratuitously, over the length and breadth of England. Much as we admire his portraits of the Puritans, we think that in such an edition they might be warrantably omitted to give wings and a wider scope to that part of the volume which more immediately affects the cause of the Reformation.

Our Father in Heaven: The Lord's Prayer Explained and Illustrated. A Book for the Young. By Rev. J. H. WILSON, M.A., Barclay Church, Edinburgh. London: James Nisbet & Co. Third Edition. 1870.

Of story books for the young we have enough and to spare; but of pulpit addresses to the young our stock is scanty. John Todd, of America, and Dr Edmond, of London, have rendered good service in this department of religious literature; and Mr Wilson has won for himself an honourable position alongside of these cupbearers to the little ones. His former volume, "The Golden Fountain; or, Bible Truth Unfolded," has always appeared to us to be one of the most successful attempts to reach young hearers in a way fitted to secure their attention and elicit their interest. And this most recent product of Mr Wilson's pen is certainly not inferior to its predecessor in aptness of illustration, simplicity of style, and skill in handling what is explained and illustrated. Having occasion to make use of the latest contribution to the literature of the model prayer—that of Adolph Saphir—at the time we were re-reading Mr Wilson's volume with a view to this notice, we found that the addresses of the Edinburgh minister in no way suffered from being thus placed alongside of the London preacher's singularly fresh and suggestive lectures.

The twelve addresses which compose the volume were, it is stated in the preface, originally delivered to the young people of the author's congregation and mission district, at their quarterly gatherings for the purpose, and this fact will impart an additional value to them in the estimate of our clerical readers. As all who have made the attempt can testify, it is no easy thing to prepare a sermon for, and deliver it to, the young. Those who require to make the attempt may gather many a valuable hint as to how to go about it by observing the way in which it has been done, with no small measure of success, by the minister of the Barclay Church. At a time when the attention of ministers, Sabbath-school teachers, and of all who love the little ones, is being directed to the practical working of day services for children as a hitherto neglected department of home mission work, we cannot too earnestly recommend to such the perusal and study of these addresses as the surest way of acquainting themselves as to what ought to be, and must be, the nature and style of the address at such services, if they are to prove both rivetting and instructive. The fact that a third edition of the work has been called for speaks to the acceptance it has already met with, and the still widening circle of readers, young and adult, which it is securing for its pleasant pages.

The Psalms: Their History, Teachings, and Use. By WILLIAM BINNIE, D.D. London: T. Nelson & Sons, Paternoster Row; Edinburgh, and New York. 1870.

A volume produced by Dr Binnie, will always repay a careful perusal, both from the excellence of its matter and from its attractive style. The

volume before us will fully sustain the author's reputation as a judicious, trustworthy, laborious, learned, and eloquent theologian.

The peculiar character of this volume is not that it is a Commentary on the Psalter or on any part of it, but that it consists simply of discussions on various subjects connected with, or arising out of it, selected for their special importance with a view to their fuller elucidation, and thereby to the better understanding of the whole of this part of the inspired Word; or as Tyndale has expressed it, it is intended as a *pathway to the Psalter*. The author may be said to have acted as a pioneer to a department of study better known in Germany than in our own country, as that of Biblical theology. While the author has examined all the principal works written on the Psalms, whether in German or in English, he has succeeded in giving to his volume a remarkable degree of freshness, and has adapted it to the present state of Scriptural exegesis, by taking up and confuting the forms assumed in the present day by the ever-varying forms of rationalistic objections. Thus, in treating of the Messianic Psalms, Dr Binnie commences with stating the aspect in which the rationalists of the present day regard this position of the psalter. Unlike the infidels of the last century, who, without hesitation, would have denied that any expectation of a coming Messiah existed among the ancient Jews, the modern rationalists, laying claim to a high biblical scholarship, and loud in their encomiums on the Old Testament Scriptures as works of ancient literature, readily acknowledge that Messianic anticipations prevailed among the ancient Jews, and pervade not a few of the psalms. Yet modern rationalists, while admitting this, deny that these anticipations had a divine origin, or that any of the psalms are prophetic of the advent of a divine person, the Saviour of the world, and that the psalter is the production of supernatural revelation.

An idea of the subject matter of the volume may be formed by giving a summary of the contents, which consist of three books:—I. History and Poetical Structure of the Psalms; II. The Theology of the Psalms, embracing Christ in the Psalms, Personal Religion in the Psalms, Social Religion in the Psalms; III. Notices respecting the use of the Psalms in the Church. It is thus evident that the work is equally suitable for the private Christian and for the theological student.

The Witness of Christianity to Christ. An Address delivered to the Young Men's Association of the Free East Church, Aberdeen, 26th January 1870, and Published at their request. By the Rev. JAMES S. CANDLISH, A.M. Aberdeen: A. & R. Milne.

We have barely time to invite the attention of our readers to this admirable address. It is seldom that a Young Men's Association is privileged to listen to a lecture fraught with so much original thought, and suggestive reasoning. Within the narrow limits prescribed by an evening address, it was hardly possible for the speaker to enlarge as he might otherwise have done on the various points of his theme; and there is a compression throughout, which demands, as it certainly deserves, the close attention of the reader. Taking advantage of the concessions made by later sceptics, Mr Candlish has constructed one of the happiest arguments from the witness of Christianity to the true character and work of Christ. The lucidity and force of the argument are greatly enhanced by the calmness, the modesty, and the amiable liberality with which it is handled.

The Scots Worthies. By JOHN HOWIE. From the Author's Original Edition, Revised, and Corrected, by the Rev. W. H. CARSLow, M.A., Helensburgh. With numerous Illustrations on wood. Edinburgh: Johnstone, Hunter, & Co. 1870.

This edition is to be completed in about forty weekly parts at three half-pence; or in ten monthly parts at sixpence. In this first monthly part just published, the old-fashioned, and grave-faced original of John Howie is reproduced in all the glories of modern typography, and adorned with tasteful woodcuts. All the later editions of this work have been more or less garbled; in that by M'Gavin especially, the old covenanter of Lochgoin is made to speak in the mealy-mouthed accents of an independent preacher. We are glad to find that the present publishers propose in this edition to give a faithful transcript of the original; not even excepting we hope the concluding chapter on "God's judgments upon persecutors," which proved far too strong meat to be served up by former editors, but which, as a record of the times, and as presenting some aspects of Providence, not even yet to be wholly disregarded, is surely worth preservation. We have heard the late Hugh Miller say, that, in his opinion, the "Judgments" were the best part of the book, but in this he may have been singular.

The Early Years of Christianity. By E. De PRESSENSE, D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton, Paternoster Row. 1869.

In this volume the eloquent author follows up his former treatise on "Jesus Christ: His Times, Life, and Work." It exhibits the same remarkable power of investing a familiar theme with the charm of philosophic analysis and of an imaginative style. While we do not pledge ourselves to follow the ingenious writer into all his conclusions, none can fail to admire the light which he has shed on several of the most important questions now occupying the attention of all the churches, and likely to issue soon in momentous changes.

The Gospel according to St Mark. A New Translation, with Critical Notes and Doctrinal Lessons. By Professor J. H. GODWIN, New College, London. Hodder & Stoughton, London.

The plan of this work commends itself in many ways. The leading features of it are,—a brief but comprehensive Introduction, taking up the authorship of the Gospel, the date of its composition, its relation to St Peter, the object, characteristics, and plan of the work, and the mutual relations of the gospels; a new translation, which has the recommendation of not differing unnecessarily from the authorised English version; the summing up, in a series of divisions and sections, of the contents of the passages included in these; critical notes on each verse; and a statement, at the close of each section, in a series of briefly stated propositions, of the great lessons which the passage suggests. Alike to general readers and to those engaged in conducting advanced Bible classes, the work is fitted to be helpful; the general tone of it is excellent, and while there is room for difference of opinion in regard to several controverted points with which it necessarily deals, there is a calmness and judiciousness in stating the argument which materially helps the reader in coming to a conclusion regarding it. There is no ostentatious display of scholarship, or show of references to other works, the author contenting himself with giving the results of his own reading and study in a clear and forcible way.

The Epistle of Paul to the Romans. By J. P. LANGE, D.D., and the Rev. F. R. FAY. Translated from the German by J. F. HUEST, D.D., with additions by P. SCHAFF, D.D., and the Rev. M. B. RIDDLE. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 38 George Street. 1869.

This forms one of the volumes of "A Commentary on the Holy Scriptures; critical, doctrinal, and homiletical, with special reference to ministers and students. By John Peter Lange, D.D., in connection with a number of eminent European divines. Translated from the German, and edited, with additions, by Philip Schaff, D.D., in connection with American scholars of various evangelical denominations." This great Bibelwerk when completed will constitute a vast storehouse of exegetical, doctrinal, and practical theology, which will be of inestimable value to the church of Christ.

The volume before us, by itself, is a work of immense labour and learning. Dr Lange has prepared the exegetical and doctrinal parts, and the Rev. F. R. Fay, his son-in-law, and pastor at Crefeld, Prussia, the homiletical sections, while the translators and editors have made so large additions as to increase the German edition nearly one-half. Each contributor from the judgment, ability, and research, with which he has performed his part has proved his qualifications for his difficult and responsible task. The introduction by Dr Schaff embraces a variety of topics, elaborately and eloquently discussed, all contributing to the right understanding of the Epistle; and from the numerous quotations from other commentators with which the volume abounds, it may be regarded as a *Synopsis Criticorum* of this portion of the inspired Word.

Grace and Truth. By the Rev. W. P. MACKAY, M.D., Hull.

In reference to the notice of this publication in our last, we are gratified to state, after a correspondence with the author, that we substantially agree on the points of doctrine there referred to, and find that our animadversions arose from the peculiarity of some of his modes of expression.

The following Works have been received, just as we were going to press. We regret we can only give their titles:—"Stoughton's Ecclesiastical History of England: The Church of the Restoration." 2 vols. Hodder and Stoughton. "Wolfe's Sermons for the Times." London: Longmans, &c. "Muirhead's China and the Gospel." Nisbet & Co., London.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW.

JULY 1870.

ART. I.—*Venice.*

1. *The Queen of the Adriatic ; or, Venice Past and Present.* By W. H. DAVENPORT ADAMS. London : T. Nelson & Sons. 1869.
2. *The Stones of Venice.* By JOHN RUSKIN, A.M. Three Volumes. London. 1851-1853.

VENICE! how rich in associations, how eloquent of the past, is that glorious old city of the sea! The mingling charms of history, poetry, and romance gather round the once proud and powerful, but now fallen and impoverished, "Queen of the Adriatic." Italy is the country of magnificent old cities, famed in the middle ages, and even of high repute in modern times. Of these, with the single exception of Rome, Venice has the most splendid history, and as a sight is the most attractive at this day. It is scarcely fair, indeed, to compare Rome, the ancient capital of the world, with any other European city of a more recent date. Like Jerusalem, Rome has a unique character among the cities of the world, and a historical interest that is quite unapproachable. She was a world-conquering, world-renowned city, centuries before Paris and London had crowned their respective rivers, or Venice had risen like a wondrous exhalation from the lagoon-girt isles of the Adriatic. But leaving the great city of the Tiber out of view, we find no city of Italy equal in interest or renown to Venice, "the Rome of the Ocean." Naples, the largest Italian city of our day, the fair Florence, the grand Milan, the superb Genoa, with all their wealth, and power, and fame, cannot vie in historic splendour, or deathless beauty, with that marvellous

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creation at the head of the Adriatic, that rose to empire by her maritime greatness. Hence the traveller in Italy, who has any knowledge of history, or love of art, eagerly turns aside to visit Venice, where he can see in fancy, "a thousand years their cloudy wings expand," while he feasts his eyes on architectural glories, and revels in the very atmosphere of romance.

It was in the middle of August 1867, that we first realised a golden dream of youth by visiting Venice and surveying the still brilliant remains of its ancient grandeur. A year before, the battle of Sadowa had shattered the power of Austria, and restored Venice, with the circumjacent province, to Italy. The city of the Doges, for whom all Italy had been in mourning, was rejoicing in her new found freedom, and dreaming of the return of some portion of her former prosperity. It was then with newly awakened hopes and sympathies that we rapidly approached Venice by the magnificent railway which connects that city with Milan. In eight hours the traveller who starts from the grand capital of Lombardy, reaches the Adriatic shore, after passing Bergamo, Verona, Vicenza, Padua, and other cathedraled cities, full of glorious architecture, and rich in classic or romantic associations. As he whirls across the vast and fertile Lombard plain, the sunshine, the air, and the sky, apart from the lofty works of man, give him *that feeling of Italy* which Goethe and others have so exquisitely enjoyed and described. Verona spoke to us of Shakespeare's immortal creations; the branch line to Mantua recalled Virgil and his native fields; the towers of Padua, which we saw quite near, summoned up Livy with his "pictured page." It was night before we approached the mysterious city of the sea. As our train moved along the straight, low bridge, two miles in length, that now connects Venice with the mainland, the numerous twinkling lights that seemed to flutter like fallen stars upon the water, had a magical effect, and prepared us for a scene more enchanting and more real than any in the Arabian Nights' Entertainments. On arriving at the station, we soon got into a gondola, and found ourselves afloat upon the grand canal, in the very heart of the city. Rows of glorious palaces on either hand, each of them "a romance in stone," laid hold of our imaginations, and carried us at once through the portals of the dusky past. But before we could fully realise the presence and power of the wondrous scene, we landed from our airy barge on the marble, wave-worn steps of the Palazzo Giustiniani, the ancient residence of a renowned ducal family, now transformed into the Albergo dell' Europa. About nine o'clock, when we had been fairly installed in the noble old mansion, where every room, doubtless, has a history, we looked out from our lofty casement upon the mouth of the Grand Canal,

and in the direction of the Lido, that long, low, narrow island which acts as a natural breakwater between Venice and the Adriatic. Moonlight was upon the waters; the waters were trembling gently beneath the silvery lustre; a balmy sea breeze breathed a delicious coolness after the fervours of the day. Domes, palaces, and towers, some distinctly, some dimly visible, gondolas, full of gay passengers, flitting about in all directions, some of them bearing aloft Chinese lanterns, and echoing with the voice of song, added to the mystery and enchantment of the hour, and extorted the exclamation, "this is Venice!"

Musing that night, and since, on the rise, the glory, and the fall of this renowned city, we have become familiar with the grand eras and incidents, the famous scenes and romantic passages, of Venetian history. We can imagine the dim shadows of the past opening to reveal to us the humble origin, the wondrous development, and splendid prosperity of the great maritime Republic. Before speaking further about the Venice of the present, let us look as down a long vista of 1300 years, at the Venice of the past. In the middle of the fifth century, Attila, "the scourge of God," after rapidly recovering from his great defeat at Chalons, crosses the Alps with a fresh army of Huns, and descends like a torrent on the Italian plains. The Roman emperor is unable to defend or succour his people; Milan, Padua, Aquileia, and other famous cities, are ravaged by the destroyer. The Veneti, dwelling round the head of the Adriatic, are special sufferers from fire and sword, and take refuge in a group of small, low and marshy islands, that lie close to their native shores. The fresh waters of the Brenta and other Alpine rivers, have combined with the salt waters of the ocean, to form protecting lagoons and defensive channels, behind which they are safe from their terrible enemy. A cluster of little towns, built on different islands, gradually rises above the sea. These small fishing and trading ports, continually receiving fresh recruits from the mainland, at length coalesce into one Republic. The islands on which they stand are as near one another as neighbouring streets and squares in a large city, being separated only by narrow streams, or channels of water, now known as canals. The inhabitants, battling with enemies of the land and dangers of the sea, become numerous and strong; they fish, they build, they trade; they form a regular government, which is administered by consuls or tribunes, elected for limited periods; and at length, like a young giant emerging from the waters, there lifts its head amidst the lagoons of the Adriatic, the Republic or State of Venice.

For two hundred and forty years the first and purer form of republican government exists; but in 697 a species of

monarchy is substituted. A duke, or Doge, invested with immense civil and ecclesiastical power, is elected for life. Paolo Luca Anafesto is the first of that long line of one hundred and twenty-one Doges under which Venice is to struggle up to greatness, to flourish among the first powers of the world, and finally to fall. He concludes a treaty, defining the limits of the Venetian territory, with the king of the Lombards. Thenceforth the maritime state starts on a career of struggle, triumph, prosperity; conflicts issue in success, or disasters are retrieved with glory. Pepin of Lombardy attacks the Venetians in 804, and takes several of their towns, but is at last repulsed. The citizens make their citadel in the island of the Rialto, and there offer a victorious resistance. Their brave leader, Participazio, is elected Doge, and immediately gives new life and form to the city and state. He unites sixty islands together by canals and bridges, founds a cathedral and a ducal palace, on sites where the present grand erections stand, and in reality creates the Venice of history.

What strange scenes of superstition and patriotism, romance and war, rise up before the eye as we look down the Venetian past! In 829 the reputed relics of St Mark the Evangelist, obtained at Alexandria by the pious fraud of two Venetian merchants, are transported to Venice, and deposited with great pomp in the cathedral. St Mark is henceforth the patron saint of Venice, and the cathedral, that was to become such a glorious building, ever after bears his name. The "winged lion," a symbol borrowed from one of Daniel's visions, now becomes a badge and rally-cry of the Venetians. The lofty granite pillar on the Piazzetta, crowned with the winged lion of St Mark, is the grand memorial of a device so renowned in Venetian history. But here there rises up to view the capture of "the Brides of Venice," so famed in song and story. In the year 932, on St Mary's Eve, twelve young maidens, dowered by the State, according to a venerable annual custom, are about to be united to their betrothed lovers. When in the Church of St Peter's, surrounded by a festive, unarmed multitude, they are suddenly set upon, and torn from the very altar by a band of sea rovers from Trieste, who have been lurking near, waiting their opportunity. The shrieking virgins are borne off by their captors to their barks, and are soon upon the sea on their way to Trieste. But instantly all Venice is up in arms. The Doge gives orders for prompt and hot pursuit. The disappointed lovers, joined by many ardent pursuers, dash off to sea, and aided by sail and oar, soon overtake the ravishers. A fierce fight ensues, the Trieste robbers are slain to a man, the brides are brought back in triumph, and the nuptial ceremonies, so suddenly interrupted, are concluded amidst joyful acclamations.

The great Doge, Pietro Orseolo II., known as the Magnificent, reigns from 991 to 1006. He adds Dalmatia to the dominions of Venice, and raises himself to the rank of a European sovereign. He receives as his visitor the Emperor Otho III., who was attracted by the splendour of the Venetian State, and the high renown of its chief. He beautifies the city, extends commerce, and cultivates the arts of peace. Venice becomes now the mistress and arbiter of the seas. The eldest son of her Doge weds the niece of the Emperor of the East, the second son is betrothed to the sister of the King of Hungary. But a pestilence invades the city, and carries off, among other victims, Giovanni Orseolo and his imperial bride. The Doge, bowed down with grief, soon after dies, at the early age of forty-seven, but already far renowned as one of the greatest sovereigns of his time. His premature death checks not the progress of Venice. Wars with the Huns, and with the emperors of the east, bright with success, or chequered with disaster, only make the sea-born city more powerful and self-reliant than ever. In a great sea fight off Jaffa, fought in 1122, the Doge Dominico Michieli completely destroys the Saracen fleet. After participating largely in the glory of the capture of Tyre by the crusaders, whom Venice has joined, the same Doge takes and plunders most of the Grecian isles, makes his name a terror to the Greeks, and returns to Venice with his ships full of the most splendid and varied spoils.

About this time the power of the Doges, hitherto almost unlimited, was gradually abridged, and Venice came to be governed by an oligarchy. The oligarchical is perhaps the worst of all forms of government, and it is wonderful that the Venetian oligarchy did not sooner conduct the State to ruin. But the personal character of many of the Doges, and the indomitable spirit of the people, saved Venice for centuries from the natural results of its vicious constitution. The times also favoured the great city of the Adriatic. There was no passage to the Indies round Africa, and the commerce of the east and west naturally enough was almost monopolised by the Venetians.

Looking again along the stream of Venetian history, we see something happening in the year 1176, which is one of the great events of the middle ages. There has been a long and fierce struggle between Pope Alexander III. and the proud and triumphant Emperor of Germany, Frederic Barbarossa. For years the Pope has much the worst of it, and is forced to seek refuge in Venice from his imperial foe. But the Venetians, espousing his cause under their Doge Ziani, attack and utterly destroy Barbarossa's fleet, off the Istrian coast. The haughty Emperor is humbled by this defeat and other misfortunes. He consents to a truce, and comes to Venice in

person, to ratify the terms of peace. He lands at the Piazzetta, that landing-place at the mouth of the Grand Canal, which has been trodden by so many famous personages. He is conducted by the Doge into the cathedral of St Mark, where the Pope sits enthroned in all his insignia, and surrounded by a blazing multitude of high ecclesiastical and civil functionaries. He approaches with uncovered head, and, flinging off his imperial mantle, casts himself down at the "holy father's" feet, to kiss his toe in humble submission. Alexander, equal to the occasion, plants his foot twice upon the Emperor's neck, in token of the supremacy of the ecclesiastical over the civil power. Then the vaults of the glorious old cathedral ring with the triumphant strains of the *Te Deum*, and the pride of the Papacy is at its height. On leaving the cathedral, the Emperor conducts the Pope to his horse, holds his stirrup while he mounts, and in other ways demeans himself before his Holiness of Rome. Thus, the most warlike and powerful monarch of the age prostrates himself at the feet of an old man, whom he believes to be Christ's vicegerent on earth. The force of superstition can go no further even in these days. Times are altered now, when the Roman pontiff is secretly despised, and only for political reasons endured by the most pious of his sceptred sons. A square marble slab, near the great door of the cathedral, marks the spot where Barbarossa submitted to the tread of the Pope's foot.

But what of "blind old Dandolo, Byzantium's conquering foe?" Dandolo was elected Doge in 1192, when eighty-four years of age, and totally blind. But he seems to have had at the time all the fire, and nearly all the strength of youth. He instantly communicated new vigour to the Government, and displayed, in peace and war, extraordinary sagacity and valour. He formed, on advantageous terms, the fourth Crusade, stipulating with the other crusading powers for a lion's share of the spoils of victory. When Constantinople was besieged and captured by the crusaders in 1203, the skill and courage of Dandolo and the Venetian forces, were pre-eminent. The blind old Doge was the first to strike the shore with his galley, and the glorious flag of Venice, with its winged lion of St Mark, was the first that was hoisted on the towers of the falling city. Constantinople was taken, but three years after, in consequence of an usurper, Mourzoufle having mounted the imperial throne, it had to be taken again. The second siege was more protracted and tremendous than the first. The Greeks made a desperate defence, but the enthusiastic yet disciplined valour of Dandolo and his fellow crusaders proved irresistible. The spoils of the vanquished city were enormous, and were instantly divided among the greedy victors. The

gold and silver, the precious stones, the rich cloths, and other valuables of the kind, were carefully collected and distributed ; but many columns, statues, and other priceless works of ancient art, were ruthlessly destroyed, or ignorantly trampled under foot. One splendid prize, something nobler than mere gold or silver, was claimed by the Venetians. The four bronze horses, fine specimens of Greek art, which had in succession been among the proud ornaments of Alexandria, Rome, and Constantinople, were now conveyed to Venice, and placed above the central portico of the cathedral of St Mark. After pawing the air on their lofty pediments for nearly 600 years, they were seized by Napoleon when he conquered Venice in 1797, and sent to Paris, where they were erected on the arched gateway of the Place de Carousel. But in 1815, when France was compelled to disgorge so much of her plunder, they were restored to Venice, and mounted on their old position, where they still stand, the admired of all beholders. On the fall of Constantinople, Dandolo was loaded with honours ; and Venice, gaining large accessions of territory, reached the culminating point of her greatness. After performing a few other brilliant exploits in the east, Enrico Dandolo expired in his ninety-eighth year, leaving behind him a reputation as a statesman and a warrior which has given him the highest place among the Doges of Venice. He was buried in the magnificent church of St Sophia, so long the glory of the Greek capital.

Soon after Dandolo's time, war broke out between Venice and Genoa. The strife between the two great maritime republics continued for centuries, and was the source of dreadful calamities to both. Venice could not brook a rival near her throne, and Genoa, full of bold, youthful aspirations, actually aimed at supplanting the proud mistress of the Adriatic. But no jealousy ever surpassed that which estranged from one another, and set at bitter variance, the Italian Republics of the middle ages. The wars between Venice and Genoa for the monopoly of commerce and the dominion of the seas were among the most bloody and determined on record. Both states, during the long agony of contest, often bled at every pore ; but, on the whole, and in the end, the Genoese triumphed ; that is, after protracted and exhausting efforts, they inflicted fully more injury than they received. The sea fights and other struggles between the Venetians and the Genoese were marked by many romantic incidents ; but they were painful in the extreme, and of a fratricidal character. Italians shed one another's blood like water, and often seemed to be engaged in a war of mutual extermination. In one battle, Lamberto Doria, the Genoese Admiral, burned sixty-five and captured eighteen Venetian ships. Among his prisoners was

the famous traveller, Marco Polo, recently returned from his adventurous journeys, and lengthened residence in Tartary, China, and other almost wholly unknown regions of Asia. In a Genoese prison, Polo, with the aid of materials he had in his possession, began to prepare a narrative of his extraordinary travels. When at length revised and published, that narrative, discredited by many at first, was yet finally received as authentic. It made a profound impression over all Europe, stimulated the Portuguese to those exertions which led to the discovery of the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope, and helped to inspire Columbus with those grand ideas which resulted in the greatest of all geographical exploits. Marco Polo regained his liberty, and was appointed a member of the Grand Council of Venice, where he died in 1323, greatly honoured by his countrymen.

Two political changes materially affecting the fortunes of Venice, must here be noticed. The first is the "closing of the Council," by which the composition of the great Council of the State, which elected the Doge, was restricted to the families which were represented in it at the time, A.D. 1297. The names of these families and their descendants, were carefully inscribed in *Libro d' Oro*, or Golden Book, from which every other name was jealously excluded. Thus was formed a most exclusive aristocracy, which monopolised the power and honours of the State. Had Venice, instead of following this retrograde and suicidal course, cautiously developed and guided the democratic element in her society, she might have been saved from that decadence and decay which led to her inglorious fall. The other notable change in her constitution was the appointment of the "Council of Ten," in 1710, an aristocratic body invested with terrible powers, and destined to give a dark colour to Venetian history as long as the Republic lasted. It certainly served to give promptitude and strength to the executive, but it acted like a civil inquisition in Venice, and was often guilty of execrable tyranny.

We now come to the conspiracy of the Doge Marino Faliero, the subject of one of the tragedies of Byron. Faliero had served the State well as a general, having conquered the Hungarians at Zara, and forced that city to return to its allegiance. A powerful noble as well as a successful soldier, he was raised in due time to the office of Doge. He seems to have early felt impatient under the restraints now imposed upon the chief ruler of the Republic, and to have meditated striking a blow for that supreme power which his predecessors once possessed. But an insult given him by a young gentleman of Venice having, as he thought, been punished by the Council of Forty with an insulting lenity, his rage overflowed, and he actually

conspired with some desperate characters, to cut off the leading nobles and citizens of Venice, and make himself supreme lord of the State. This unprecedented conspiracy was discovered just in time to save Venice from a bloody revolution. The conspirators were taken and hanged successively between the red pillars on the piazzetta. The Doge himself, confronted with his accusers, did not deny his crime, but haughtily resigned himself to his fate. He was beheaded with great deliberation and ceremony, on the landing-place of the giant's staircase, which leads from the inner court into the state room of the ducal palace, and by which the Doges, when elected, enter their official residence. In the grand Council Hall, immediately under the ceiling, the portraits of all the doges of Venice, many of them painted by the first masters, are arranged in chronological order, forming a brilliant and almost unmatched array of historical effigies. But a black empty space is left, where the portrait of Marino Faliero should have been. The body of the decapitated Doge was quietly buried in the church of San Giovanni e Paolo, and there his tomb is to be seen at this day.

Passing over the exploits of the two illustrious Venetian admirals, Pisani and Carlo Zeno, who, though often ill-requited, served their country with distinguished honour and success in the bloody contests with the Genoese, let us glance now at the story of the "two Foscari" that has gained a new lustre from the genius of Byron. Francesco Foscari, elected in 1423, reigned as Doge during thirty-five years, which, on the whole, were prosperous for the republic. He repeatedly wished to resign his office, but the senate absolutely refused to accept his resignation. His son, Giacopo, married to a daughter of the illustrious house of Contarini, having been accused of accepting presents from foreign powers, was by the inhuman order of the Council of Ten, put to the torture in his father's presence. Though generally believed to be quite innocent, the unhappy youth in his agony uttered words which were set down as a confession of guilt. He was consequently condemned to banishment from Venice, and his wretched father was obliged to pronounce his sentence. Soon after, one of the ten was assassinated in the streets, and Giacopo Foscari, unjustly suspected of complicity in this crime, was seized at Treviso, where he resided in exile, brought back to Venice, and again cruelly tortured before his father's eyes. His reason was for a while overcome by his mental and physical suffering; but when it was restored, he was exiled to Candia. There he was compelled to remain even after the real author of the assassination had confessed his crime on his deathbed. But Giacopo, separated from his father, his wife, and children,

burned with an uncontrollable desire to revisit his native Venice, and wrote a letter to the Duke of Milan to intercede for him with the senate. He purposely left his letter open, that it might be seen by the spies of the Venetian Government, and that thus he might be summoned home to answer for his conduct. He is now conducted to Venice, charged with the heinous crime of having appealed for relief to a foreign potentate. He is brought before his relentless accusers and judges, who refuse to accept the real and pathetic explanation of his last proceeding; he is for the third time subjected to the rack, and thirty times are his limbs tortured by the terrible cord; bleeding and agonized, he is borne into the ducal apartments, sentenced again to exile, the first year of which is to be passed in prison; permitted only to see his family before he departed, he is sent off to Candia, where soon in prison, his extraordinary sufferings are terminated by death. The elder Foscari, though he had formerly been compelled by the Great Council to swear he would not resign his office, was now compelled to abdicate by the Ten, who took it upon them to release him from his oath. The broken-hearted but dignified old man, insisted on leaving the palace by the giant's staircase, as being the fit place of entrance and of exit for a Doge. He expired a few days after, as the bells of St Mark announced the accession of his successor. There is nothing in the annals of Venetian vengeance and cruelty more truly tragic than the story of the two Foscari.

In the fifteenth century, Venice was at the height of her power and glory. She was the first of maritime states, and also ruled over extensive territories. The large and fertile plain between the Alps and the sea, known in modern times as Venezia, owned her sway. Cyprus and Candia also belonged to her, with the Morea, and many of the glorious Grecian isles. Dalmatia, Istria, and part of Albania, on the east side of the Adriatic, likewise formed part of her dominions. But she had factories or commercial establishments in Egypt, in the Levant, and on the shores of the Black Sea. She had also most of the carrying trade of the Mediterranean, and was the great emporium of the east and the west. Her manufactures, especially those of linen, silk, and glass, were unrivalled, and yielded her enormous yearly gains. Her commercial navy numbered 3000 ships, manned by 17,000 seamen; her ships of war amounted to 350, and carried fully 19,000 naval combatants. The wealth of her merchant princes was immense, and the resources of the State, tried by many terrible calamities, seemed practically inexhaustible. The splendour of the private and public buildings, the luxury of the nobles, and the general gaiety of the people, attracted and astonished visitors

from all parts of the world. Her architecture, felicitously combining the Oriental and Gothic styles, was a special wonder and delight to every stranger, as it is at this day. A spirit of intelligence and independence was also early developed in Venice by her commercial character and the political part she had to play. She often defied the anathemas of the Popes, and never submitted to them so servilely as many other European powers. Once and again she braved the terrors of a papal interdict in asserting her own rights, or pursuing her own policy. Soon after the invention of printing, the noble new art, so dreaded by Rome, was plied with great diligence and boldness within her walls. The Aldine printing press, which for nearly a century produced unrivalled editions of the Greek and Roman classics, testified not only to the literary taste, but to the free spirit of Venice. Dante, Petrarch, Erasmus, and other famous poets and men of letters received a warm welcome from the Venetians when they visited their city. Petrarch shewed his love for Venice by bequeathing to the library of St Mark a great number of valuable manuscripts. The legacy of the celebrated poet and scholar is religiously preserved in the ducal palace.

From the beginning of the sixteenth century dates the decline of Venetian grandeur and prosperity. The wonderful city that, like Rome of old, had grown into an empire, was destined to lose her territories in succession, and to shrink into her original condition. But her power, the growth of so many centuries, only expired gradually, and after some splendid efforts at revival. During the sixteenth century she put forth not a little of her old energy in peace and in war; yet the springs of her life were decidedly declining. The discovery of the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope, and of a new world in the west, now known as America, profoundly disturbed the old channels of commerce, developed the navies of England, France, and Holland, and thus completely undermined the ancient supremacy of Venice. But the battle of Lepanto, fought in 1571, shed a fresh glory on the Venetian arms. The fleets of Venice and Spain, under Don John of Austria, completely defeated the Turks in that famous fight. It will be remembered that Cervantes was wounded, and lost the use of his left hand at Lepanto; a calamity which, however, did not prevent him from wielding either the sword or the pen. Towards the end of the century, Venice was involved in a terrible contest with Rome. Pope Paul V., asserting some of the highest claims of the Papacy in reference to ecclesiastical persons and monastic establishments, laid the Venetian Republic under an interdict, and excommunicated the Doge and all his subjects. But the Doge and senate sternly

defied the thunders of Rome. They were powerfully assisted in maintaining such an independent attitude by the pen of Paolo Sarpi, the intrepid monk who has so terribly exposed the tactics of Rome, in his "History of the Council of Trent." The Venetians completely triumphed over Rome, and never, we believe, has any subsequent Pope followed the fatal example of Paul V. Sarpi, beloved and admired by his countrymen, died at Venice in a good old age, though on one occasion he was nearly killed by the poignards of papal assassins.

But if, in the sixteenth century, the power of Venice was on the decline, art greatly flourished within her walls. A school of painters arose which stands among the highest in the world. The two brothers Bellini, men of high genius, belonged rather to the preceding century; but one of them died in 1501, and the other in 1512. Many admirable specimens of their powers are still found in the churches and other public buildings of Venice. Then comes Giorgione, a great genius who died early; next Sebastian del Piombo, a portrait and historical painter of high rank. Bordone, Pordenone, and others, rivalled these masters; but the greatest of all, Titian, eclipsed every predecessor, and carried the Venetian school to the height of its glory. This renowned painter was born in 1477, and early studied his art under the Bellinis. He soon rose to the highest eminence in Venice, and his fame spread over all Europe. Emperors, kings, popes, and princes vied with one another in doing him honour, and seeking to obtain the productions of his pencil. As a master of colour Titian is perhaps unrivalled. Nothing can surpass the gorgeous splendour and harmonious glow of his pictures. His fertility was equal to his genius. After pouring forth his brilliant productions with a rapid hand during a long life, he died, painting, in his ninety-ninth year. Tintoretto, a contemporary and imitator of Titian, almost equals him in merit and renown. We are not sure but Mr Ruskin places him fully higher than his master; but our great modern critic is apt to be a little capricious in his praise, and to have his special favourites in art. Paul Veronese, a native of Verona, is another great name in Venetian painting. He introduced a school of his own, and had not a few distinguished disciples. The only other name which we can here single out from those that follow is Canaletti. The productions of this remarkable painter, chiefly views in Venice, are very numerous, and are scattered over all the galleries of Europe.

There are two distinguished Venetian names, great in Italian literature, which we must here introduce, Goldoni, the dramatist, and Ugo Foscolo, the poet and critic. They both

belong to the last period of Venetian history, and their genius shed a lustre on their loved Republic, as it was verging to its fall. Goldoni was born at Venice in 1707, and received the first part of his education at Rome. Originally intended by his father for the stage, he studied a while for the church, and finally become an advocate. But he soon abandoned the legal profession, and took to dramatic literature. He became the most popular writer of comedies that Italy had ever known. The manners and morals, the foibles and vices of his countrymen, he exhibited and exposed in countless plays with extraordinary skill and humour. At Bologna, Florence, Paris, and Venice, he successively exercised his talents, and brought out the productions of his genius. But it was in his native city that he found the freest scope for his remarkable powers, and that his popularity reached its utmost height. He died at Paris in 1793, while the Revolution was running its wild career. The house in which he was born, near the church of the Frari, is one of the sights of Venice, and the memory of the great dramatist is very dear to the Venetians. It is but justice to say that Goldoni wrote on the side of morality, and in his own fashion lashed the vices and follies of his age with unsparing severity.

Nicolo Ugo Foscolo, of Venetian extraction, was born in the island of Zante in 1778, and prosecuted his early studies at Venice. He soon shewed a high genius for poetry; and the dismemberment of the Venetian republic in 1797 kindled within him a flame of patriotism which gave a direction and a colour to his whole life. At Milan and Genoa, during the reign of Napoleon I., he carried on his literary labours, and indulged the patriotic aspirations of his noble spirit. In the year 1808, he was appointed Professor of Eloquence at Pavia; but his chair, with others of a similar kind over Italy, was soon suppressed, as being dangerous to the Government. Foscolo, after various vicissitudes, at length took refuge in England, in 1816, and soon so mastered the English language that he was able to contribute to some of our leading Reviews. He was universally esteemed, both in this country and on the continent, as a man of fine literary genius, a true poet, and a magnanimous patriot. He died near London, in 1827, leaving a name peculiarly dear to his countrymen.

The Venetian Republic expired in 1797, having surrendered to Buonaparte, and been by him handed over with most of her territories to Austria. The conduct of Buonaparte towards Venice has been universally condemned as harsh and heartless; but the vacillation and weakness of the Venetians, under their last Doge, Luigi Manini, did much to provoke the doom that overtook them. How the Austrians ruled Venice, and how

Venice detested the Austrian rule, is known to all the world. In that year of revolutions, 1848, the Venetians, led by Daniel Manin, a true patriot and hero, revolted against Austria, and gloriously resisted for several months the Austrian army under Radetzky. But worn out by famine and disease, they capitulated on the 24th August 1849. The noble Manin retired to Paris, where he lived in honourable poverty till his death in 1857. His remains have recently been transported to his beloved Venice, and consigned to a venerated tomb.

In 1859, Victor Emmanuel, in consequence of a series of events still fresh in the public memory, was proclaimed king of Italy. But Rome and Venice, each with a considerable Italian territory attached to it, were excepted from his new dominions. Garibaldi's wild attempt in 1862 to conquer Rome failed at Aspromonte; but the short and sharp war between Prussia and Austria, in 1866, led to the cession of Venezia to France, and its final annexation to Italy. The entry of King Victor Emmanuel into his city of Venice was one of the most touching and splendid pageants of our times. The Venetians, delivered from the yoke of Austria, had just freely voted themselves over to the sway of the honest and constitutional king. They were prepared, therefore, to give him a reception worthy of their city and the occasion of his entry. A procession suited to the genius of the place was planned, and the effect was overwhelming. The king and his suite, having arrived at the railway station, embarked in a splendid gondola, a barge of royal state; and seated conspicuously with his two sons, Prince Humbert and Prince Amadeus, sailed slowly down the Grand Canal, attended by the principal citizens, the representatives of many old Venetian families, and by many other patriotic Italians, all in their private gondolas rowed by gondoliers in gayest liveries, while salvos of artillery thundered from the arsenal, Italian flags of all dimensions and at all heights fluttered in the breeze, and the enthusiastic cries of a liberated people rent the air. Having reached the landing place at the piazzetta, near the granite pillar crowned with the winged lion of St Mark, a spot where popes, kings, and emperors landed in the proud historic days of Venice, Victor Emmanuel stepped ashore, and proceeded to the great piazza, filled with a dense mass of human beings; and there was he met by the Patriarch and his clergy, the military chiefs, and the officials of the city, who, amidst the deafening acclamations of the multitude, welcomed him as their king. The three towering flagstaffs in front of the glorious old cathedral, that originally gave to the winds the ensigns of Venice, but had for seventy painful years borne the hated colours of Austria, now proudly sustained the white, red, and

green gonfalons of Italy. No language can do justice to the stirring and tumultuous enthusiasm of the scene. Venice, that had long mourned in the dust, like a broken-hearted widow, was now delivered from her despair. The glory of departed ages seemed to descend upon her palaces and towers. Thousands of her noblest children wept for joy, and poured out their thanks to God for giving them the triumph of such a day.

But let us glance again at the old city of the sea in the light of modern experience, and speak of what we saw and felt in August 1867. The stranger's first day in Venice should be devoted to a general view of the city, and to such sights as he can most easily combine with a good circuit along the principal canals. The ducal palace and St Mark's may properly be reserved for a second or a third day's exploration. Our party, therefore, were early afloat in a two-oared gondola on the Grand Canal, bent on giving much of our first day to the sun, the air, the waters, and the palaces of Venice. What ranges of historic palaces, some brightly renovated, others, glorious in decay, rose on either hand! What an air of enchantment enveloped the whole scene! The gorgeous city, sitting proudly on the sea, looked like a vision of romance and not a sober reality. But breaking through the spell that first bound us, we examined with all the coolness we could command, the noble buildings on each side of the Grand Canal as we floated gently along, or paused to feast our admiration. The magnificent and high-domed church of Santa Maria della Salute, so conspicuous in many views of Venice, rose grandly on our left as we began to sail past the two rows of palaces. Then these palaces, with historic names and pillared fronts, haunted with memories of love, and pride, and war, dazzled both the eye and mind. Among the first is the *Palazzo Contarini*, a specimen of the richest Venetian Gothic, the ancient home of a family that gave eight Doges to Venice. Now it is the noble *Palazzo Cornaro*, erected in 1532 by Sansovino, that great architect and sculptor who, though by birth a Florentine, yet flourished in Venice, and devoted his genius to her embellishment. Farther on is the *Palazzo Cavalli*, the residence of the Count de Chambord, representative of the elder branch of the French Bourbons; and a little farther, on the left, is the *Palazzo Foscari*, a richly ornamented building, where the old deposed Doge and broken-hearted father died so tragically. Yet in this stately palace many foreign kings and princes, when visiting Venice, often took up their abode, and passed their time in revelry. But we need not here go over all the famous pieces of architecture that line the great highway of Venice, or glance at the histories recalled by the *Palazzos Balbi, Pisani, Grimani*,

Bembo, Manini, and others as fair and as celebrated. We must except, however, the Palazzo Mocenigo, called often the Palazzo Byron, the residence of the noble poet from 1816 to 1819, and the scene of some of his wildest revels. It is sad that a genius who has done more to awaken among us an interest in Venice than any modern Englishman, should have run to such an excess of riot in that city. The place that he so glorified with his poetry was specially signalised by his vice and folly; and there he probably prepared himself for premature decay and an early grave.

But we approach the richly-decorated old marble bridge, the Rialto, or bridge of the "deep stream," spanning the Grand Canal in the middle of Venice. That "deep stream," which divides the city, as the Thames divides London, is the largest of the three hundred canals of Venice, and is, or was, the principal channel of the Brenta. The famous bridge, associated with the very heart, or commercial centre, of old Venice, was begun in 1588, and finished in two years. Like all the other great buildings of the city, it was founded on thousands of wooden piles, and has firmly stood for ages. It sustains two rows of shops, and is like a curious arcade suspended over the water. The neighbouring streets, full of secondary shops, betray traces of departed grandeur. Once around the Rialto the merchants of Venice most did congregate; and fancy still peoples the place with the Shylocks and Antonios of former days. We are reminded also that not far from this once busy spot immortalised by a few lines of Shakspeare, stands the palace of the Doge Cristoforo Moro, the original of Othello.

Having thus recalled some of the haunting memories of the Grand Canal, we step into the noble church of the Frari, full of famous monuments. The tombs of Titian and Canova, gorgeous and artistic, are worthy of these two great Venetians. They are like altars reared to the genius of painting and sculpture. There are also, in this church of the Frari, monuments of Doges, bishops, and other notables, with many fine paintings, one a magnificent specimen of Titian. Walking round from altar to altar, we see much to admire and something to condemn. There is much glorious art, but also a good deal of false taste, and some boastful inscriptions over the ashes of the dead. We next visit the neighbouring church of San Rocco, with its Scuolo, a beautiful building dear to art. It is the saint's day, and the church is full of holiday worshippers. The whole scene inside, the pictures, the music, both vocal and instrumental, the joyous crowds of old people and young, strike us as peculiarly Venetian. Religion here is made very sprightly and amusing. But both in France, his native country.

and in Italy, San Rocco, or St Roque, is a very popular saint. He is the patron of all who are sick of the plague, and therefore has been long a favourite in Venice, which has as often and as grievously been afflicted with pestilence as any city in Europe. The church is bright with glorious paintings by Titian, illustrative of the life of the saint. The Scuolo contains upwards of sixty of Tintoretto's pictures, all worthy of that great master, whom some are inclined to place above Titian himself. Mr Ruskin, who has given such a fresh glory to "the Stones of Venice" by his masterly criticism and glowing eloquence, declares the Scuolo of San Rocco to be one of the most precious sanctuaries of art in all Italy.

But to crowd as much work as possible into the first of the few days we have to spend in Venice, we next devote some hours to the Academy of Fine Arts. Here we find walls all aglow with brilliant creations of the Venetian school. The masterpiece of Titian, the Assumption of the Virgin, is here, and other prized works of the great colourist. But choice works of the Bellinis, Paolo Veronese, Tintoretto, and other great masters, compete for our admiration. While gazing at the masterpiece of Titian, we are reminded of a calamity that just a few hours before has destroyed another famed work of that master, "The Martyrdom of St Peter." A fire in the sacristy of the great church of San Giovanni e Paolo had consumed that very morning, not only the splendid Titian, but some other valuable pictures, and a variety of fine sculptures in wood and in marble. A candle left burning by the carelessness of an official had done an irreparable injury to art which was next day deplored over all Europe. On leaving the Academy, sated and bewildered with beauty, we looked into some other churches, the Greek Church of St George among the rest. The patron saint of England, if he ever existed, or ever was a saint, is in high repute among the Greeks, and gives his name to their chief church in Venice. We find the said church to be a large building, of imposing proportions, full of second-rate paintings, and enormous candles, some of which are as tall and thick as the masts of a big barge. There are, of course, no statues or images, as these are an abomination to the Greeks; but that seems the main distinction between them and the idolatrous Romans.

Before winding up the delightful labours of the day, we dashed off in our gondola to the Lido, that long slip of an island that shields Venice from the Adriatic. We landed where, fifty years before, Lord Byron often landed when he went to have a gallop along the pebbly beach of the Adriatic. The poet's horses, which he kept on the Lido, were probably at that time the only steeds within hail of Venice; for no sort of carriage

is needed or used, and no kind of horsemanship is known in that city of canals and gondolas. The Lido is full of gardens, vineyards, and pasture grounds, which contribute to the delight and support of the Venetians. Not content with an afternoon visit, we returned to it in the evening, when the moon shed upon the calm smooth waters an exquisite silver sheen. The delicate air, gently bracing after the heat of the day, breathed for us fresh enjoyment. We lingered in the scene of enchantment as if unwilling to return; but at last, retracing our watery way, with the fairy-like lights of the city twinkling before our eyes, we landed near the two famed pillars of the piazzetta, and soon found ourselves in the crowded piazza of St Mark.

Here all Venice seemed to be enjoying itself in the cool night air. The piazza, or place, is perhaps the noblest in the world; certainly none is finer, more ancient, or more celebrated. For centuries the heart of Venice has beat and throbbed in this open space, enclosed with magnificent architecture, and echoing with the voices of the past. We found it in all its evening glory, filled with people listening to the strains of military music, joyously promenading, sipping coffee, smoking cigars, or reading the journals of the day. Some were evidently immersed in political discussions, for the Austrians were gone, and Venice was free. If the stones of the piazza could speak, what histories they might tell! Tyranny and liberty, gaiety and cruelty, have in turn triumphed and figured on that spot. There civic commotion has often surged and heaved like the waves of the Adriatic; and there Venice, in her gayer hours, has specially shewn herself—

“The pleasant place of all festivity,
The revel of the earth, the masque of Italy.”

It is now by day and night a scene of quiet business and harmless enjoyment; not likely henceforth to witness civic broils, or the pride and circumstance of glorious war.

The morning of next day we devoted to the ducal palace, that building which, by means of picture, print, and photograph, not to speak of eloquent descriptions like those of Ruskin, is probably better known to the public eye than any other of the great buildings of Europe. Its double rows of richly adorned marble pillars, their capitals actually laden with sculptured wealth, give it what may be called a superb oriental aspect, though the spirit of the best Gothic architecture is everywhere present. The genius of the east and the west meet and harmoniously blend in this glorious pile. We enter the vast and imposing inner court, ascend the giant's staircase, and soon traverse the lofty apartments of state, which, for noble proportions, splendid ornamentation, grand pictures, and historic memories, are not surpassed in the world. The

hall of the Grand Council is specially magnificent, worthy of "the potent, grave, and reverend signiors" of ancient Venice, glowing with eloquent canvass, rich in old memorials, and exhibiting, as a sort of frieze next the ceiling, a long series of portraits of the Doges, with an expressive blank left where the portrait of Marino Faliero should have been placed. Other grand apartments, equally rich in ornament, invite our steps and dazzle our eyes. The Presence Chamber contains the throne of the Doge and the crimson seats of the other high dignitaries of Venice. There the ambassadors of foreign kings and emperors were received in regal state, and many high ceremonies were performed. We admire it like the other great rooms, and then pass into the hall of the Council of Ten, and the hall of the Three Inquisitors who pronounced the doom of state criminals. Soon we stand on the *Ponte de Sospiri*, or Bridge of Sighs, crossed of old by so many who went to hear, or had heard, their sentence of death. There are in connection with the palace, cells near the roof, and cells down below, dark and dismal, once used as prisons. In one of the upper cells, Silvio Pellico languished ten years. Crossing the Bridge of Sighs, that connects the palace with a large prison on the other side of a canal, we descend into dreary chambers of death, and see where the condemned criminal made his last confession to the priest, where he was strangled or garrotted, and where his lifeless body was flung out into the waters below. The whole scene breathes of the stern justice or dark cruelty of former ages, when even the most civilised governments relied on force and severity, not on persuasion or public opinion.

But the cathedral of St Mark! how can justice be done to it in any paper like this! For it is one of the greatest architectural glories of the world, and only the pen of a Ruskin can delineate its marvels of constructive and ornamental art. Like the palace to which it is contiguous, it was founded fully more than a thousand years ago. After suffering from fire and various accidents, it was gradually finished, its floors and roof being inlaid with gorgeous mosaics, and the exterior brought to that form which it now possesses. Its highly decorated doors, its fine oriental domes, its mosaic-wrought ornaments, its altars, screens, and pictures make a rich harmonious whole which enchains the eye, and strongly excites the imagination. We walked up and down the glorious interior, admiring all above and around, but struck with the unevenness of various parts of the floor, worn with innumerable feet, or gradually sinking with the foundations of the building. It remains to be seen whether the wooden piles on which the great erections of Venice are reared will endure as the rock of the mountains, or yield and give way in the lapse of ages. But of late St

Mark's has undergone great repairs, which have added to its stability, and restored much of its ancient beauty.

The lofty Campanile, or Bell Tower, so conspicuous in the Piazza, and such a feature in every view of Venice, next drew our attention. It is certainly one of the finest towers in the world, and is greatly lauded by Ruskin. Begun in 902, it was only finished in 1510. Ascending by a series of inclines along the walls in the interior, up which Buonaparte is said to have ridden on a pony, we stood at a height of 300 feet, and surveyed at leisure the magnificent scene. The city with all its churches and towers, the surrounding isles, the blue rim of the Adriatic, the plains of Venezia, the majestic Alps in the distance, with the far Friuli mountains, all bright in sunshine, or occasionally obscured with a shimmering summer haze, made up as brilliant and varied a landscape as the imagination itself can call into visionary existence. The bells of the tower are associated with the history of Venice. On many state occasions they had a voice which the people of the city well understood, and either loved or dreaded to hear.

The trade of Venice, in spite of the new-gained liberty, had not begun to revive. We learned that many of the working classes wanted employment, and that the shipping in the harbour had not begun to increase. The commerce, which for a century back has been diverted from Venice to Genoa or Trieste, had not begun to return. Lines of steamers from London, Liverpool, and Glasgow, stately called at Venice, but had not materially contributed to its trading prosperity. But the railway over the Brenner Pass, connecting Italy with the Tyrol and Germany, was about to be opened, and the Venetians were hoping that a new steam-boat line would, in consequence, be established between Alexandria and their city, for the purpose of conveying the cotton and other products of Egypt to the north of Italy and the central regions of Europe. It was impossible in the meantime to deny that, in a commercial point of view, Venice had a forlorn and desolate look. The capital and energy that had been forsaking her for so many years had not in any perceptible degree come back. Her harbours and arsenals had still a deserted appearance, and spoke more of departed than of reviving prosperity. No fleets, commercial or warlike, floated in her waters. The only conspicuous vessels were two Italian frigates that had been in the battle of Lissa, and whose iron-plated sides still bore the dints of Austrian balls.

The patriotic feeling of the Venetians has of late been strongly excited, as the following story will affectingly shew. Walking in the eastern part of Venice one evening, we came upon a square or piazza, bearing the name of Bandiera, and at

one corner of it stood a plain but expressive monument, apparently quite new, commemorating the names and deaths of the two brothers Bandiera, and another Italian patriot, who were shot by the King of Naples in 1844. Attilio and Emilio Bandiera were sprung from a noble Venetian family, and their father was an admiral in the Austrian service. They were themselves officers in the same service, but, fired with a lofty patriotism, they abandoned their profession, and fled for safety to Corfu. In the summer of 1844, they landed with a small force in Calabria, to test the spirit of the kingdom of Naples, then groaning under a miserable tyranny. Betrayed by traitors in the camp, they fell into the hands of the merciless King "Bomba," and after a hasty trial, were shot in the public square of Cosenza. With their latest breath they cried "Viva l'Italia." The memory of these young men is dear to all patriotic Italians, and has done much to keep alive in Italy that intense love of liberty and national independence which has led to such splendid results. It is interesting to know, that no sooner were the Austrians out of Venice than the Venetians reared a touching monument to the memory of their martyred countrymen, and called one of their old squares by their immortal name.

As Protestants, we were naturally anxious to learn how religious liberty had been accepted by the Venetians, and whether it was bearing any practical fruits in their city. We were glad to find that the gospel had already been preached with effect in the place, and that a promising Waldensian Church had been formed. No sooner were the Austrians out of Venice in 1866, than the intrepid and eloquent Gavazzi entered the city, and preached evangelical doctrine to vast assemblages of people. His bold denunciations of Rome, political and religious, also served to prepare the way for the Rev. J. M'Dougal, Free Church minister at Florence, and certain Waldensian ministers, who sowed precious seed which soon began to bear blessed fruit. We found a Waldensian pastor, Signor Comba, a man of real ability and energy, carrying on his work with great success in the very heart of Venice. Almost under the shadow of the church of San Giovanni e Paolo he had his headquarters, and in an extensive old mansion plied all ordinary means of evangelistic usefulness. The premises contained his church, his dwelling-house, and accommodation for his schools. We learned that not a few genuine converts from Romanism belonged to his flock; also that a very large number of catechumens were under his care, and were likely soon to be admitted to church membership. On the Sabbath evening we attended divine service in his church. In a very large apartment, to which was attached a series of small rooms or recesses, an eager and

animated congregation was assembled, composed not entirely of the artizan class, but containing a considerable number of educated or professional people. Signor Comba, according to his wont on Sabbath evenings, took up a controversial topic, and with an eloquence worthy of Gavazzi himself, exposed the errors of the Church of Rome. His audience was rapt in attention, and repeatedly gave vent to their feelings of approbation. A murmur of applause, or a smile of enjoyment, expressed the satisfaction with which they followed the arguments and responded to the appeals of the preacher. We could not help thinking what very different scenes these sombre old Venetian halls must have witnessed in their time; what gay revelries, what dark intrigues or superstitious observances may have once been carried on in the place which was now sacred to spiritual freedom, and echoed with the glad sounds of the gospel. At the conclusion of the service we congratulated Signor Comba on the promising aspect of the Waldensian Mission in Venice, and he told us what great encouragement he continually received in carrying on his work. He expressed his high sense of the invaluable services of Mr Colton, the American consul, who had been one of the best friends of the gospel in Venice. This tribute to Mr Colton was fully borne out by our personal acquaintance with that estimable man. We met at his house, we may also add, the British vice-consul, and found that the two representatives of kindred nations acted together in the most amicable manner. It is but right further to state that the Free Church of Scotland has, from the very outset, rendered valuable assistance to the Waldensian cause in Venice. For a great part of the year a minister or probationer of that church has been stationed there, to hold Sabbath services in English, and co-operate with the Waldensian pastor in every possible way. It would appear that the gospel has met with more success in Venice than in most of the other great cities of Italy. The religious sentiment is stronger among the Venetians than among the Milanese, for example, and Venice promises to stand above Milan as a city where the true light shines. Let us hope that a new and higher glory may yet gild the towers of of the discrowned Queen of the Adriatic.

On Monday the 19th August 1867, we left Venice for Turin and the Waldensian valleys, with but a faint expectation of ever seeing the glorious old city again. But on the 26th August 1869, we found ourselves once more in Venice. Making a rapid journey through some of the grander and less frequented regions of Switzerland, we had travelled from Lucerne along the St Gothard route to Andermatt, and thence ascended the Oberalp, and gone down the magnificent valley of the Vorder Rhein to Coire, whence, by the grand and

desolate Albula Pass we had descended into the Engadine, and proceeded to that charming mountain village Pontresina, from which one of our party climbed the lofty Piz Languard, and obtained a sublime prospect of a vast and calm ocean of majestic mountains, capped or streaked with everlasting snow. From this region we had crossed the Bernina Pass into the Valtelline, one of the noblest of Italian valleys, from which, by Bormio, we made our way, at some risk, over the magnificent Stelvio, by far the highest of European passes. Descending in the midst of glorious weather into the Tyrol, we had gone down the valley of the Adige to Botzen, and thence by railway pursued our way to Verona and Venice.

We found the charm of Venice as great as ever ; for to those who enter into the spirit of its history and architecture it grows in beauty and in interest upon increased acquaintance. The weather was brilliant, though fully too hot for the northern constitution ; the evening air to our feeling was delicious, and the moon-lit waters had their old enchantment. We took the opportunity of seeing some of the sights we had missed during our former visit. First we went to the island of Murano to see some of the famous glass works. Venetian glass, in various splendid or curious forms, has been celebrated for a thousand years. Some remarkable secrets have always been connected with its manufacture, and for many centuries it commanded the markets of Europe. Venetian mirrors have long been rivalled in England, France, and Germany ; but Venetian glass beads, many kinds of which are wonderfully beautiful, bear the palm of excellence at this day. We saw through one extensive glass work, and witnessed some highly interesting processes which displayed the beauty of the art and the skill of the workman. Some of the highest specimens of manufacturing skill do not appear to be submitted to public inspection ; but the results, in the shape of most brilliant productions in coloured glass, are to be seen at the manufactories, and in many of the shops of Venice. Some thousands of people are employed in the Murano glass works, and the glass manufacture is one of the chief sources of what remains of ancient Venetian prosperity.

We next visited the Arsenal, once a magnificent and busy scene, but now the very picture of departed greatness. If the ducal palace and the Cathedral of St Mark were the chief architectural glories, and the Rialto the commercial centre, the Arsenal was the very life and strength of old Venice. In its basins and building yards were built or refitted those mighty fleets that ruled the Adriatic and Mediterranean. The Arsenal gave Venice its vast offensive and defensive power, as was proved of old by a hundred bloody wars. We found in it no

ships whatever, and saw no symptoms of shipbuilding. But we heard of a few contracts for building some small vessels, which promised to put a little life into the deserted yards. We entered by a splendid gate, adorned with statues, and guarded by the huge marble lions brought from Athens in 1685. Our principal object was to see the splendid armoury, in which are preserved so many precious relics illustrative of Venetian history. We gaze with wonder at a splendid crimson silk flag taken from the Turks at Lepanto, and at many suits of armour which figured in the famous contest. Here is the armour worn by Henry IV. of France, gifted by himself to the Venetian Republic! The sword, buckler, and helm of the redoubtable Doge, Ziani, next solicit attention; but they are rivalled in interest by multitudes of similar memorials of valiant chiefs and famous fights. We were specially struck with a genuine revolver, and an equally genuine breech-loading musket, each of them several centuries old. It would appear that new ideas in firearms are not so common as many suppose. The principle of the revolver and of the breechloader in the Venetian Arsenal seemed to be exactly the same as that which we see more effectively carried out in the celebrated modern weapons.

We examined with peculiar interest a model of the famous Bucentaur, or Doge's state galley, and also the remains of its veritable mast. The annual ceremony of the "wedding of the Adriatic" by the Doge of Venice, is one of the most picturesque things in history. About the year 1170, Pope Alexander III., grateful for Venetian protection, gave the Doge Sebastiano Ziani a gold ring with which to wed the sea, in token of the great Republic's maritime sovereignty. He is also said to have formally invested Venice with the dominion of the Adriatic, and to have directed the annual ceremony of the espousals to take place on Ascension Day. Accordingly every year, in the month of May, the Doge, accompanied by the chief officers of state, the foreign ambassadors, and other magnates, all magnificently attired, sailed in the Bucentaur from the Piazzetta out a little way into the open sea, and dropped into the waves a gold ring, with all due ceremony, and uttering certain words of betrothal. He then heard mass in the Church of San Nicolas on the Lido, and returned in equal state to his palace, where he presided in the evening over a grand banquet given to a brilliant company. The music, the costumes, the scenic display, and the gay festivities connected with this famous ceremonial are faithfully described in all histories of Venice. The Bucentaur, a singularly shaped and richly decorated barge, with two decks, and a hundred feet in length, was impelled by one hundred and sixty rowers, who, with

forty auxiliary sailors, composed her crew. The name is supposed to be a corruption of the word *Ducentorum*, signifying a ship for two hundred men. Several Bucentaurs must have been constructed since the Ascension Day fete was instituted. The last was built in 1727, and was destroyed by the French in 1797, the year of the fall of Venice. Of all the English poets who have alluded to the famous wedding of the Adriatic, Wordsworth has touched upon the subject most felicitously:—

“ Once did she hold the gorgeous East in fee,
And was the safeguard of the West : the worth
Of Venice did not fall below her birth,
Venice the eldest child of Liberty.
She was a maiden city, bright and free,
No guile seduced, no force could violate ;
And when she took unto herself a mate
She must espouse the everlasting Sea.”

No stranger in Venice should fail to visit the Armenian Convent, in the isle of San Lazaro, near the mouth of the Grand Canal. In that convent, for eight months during his residence in Venice, Lord Byron studied the Armenian language, under the tuition of some of the intelligent monks. We made a point of visiting the establishment, which we found most complete. One of the brothers shewed us over the premises, and explained to us all objects of interest. Byron's signature is duly displayed in one room. We learned that but one monk is now in the convent who remembers the noble Englishman. On our asking our conductor what progress Byron made in his Armenian studies, he significantly replied, “ very good progress for a poet.” But the fact is, that Byron was an excellent student, and learned more of the language than most men would have done in the time. We were specially struck with the chapel, the printing establishment, and the library. In one small room there is a complete collection of the books and pamphlets that have issued from the printing press of the intelligent and industrious monks. We purchased a curious collection of Turkish proverbs, and found them really wise and witty. But we also procured what we specially valued as a literary curiosity, an Armenian translation of the 4th canto of “ Childe Harold,” printed alongside of the English original. The monks of San Lazaro, surpassing most of their Latin brothers in intelligence, have acquired not a little property, live in great comfort, and are held in general respect.

We found the Waldensian congregation greatly increased in numbers, and accommodated in a much more commodious building. A fine old palace, the Palazzo Cavagnis, had been purchased through the liberality of British and American friends, and given over to the Waldensians for their evangelistic purposes. A handsome house for the minister, a

spacious church, accommodation for schools, and residences for the masters, were all furnished by the capacious structure which, in other days, had been the abode of a distinguished Venetian family. Signor Comba had been labouring in his vocation with remarkable success, and had admitted into church communion more than two hundred intelligent and genuine converts from popery. We attended his Sabbath school in the morning, and found it conducted much after the fashion of similar schools in our own land. Nothing but pure and simple Scriptural instruction was given, and the teachers appeared to be quite absorbed in their work. In the evening we attended divine service, and heard Signor Comba deliver a vigorous and telling lecture on the first chapter of the Acts of the Apostles; which is a very awkward passage of Scripture for the Church of Rome, as the preacher did not fail to shew. The audience, which was large and intelligent, was evidently much impressed by the lessons of divine truth which were set before it in strong contrast with the doctrines and practices of the Papacy. Signor Comba is undoubtedly the right man in the right place, and he is faithfully assisted by a Waldensian licentiate who is well qualified for the work of an evangelist. Two male and two female teachers conduct the schools in connection with the mission in Venice. According to the true Protestant idea of such a mission, popular education is closely conjoined with the preaching of the gospel.

The philosophy of Venetian history is a wide and weighty subject, on which we cannot here formally enter. But a few general remarks on the past position of Venice we may venture, in conclusion, to offer. It is impossible not to see that the great city of the Adriatic, like the great cities of Antiquity, and of the Middle Ages, just played the part to which it was called by the existing state of the world, and then declined and fell in consequence of a change in the world's affairs over which it had little or no control. Nineveh and Babylon, Tyre and Carthage, Athens and Alexandria, Rome and Constantinople, became, by the irresistible march of events, the seats of empire, of learning, or of commerce; but only for a time, and for certain temporary purposes. The same Providence that, for the evolution of its own designs, raised them up, decreed their declension and fall. So Venice, at an important period of the world's history, became commercially and politically great; but as that history changed, in consequence, chiefly, of certain wonderful geographical discoveries, and the advent of the Reformation, she fell from her altitude as by a law of nature, and from a mighty state sunk into a mere interesting commercial city. We believe that no principles in her constitution, and no patriotism of her citizens, could have saved the

ancient empire of Venice. A better government and a higher amount of civic virtue might have retarded her fall, or shed a fresh lustre on her declining days. But the term of her sovereignty and empire was necessarily limited, and could not be, to any great extent, prolonged. The rise of the European monarchies, and the steady march of intelligence and power towards the west, demanded new distributions of territory, diverted commerce into new channels, and in many ways undermined the fabric of Venetian prosperity. What holds true of Venice, may also, in a large measure, be affirmed of the contemporary and rival Italian Republics of Florence, Pisa, and Genoa, which were once powerful states, but are now represented merely by cities. The part these Republics played in Europe for centuries was important and imposing; but the law of development by which they arose, also ordained their fall. Meanwhile, commercial and political power has passed, and is passing, northwards and westwards, forsaking the south and the east, and now chiefly centres in Berlin and St Petersburg, Paris and London. It has also crossed the Atlantic, and is finding new seats in a mighty western world.

We must not conclude without paying a hearty tribute of praise to the work of Mr Davenport Adams, the title of which we have prefixed to this article. It is full of excellent matter, well arranged, and conveyed in a clear, correct, and elegant style. There is almost nothing of general interest in the history and condition of Venice which Mr Adams has overlooked. All, and more than all, that even well-informed readers know about Venice is given in his attractive volume. The table of contents, the chronological list of the Doges, and the general index, are all most carefully prepared, and add greatly to the value of the work. The pictorial illustrations are numerous and beautiful, doing ample credit to the enterprising publishers. A more convenient and useful popular volume on Venice has not been brought out in our time. The three magnificent volumes of Mr Ruskin, so enriched with the genius of his pen and his pencil, are not within the reach of ordinary readers; but they must be studied by all who would appreciate fully the architectural glories and noblest historic periods of the Queen of the Adriatic.

J. D.

ART. II.—*The Two Purifications of the Temple.*

VERY remarkable is the reticence of the New Testament writers regarding the situation, dimensions, and charac-

teristic architectural features of the Temple of Jerusalem. Only on one occasion was one of the disciples led away by the enthusiastic impulse of the moment to speak to Christ of its grandeur,—“Master, see what manner of stones, and what buildings are here.” How strikingly does this reticence contrast with the minute descriptions and careful measurements of Josephus! In point of situation, style, size, and materials, the temple of Herod was one of the most magnificent architectural combinations of the ancient world. It was the glory of the Jews, modelled as it was, like the temple of Solomon and Zerubbabel, on the plan of the tabernacle of the wilderness, constructed by Moses according to the divine pattern shewn to him on the mount. Around it their proudest memories and fondest hopes clustered; and even in these days of their exile, they recall its glories and mourn over its loss, with a tenacity of affection and pride unparalleled in history. Even their Roman enemies shared in this national feeling of admiration for the sacred building. Titus did everything he could to preserve it in the siege of Jerusalem; its spoils, sculptured with rare skill, were considered worthy of adorning the most beautiful of the triumphal arches in Rome; while the higher architectural ambition of the Emperor Justinian was to imitate, and, if possible, to surpass its magnificence. And yet, notwithstanding all this world-wide fame, the sacred writers never attempt to describe its features. They narrate the incidents in the life of our Lord that occurred within it, with circumstantial accuracy; but they are altogether silent regarding the appearance of the building itself. Of a similar nature is their reserve touching the personal appearance of the Lord and Archetype of the temple. In setting forth Him who is the Desire of all nations, so that all coming generations may know and love him, they confine themselves solely to the moral and spiritual traits of his character; there is not a single word in the four Gospels on which to found any description of our Lord's form and features. As with the Word made flesh himself, so with the symbol; their silence in regard to the physical appearance of both had a deep significance. We must conclude that they were moved thereto by the Holy Ghost. As the Shechinah—the visible manifestation of the divinity—was concealed behind the veil of the temple, so the sacred writers were guided to conceal the external glory of the type and the human likeness of the antitype, behind the veil of their silence, so that the spiritual aspect of gospel truth might shine forth, without any material object to impair its purity and beauty.

In the days of our Saviour, the temple of Jerusalem had ceased to teach men the high spiritual truths which it was erected to symbolise. Its typical character was lost sight of,

and it was regarded merely as a material structure. The Jews were proud of it, not because it was the habitation of God's glory on earth, the visible symbol of his presence among men, the only shrine of true religion, but because it was a magnificent building composed of costly materials, and enriched with the most precious gifts. They revered it, not because it was the tabernacle of witness, testifying by the tables of stone contained in the ark, of law, and by its daily sacrifices, of gospel truth, but because it was the most splendid religious structure in the world. They were as blind to the teachings of the inarticulate symbol, as they were deaf to the plain articulate word of him whom the building typified. The remark of the disciple previously alluded to, touching the goodly stones and precious gifts with which the temple was adorned, was no mere casual observation; it was significant of the carnal, earthly spirit which then characterised the whole nation of the Jews. The windows of their souls were so defiled with worldliness that they could not look through the sign to the thing signified; they were so enfeebled by covetousness, which is idolatry, that they could not ascend by the steps of the material structure to the throne of the great spiritual Being, whose palace, whose place of worship, whose revelation in architectural instead of in literary form, it was. Our Saviour plainly accused them of this in his withering condemnation of the scribes and Pharisees, their holiest men,—“Woe unto you, ye blind guides! which say, Whosoever shall swear by the temple, it is nothing; but whosoever shall swear by the gold of the temple, he is a debtor. Ye fools, and blind! for whether is greater, the gold, or the temple that sanctifieth the gold? And, Whosoever shall swear by the altar, it is nothing; but whosoever sweareth by the gift that is upon it, he is guilty. Ye fools, and blind! for whether is greater, the gift, or the altar that sanctifieth the gift? Whoso therefore shall swear by the altar, sweareth by it, and by all things thereon; and whoso shall swear by the temple, sweareth by it, and by him that dwelleth therein.” They valued the gift more than the altar, and the gold of the temple more than the temple itself. The motive that led Herod to reconstruct the temple, was the same motive which led the scribes and Pharisees to keep up its gorgeous ritual. Herod built the temple merely to gratify his love of display, and to crown the magnificence of his reign; the officials of the temple maintained the worship of it purely from selfish and worldly motives—entirely for the sake of the material and social advantages which it conferred upon them. The inspiration of Bezaleel and Aholiab, and the spirit of Solomon, were entirely wanting in Herod; and the simple faith of the early Israelites had no likeness in the ostentatious pietism of the

Pharisees. No wonder, then, that the Shechinah, which was the glory of the original tabernacle and temple, should have vanished from the last representative structure, or rather should never have appeared there at all. God's presence could not be associated with that of the god of the world; Christ and Belial could have no concord with one another. The loss of the Shechinah was irreparable. Nothing could compensate for its absence; the splendid furniture, and golden vessels, and costly gifts of the temple, were like the objects of nature without the shining of the sun—destitute of all beauty and worth. It was a dark, cold, empty shrine, from which the Lord had departed; and "Ichabod" might be written upon its portals.

But the shrine that is left empty by the departure of God does not long remain empty; Satan enters and takes possession. When the preserving salt disappears, corruption sets in rapidly. So was it with the temple. The Shechinah cloud above the mercy-seat created a wholesome awe in the minds of the worshippers in Solomon's temple, forbidding the very thought of sacrilege; but in the absence of this visible restraint of the divine presence in the later temple, the merchandise and covetousness of the world intruded within the sacred precincts. The gospel narrative shews to us a sad state of things in this respect. In the wide-paved space in front of the outer court, a market was held during the observance of the passover, at which were exposed for sale the various animals required for the Levitical sacrifices—cattle and sheep for the richer worshippers, and doves for the poorer. Here, too, were the tables or booths, where the provincial Jews and proselytes from foreign countries, might exchange their own coins for the silver half-shekel, which every Israelite was required to pay as atonement or tribute money for the support of the temple. The turmoil of worldly traffic was thus transferred from its appropriate place in the streets or environs of Jerusalem, to the immediate neighbourhood of those who were engaged in prayer. The time-serving righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees had encouraged this traffic carried on in the name of religion and for religious purposes; for it was doubtless very profitable to them. It was a well-devised scheme to make the best of both worlds, to combine profit and piety in equal proportions, and with equal satisfaction. It afforded, too, the utmost convenience to the worshippers, who found everything that they needed in the service which they had to perform, in order to satisfy their consciences and keep up their respectability, ready to their hand, without any trouble or necessity for forethought or self-denial. The service of the temple was reduced to a mere mechanical routine, and made as easy and pleasant as possible to carnal minds.

It is interesting to notice in this connection, that the profanation of the temple took place in that part of it for whose erection there was originally no divine sanction. The tabernacle in the wilderness was constructed, down to the minutest architectural detail, in exact accordance with the pattern shewn on the mount. Not the slightest deviation was permitted from the divine directions. Even the materials of the curtains, with the rings and posts; the form of the instruments of sacrifice; the bowls, the shovels, the snuffers and the candlesticks; the ingredients of the holy oil, and of the incense; the nature, the times, and the seasons of the sacrifice; and the shape, substance, and ornaments of the garments, with their girdles; were all rigidly set down in the divine plan. And this extreme minuteness of legislation regarding all things belonging to the sanctuary, was intended to preserve God's worship from those insinuating encroachments of human error, and those corruptions and additions of men, which begin first in apparent trifles, in the adoption of the fashion of a foreign vestment, the imitation of the form of a foreign altar, the introduction of bowls or utensils for sacrifice after a foreign fashion, and at last end in very serious things, in the belief and observance of the degrading superstitions, and the practice of the dissolute manners, associated with the imported ritualism. This conservative treatment was eminently successful in cutting off opportunity for man to engraft novelties and innovations of his own upon the worship of Jehovah. But when the moveable tabernacle of the wilderness-wandering was changed into the solid and costly temple erected by Solomon when Israel became a settled kingdom, there was no express and detailed legislation in connection with the transference, and hence the temple was more subject to idolatrous innovation than the tabernacle had been. Although constructed after the general pattern of the tabernacle of testimony, and in conformity with the principles of the Mosaic law, the temple was, nevertheless, adapted in some respects to the altered circumstances of the time. For instance, a set of lateral chambers and cloisters was attached to the temple and its courts, for which the law of Moses furnished no direction. And it is a remarkable circumstance that these very courts and cloisters, thus introduced without divine sanction, were encroached upon by several of the kings, by the introduction of their own inventions and fancied improvements. Manasseh erected altars to all the host of heaven in the two courts of the temple; he also planted a grove in the sacred enclosure, in which he set up a graven image. Houses were erected beside the walls, in which women wove hangings for the grove, and which were the resort of Sodomites. The kings of Judah introduced the horses and chariots of the sun at the

entrance, and profaned the place by the worship of Baal ; from all which pollutions it had to be purified in the days of Josiah. While in our Saviour's time, the very same parts of Herod's temple which corresponded with these courts and cloisters of Solomon were defiled by the noise and trickery of human traffic.

This mode of profaning the temple by merchandise was eminently characteristic of the Jews at this time. Intense worldliness or covetousness had become their besetting national sin. From the priests of the temple, who made gain of their godliness, to the publicans, who sold their patriotism to the Romans, the whole nation seemed to be devoted, more or less, to that root of all evil, the love of money. This seems to have been the Jewish failing from the commencement of their history. It may be regarded as an hereditary taint, derived from him from whom they received the name of Israelites. Many incidents in the life of Jacob unmistakeably evince this covetous or worldly tendency ; and this feature of his character he appears to have strongly impressed upon all his descendants. We can trace this Jacob-like spirit in the Jews of our own times, who, more than all other nations, seek to combine two things that are irreconcilable—devotion to wealth, and the cultivation of the religious spirit—the love of God and the love of the world. It was of this sordid covetousness and avarice that God so frequently complained in the writings of the prophets. Again and again he uttered words like these : “Thou hast not brought me the small cattle of thy burnt-offerings ; neither hast thou honoured me with thy sacrifices. I have not caused thee to serve with an offering, nor wearied thee with incense. Thou hast bought me no sweet cane with money, neither hast thou filled me with the fat of thy sacrifices.” In later Jewish history, we see nothing like the princely liberality with which the Israelites responded to God's appeal for materials with which to construct the tabernacle in the wilderness, and which, in the end, had to be restrained, for the stuff they brought was more than enough for the purpose. No subsequent Solomon arose to repeat, even on the smallest scale, the munificence of the great founder of the first temple. The Israel or *princely* character passed away, and the Jacob character took its place ; so that the Old Testament concludes the melancholy record of the covetousness which is idolatry with these words of sharp reproof : “Will a man rob God ? Yet ye have robbed me. But ye say, Wherein have we robbed thee ? In tithes and offerings. Ye are cursed with a curse ; for ye have robbed me, even this whole nation.” Indeed the whole of Malachi speaks of the profanation of God's house and service by this sordid spirit ; and it seems to have

reached its lowest point of degradation in the days of our Saviour, when the very temple itself was converted into an exchange, and a market-place for gain. The profanation of the temple in this peculiar manner was therefore typical of the national sin against God. And it was an equally typical act that the Lord of the temple was himself sold for thirty pieces of silver. Those who made merchandise of the type, did not hesitate to make merchandise of the Antitype, God's most precious gift to them. The mode in which Emmanuel was betrayed and put to death was as characteristic as the mode in which his symbol was profaned. It was the love of the world, the love of money, that led to both. And very strikingly was this national sin, represented and intensified in the person and conduct of Judas, symbolically brought home to the Jewish leaders, when the traitor, in his remorse, cast down the thirty pieces of silver, the price of blood, in the temple, and departed to his fearful doom.

Such was the melancholy state of things in the temple when Jesus came to it at the commencement of his ministry. The Jews expected the return of the Shechinah to the temple, in the days of the Messiah. This expectation was now fulfilled, though in a way that they knew not. The Shechinah, in the person of him who was the brightness of the Father's glory, and the express image of his person—appeared in the holy place. And his appearance among the conventionalities and worldly practices of a religion which had become a mere superstition, the spectre of a former living faith—was like lightning to consume and wither everything false and mean, and dishonouring to God and man, and to kindle into life all that was akin to divine life and love. Like an electric discharge in water, decomposing its hydrogen and oxygen, he separated the elements of the Jewish world—attracted to himself all that was good in it, and repelled all that was evil. He was the predicted fountain opened to the house of David, and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, for sin and uncleanness. Thoroughly in keeping with his character and office, was his first official act of purifying the temple. It was not a mere temporary incident in his life ; it was the symbol of his entire work. All the ancient prophets came in God's name, to reform the civil and religious institutions of their day. They were empowered to denounce and prevent the growth of idolatrous corruptions and other abominations arising from man's encroachment upon the sacred things of God. Ezekiel especially was commissioned to signify God's purpose of restoring his temple after the desolation of the Babylonish captivity, and to remodel it after a pattern free from those idolatrous travesties which had brought that visitation of his wrath upon Israel—“Son of man, the place of my throne, and the place of the soles

of my feet, where I will dwell in the midst of the children of Israel for ever, and my holy name, shall the house of Israel no more defile, neither they, nor their kings, by their whoredom, nor by the carcases of their kings in their high places. In their setting of their thresholds by my thresholds, and their posts by my posts, and but a wall between me and them, they have defiled my holy name by their abominations that they have committed; wherefore I had consumed them in my anger. Now let them put away their whoredom, and the carcases of their kings, far from me, and I will dwell in the midst of them forever. Thou, son of man, shew the house to the house of Israel, that they may be ashamed of their iniquities; and let them measure the pattern." And now, the true Son of man, a greater than Ezekiel, came to fulfil in a higher way the work of Ezekiel. He in whom the law and the prophets were summed up, appeared to purify the house of God from the vile traffic of men—as in the Sermon on the Mount, he appeared to remove from the law of God, the traditions and glosses of the fathers, by which it had been made of none effect.

This purification of the temple is significant of the importance which our Lord attached to it as the dwelling-place of God, and the symbolical centre of divine worship. As long as he lived, Jesus revered the temple. He did not despise it as a mere type destined to pass away, now that the reality had appeared. Its purpose was not yet fulfilled. The substance had come, but the shadow that preceded it, must yet be projected, till shadow and substance blend in one, when the Sun of Righteousness attains its meridian height of ascension glory. And therefore in this, its eleventh hour, he will not disregard its brief term of service. It is still for a short space to be the symbol of the incarnation—the tabernacling of God in human flesh—the meeting-place between man and his Maker. As the divine house standing among the common houses of the nation, it is still to be the visible proof of God's nearness to man; the witness of God, that every obstacle which sin had interposed between man and him, might be removed, that the kingdom of Israel might be still, as of old, a blessed theocracy, and the ancient favoured people his peculiar people, and he their covenant God. And that this purpose may be effectively accomplished, he removes, in the purification of the temple, those human devices and degrading practices that had obscured its glory, and hid its sacred significance. So long as the type stood it was to be honoured, not for its own sake, but for what it represented. Its servants were to take pleasure in its stones, and to favour the dust thereof. The worshipper was still to say, "How amiable are thy tabernacles oh! Lord of hosts. Blessed are they that dwell in thy house; they will still be

praising thee. A day in thy courts is better than a thousand. I had rather be a door keeper in the house of my God than to dwell in the tents of wickedness." It was in this temple that Jesus himself was presented in his infancy with the customary sacrifice. It was in this temple, as a "son of the law," in his twelfth year, that his parents found him, not "disputing with the doctors," according to the common idea and the familiar phrase—but learning from them regarding the Mosaic institutions, and shewing his wonderful intelligence, not by his questions, but by his answers. He was subject to the law in everything—fulfilled every rite sanctioned by God—the perfect righteousness of the Jewish covenant, and was thus the Israelite indeed—the *true* Israel of God, in whom there was no guile. He came into the world as the fulfilment of Jewish prophecy and history. He lived as a Jew and died as a Jew. He invariably shewed his regard for established Jewish institutions. Though holy, harmless, undefiled, and separate from sinners, he received from John the rite of baptism, intended only for sinners, that he might fulfil all righteousness; and intimately connected with this legal observance, was the gift of the Spirit, fitting him for his public ministry. Though he came to found a church which was to take the place of the Jewish church, yet he attended the worship, and observed the rites of the national religion, and enforced regard to its ministers, so long as they were permitted to sit in the seat of Moses, even although their lives were stained by corrupt practices. In short, just as he lived a divine life in the mould of an ordinary human life, so he lived as a perfect Israelite in the mould of the Jewish law. And, therefore, it was not the Jewish institutions that he condemned, but the abuses of them by human folly and sin.

The Christianity which our Lord inaugurated, was to grow under the shelter of Judaism, of which it was the blossom and fruit; and the transition between them was to be so gradual, that for a while at first it would be difficult to say where the one terminated and the other began; like that strange American grass, whose young plants grow up sheltered in the sheath of the old ones,—the old blade withering, and the new one prepared to take its place,—the new and the old for a time appearing to divide the field between them. The apostles, after the ascension of Christ, did not separate themselves from the religious observances of their countrymen. They continued to worship in the temple, and to listen to the law and the prophets in the synagogue. They clung to the temple as the centre of their hopes,—as the consecrated spot where they awaited the descent of the Lord from heaven. They were present at the feasts which perpetuated the memory of wonderful deeds which God had wrought in former times; and during a great

Jewish festival, the Holy Spirit descended upon the church. We read that "a great company of priests were obedient to the faith," who would doubtless continue to carry on their priestly functions. "Devout men according to the law," carried Stephen to his burial, and made lamentation over him; while Judaism, in the person of one of its last representatives Ananias, set its seal, and laid its hand upon the apostle Paul, dedicating him to the Christian ministry. While those who associated with Stephen, who was accused of speaking "blasphemous words against the holy place and the law," were scattered abroad by the persecution that arose after his death, the apostles were allowed to remain undisturbed at Jerusalem, because they did not sympathise at first with his liberal views regarding the superseding of the Mosaic religion, by a more comprehensive and spiritual faith. "They were scattered abroad throughout the regions of Judea and Samaria, *except the apostles*,—*πλὴν τῶν ἀποστόλων*." Many became disciples of Christianity after the early Jewish type, and not after the later Pauline development of it. And the rich and closely interwoven system of ideas prepared by the law on its national and ceremonial side, was transmitted to the gospel, to have its full value revealed, and the narrow but distinct limits of its carnal forms expanded into their spiritual, universal, and eternal character. Till the temple therefore was destroyed, it did not cease to have the character of a divinely-instituted local centre of worship, the house of prayer for all men; and therefore, instead of being despised or ignored on account of its transitory typical nature, Jesus purified it from its corruptions, and shewed forth what God meant it to be.

There is every reason to believe that this purification of the temple was not a solitary act, but was twice repeated. We cannot reconcile the account which St John gives with that of the other Evangelists on the supposition entertained by Pearce and Priestly in our own country, and by Krabbe and Lücke in Germany, that they refer to the same event. To confound them would be to throw discredit upon the historical character of one narrative or the other; the details of time and incident being too precise. If we carefully compare the description of St John with that of the synoptical Gospels, we shall find among the prominent features of mutual resemblance, three points of difference between the two events—first as regards *date*; second, as regards *details*; and, third, as regards *object*. Let us look, then, for a little at these points of difference between incidents otherwise so closely related.

1. The account given by St John records our Lord's first purification of the temple. This event took place at the very commencement of his public ministry. It was the first public official act which he performed after his baptism and tempta-

tion in the wilderness. It was associated with the passover, to observe which, Jesus came up expressly from Capernaum to Jerusalem. This was the second time of which we have any record that Jesus observed this most sacred feast of the Jews. On the first occasion he appeared in the temple with his parents, when he was a boy. Then he was the meek and reverent learner, acting as became his years and position in life, availing himself of the opportunity which the feast afforded of gaining that information regarding Jewish law and history which the doctors alone could give him, and which his human mind, growing like our own in wisdom, required. The hour had not yet come for arraying himself against these public teachers, and exposing and denouncing the hypocrisy of their profession, and the heartlessness of their life. He assumed to himself no divine authority. But now he has entered upon his public ministry, and the Spirit has descended upon him, and a voice from heaven has publicly proclaimed his oneness with the Father. The profanation of his Father's house, which, as a boy, he would doubtless behold with grief and indignation, but which, owing to the limitations of his obedience, he could not at that time prevent or remedy, he now comes armed with full power and authority in his thirtieth year to check. He takes possession of the temple in his Father's name, and performs the act of a prophet and a judge in it.

On the other hand, the account given by the other evangelists, describes the last purification of the temple. This event took place at the close of Christ's ministry, and was also associated with the feast of the passover, the last of which he partook. This similarity of the occasions on which the two acts of purification were performed, has led to their being considered one and the same. The first cleansing of the temple had only produced a temporary impression. Probably by the next passover the dealers had renewed their evil course; or if the disorder was abated for the second year, we know that at the end of three years, Jesus found the tumult and the traffic defiling the court of the temple, as they had done when he visited it before. So true it is, that those who need to be restrained from evil by force, return to their former sinful practices when the restraint is withdrawn. The inclination being unchanged, the temporary hindrance dams up the evil only to let it loose in a fiercer and more devastating flood. Besides, as already observed, the sacrilegious traders were encouraged in their gainful traffic by the priests, who were not only not opposed to it, but positively favoured it, as it is not unlikely that they reaped some of the profits of it for themselves.

2. But another point of difference may be seen in the *details* of the two transactions. In the first purification of the temple,

St John tells us that Jesus made a scourge of small cords, *ραβγέλλον ἐκ σχοινίων*, and drove out the traders. We are not to suppose that he actually used this scourge—applied it to the persons of the transgressors. Such employment of it would have been unworthy of his dignity, and inconsistent with his character and purpose, in coming to the world. “No weapons in his hand were seen, nor voice of terror heard.” He simply carried the scourge as a symbol of his power to punish, to enforce the law as the Roman lictor carried his axe, and the magistrate his sword. Strauss, and others of the same school, assert that this expulsion of the traders from the temple, at the commencement of his ministry, indicated a want of tact and good sense on the part of Jesus. This, say they, was a very extraordinary method of conciliating popular opinion, and gaining adherents to his cause. Contrasting as it does so markedly with the general conduct of Christ, who certainly never did anything out of place or season, they believe that the whole occurrence is mythical. It surely need not be argued in opposition to this view, that the event was in entire accordance with Christ's character and mission. He came not for the purpose of gaining popular applause. Had he done so, he need not have been rejected and crucified. He came to illustrate the holiness, and enforce the majesty of God's law, by his life and death, And here the occasion demanded his peculiar interference. It was surely a time when the zeal of God's house might well supersede the prudence and tact of temporising men, since the atonement money, and the sacrificial offerings,—the very means appointed by God to remind the Jews that they were a consecrated people,—were made an excuse for secularizing the temple. “Jesus failed not in this appropriate work, nor did the accusing consciences of the traders fail to justify it, for at the rebuke of one man they fled from the scene of their gains. Their hearts told them, even though they had been long immersed in hardening traffic, that the house of God could belong to none other but God; and when a prophet claimed it for him, conscience deprived them of the power to resist.”

As for the charge of inconsistency, brought against Christ on account of the violence here displayed, it is easily disposed of. Chemists tell us that there are elements in nature that are capable of existing in an allotropic condition; that is, of assuming two or more different states. While they retain the same composition, they change their properties, so that what is innocuous or beneficial in the one state, may be intensely poisonous or destructive in the other. There are elements in the moral world that are also capable of existing in two or more conditions. Hatred may be said to be the allotropic condition of love. The highest love may be but the opposite

side or aspect of the deepest hatred. And, therefore, inasmuch as the perfection of love was exhibited in and by our Lord, for that very reason we have the goodness and the severity of love displayed by him. Humility and sincerity ever drew forth from him the goodness of love; while pride and hypocrisy elicited the severity. The Friend of publicans and sinners was the foe of the scribes and Pharisees. The whole work of Christ is productive of the most opposite results, according to the reception which it meets. When received and welcomed, it diffuses life and blessedness; when rejected and despised, it proves deadly and destructive. It kindles a fire to purify or destroy. It is darkness to the Egyptians, but light to the Israelites. What Jesus did therefore to the desecrators of his Father's house, is in entire accordance with his character and work. We have here a proof of the "wrath of the Lamb," which is not a contradiction in terms, but a most solemn and harmonious truth. We have here acted what is elsewhere spoken—the words of denunciation against the rulers of the Jews translated into an emphatic deed. The summer cloud, that seemed so soft and fair, discharged its terrible lightning, and shewed that what afforded a screen from the scorching sun, and nourished the earth with its shade and showers, contained within itself the fierce elements of destruction—that he who is strong to save is also strong to smite. And like the tears of a proud man, the calm of a passionate temper, the daring of a modest and retiring woman, and the indignation of a meek and loving heart, this act of justifiable violence in the temple—this outburst of Christ's righteous anger—is all the more impressive, because of its contrast to his usual gentleness and long-suffering tenderness.

The scourge of small cords in the hands of our Lord may have a symbolical meaning. It may represent the law with its restraints and punishments. Jesus came first to proclaim the law, to shew to man the spirituality of its nature, the universality of its grasp, and its irresistible authority. Armed with the power of this law, whose meaning and application he explained in the sermon on the mount, he would now cleanse the house of God from its pollutions. He would place once more within it the tables of the commandments, so long absent from the ark and the temple. He would bring into force again the rules and regulations regarding God's house and worship which had fallen into abeyance. By the small cords of the Mosaic law, and not by the cords of love, he would purify the temple, which was the visible monument and witness of the law of Moses. On the occasion of the second purification of the temple, however, we are expressly told that he had no scourge, no symbol of authority, in his hand. It may be that on the first occasion he needed to carry such a token of

power to attract greater attention on the part of the rude rabble to his words, for he was at this stage a stranger to them. But on the last occasion he was well known ; every one had heard of his fame, and most of the people had seen his wonderful works, and heard his wonderful words ; and therefore, when he came to repeat the former act, the multitude at once retired with awe and reverence, before the great prophet. It was entirely a personal impression that was produced. He who before had come by the law of Moses, now came by the power of the grace and truth that was in himself. And what an astonishing effect he produced ! During the time that he was present, the turmoil ceased, the traffic was suspended, the merchants retreated before him, and no one dared to raise his voice in expostulation. We are irresistibly reminded of the scene in the garden of Gethsemane, where the glory of his person shone through the veil of his humiliation, and so awed the multitude who came to apprehend him, that they fell back to the ground. It was the same power, the new transcending life which came forth from the Father into the world, the source of all earthly holiness, which caused the officers sent to take him, to abandon their purpose, and to say, " Never man spake like this man ; " which made Peter exclaim in anguish of soul, " Depart from me, for I am a sinful man ; " which struck Paul blind to the earth, and made even the beloved disciple in Patmos fall at his feet as dead.

Another difference in detail between the two accounts of the purification of the temple, may be seen in the explanation which our Lord gave of his conduct. On the first occasion he said to the traders, " Make not my Father's house an house of merchandise ; " whereas on the last occasion he said to them, " It is written, My house shall be called the house of prayer ; but ye have made it a den of thieves." This difference between the words of Christ, as reported by St John, and as reported by the synoptical writers, is attributed by those who believe the two narratives to be identical, to the fact that St John wrote from memory, long after the event occurred. According to Olshausen, the impression conveyed by St John is milder than that produced by the synoptical evangelists, because the representation which he gives of the Lord's activity in purifying the temple, is gradually softened. We cannot for a moment admit the application of such a canon of interpretation to scripture. If we believe that the sacred authors wrote at any time merely from a capricious and erring human memory, and not under the inspiration of that Spirit of truth which was to bring all things to their remembrance, whatsoever Christ said and did, then what security have we that any portion of Scripture is a true record—the word of God ? Believing, as we do, that the different accounts of the

purification of the temple, refer to two different events, we can see a reason for the variation in our Lord's words, which are utterly inexplicable on the theory that the two accounts refer to the same event. We may, with truth, suppose that the evil of which Christ complained had been gradually increasing in intensity. By degrees the traffic in the articles required in the worship of the temple insinuated itself from the precincts of the sacred building to the outer courts, and then into the inner enclosure itself; for St Mark gives, in addition to the articles described by the other evangelists, the special circumstance that vessels were carried hither and thither through the *interior* of the temple, probably for the accomodation of the sellers. There may have been in this respect a great difference noticed by our Lord between the seat of the traffic, when he first came to the temple with his parents, and its place at this later period. Gradually the awe which the holy building had inspired was giving way before increased familiarity, and the patronage of the chief priests, so that the spot which was sacred to prayer and holy communion with God alone, was now become the common market place of the city,—the resort of the lowest and rudest of the people, and resounded during the whole passover week with the din of buying and selling. And we see the gradually demoralising effect of this desecration of the sacred building upon the traffickers themselves, in the difference between our Lord's first and last rebuke to them. At first, as we have said, he accused them only of making his Father's house an house of merchandise; but at last, he accused them of making it a den of thieves. While the awe of the building, and of the God whose visible dwelling-place it was, still influenced them, they were constrained to be honest and upright in their dealings with one another; but as this feeling of awe wore off, and the thought of God ceased to come before their minds, they became guilty of mean and dishonest practices. They cheated and imposed upon each other in their buying and selling. Breaking the third commandment, they speedily went on to break the eighth. Robbing God of his glory; they robbed one another of their property. So true it is that nothing is so demoralising as sacrilege! How many deadly crimes against society may trace their origin to Sabbath-breaking, the neglect of worship, and the violation or contempt of the ordinances of religion. Alienation from God leads to alienation from man. Sin against God leads to *vice*, which is sin against self, and to *crime*, which is sin against society. The murder of Abel was caused by Cain's unbelief; nay, all the wickedness of the world in all ages, sprang from the embryo of Adam's disobedience to God's commandment. Nor must we overlook the demoralising effect produced by the *repetition* of an offence which had been

condemned. At first, there might have been some extenuation of the sin of these traffickers. They imagined, perhaps, that they were not doing any harm, for their consciences were not enlightened; that their traffic, though gainful to themselves, was nevertheless useful to the temple, and needful in the service of God. But the case was altered when Jesus exposed the iniquity of their proceedings, shewed them plainly that their merchandise was a profanation of the sacredness and spirituality of God's house. To persist in their unhallowed traffic in the face of Christ's protest, and the acquiescence of their own conscience in it, was to harden their hearts, and to prepare the way for further wickedness. They had no excuse now to plead for the sin that was committed a second time, and against fullest and clearest light. And doing violence to their own conscience, it is not to be wondered at, that they should speedily have done violence to the laws of honourable dealing one with another; and that they who had begun as merchants in God's house, should have ended in becoming thieves there.

In the narrative of St John, it is mentioned that the Jews demanded from Jesus a sign or proof, *σημεῖον*, of his right to cast out those who profaned the temple,—“What sign shewest thou to us, seeing that thou doest these things?” Whereas, on the other hand, the narratives of the other evangelists merely mention the deep displeasure of the chief priests and scribes, and their secret conspiracy to destroy him. True indeed, they all record the fact that the rulers of the temple on one occasion did ask Jesus by what authority he did the things which were contrary to the conventionalities of the temple ritualism: “By what authority doest thou these things, and who gave thee this authority?” But this question was not asked by them in connection with the purification of the temple, but in connection with his teaching the people and healing their diseases afterwards as they resorted to him daily in the temple. And the answer which Jesus gave on that occasion clearly indicates that the event is different from that which St John records. He asked them in return, whether the baptism of John was from heaven or from earth? And because they found themselves on the horns of a dilemma, and could not answer one way or the other prudently, Jesus refused to give them his authority for doing the things which they challenged. We have every reason to believe that those who desecrated the temple and their ecclesiastical supporters did not, on the second occasion, question the authority of Christ. They retired in silence before his overpowering personal majesty. He was well known to them; he had given many irresistible proofs of his divine mission; and his power as a prophet to purify the sacred building was acknowledged, and was as lawful, and according

to precedent, as the power of any of the ancient prophets to reform the religious institution of their day. It was only when he attempted to introduce innovations into the temple, made it the scene of healing polluting diseases and preaching to common people and children, that they questioned the lawfulness of his conduct. But on the first occasion that he came to the temple to purify it, it was most natural, as already observed, that his authority for this strange proceeding should be asked. He was then a stranger and unknown. He had given no proofs of his divine work, either by word or deed, so far as known to the inhabitants of Jerusalem. If the constituted authorities of the temple encouraged this traffic, what right had he, a mere stranger—without name or position—to interfere, rescind their permission, and unceremoniously to cast out of the temple the traders and their wares. It was to have been expected that they should ask him, "What sign shewest thou to us, seeing that thou doest these things?" And had this question been asked in a proper spirit, Jesus would doubtless have answered it plainly. But he knew the pride and malice of the hearts from which the request proceeded, and therefore refused to give a sign. He never condescended to work miracles on demand, or to grant signs to doubt that was not a transitional but a final state, not the doubt of an inquiring soul, but the doubt of a self-satisfied Pharisee. Instead of granting their request, he gave them an enigma or proverb, which was unintelligible at the time, but was at a later period explained, not only to the disciples, but even to those of the Pharisees who were susceptible to the truth, "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up." This expression took hold of the minds of those who were present, and was afterwards widely circulated, for it was brought as an accusation against him by the false witnesses at his trial, and was applied to him mockingly by the bystanders at the cross. But the introduction of two syllables by them into it changed its whole meaning and essence, and turned their testimony into a lie. They accused Christ of having said, "I am able to destroy this temple of God, and to build it in three days;" whereas he said, "Destroy *ye* this temple, and in three days I will raise it up." "You are the destroyers of the temple; you that are polluting it now by turning it into a market-place, shall destroy it, and also your city, by staining its stones with my blood." Jesus came not to destroy the temple, but to widen its foundations; not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it. This sign corresponded to the sign of Jonah, which he afterwards gave them, for like that sign it was invisible, and was imparted only to faith. The temple to which he alluded signified his own body, which they were to nail to the cross, but which he was to raise up by his own

power on the third day. Thus, at the very commencement of his ministry, the shadow of the passion cast itself before upon his heart and life; and we have here a premonition of what became clearer and more intelligible as the events of Calvary drew near.

3. But we hasten to consider the third and last point of dissimilarity between the two scenes of purification in the temple, in the different nature of their *object*. We have every reason to believe that Christ came on the first occasion in mercy. He was preaching the gospel of repentance, inviting all the Jews to become subjects of the kingdom of heaven. He had no pleasure in their death, but rather that they should all turn to him and live. He would remove every hindrance to their faith, every obstruction in the way of their return to their covenant God, from all their filthiness and idols. He would, by word and deed, bring the kingdom of heaven very near to them,—reveal its laws, describe the character of its subjects, and the nature of its polity. And this first purification of the temple was a sign to them that God desired, not their destruction, but their reformation. It was in fact the Sermon of the Mount translated into a deed; the parable of the barren fig-tree in the vineyard acted before them. He came three years, by Moses, by the prophets, and now in his own person, to seek fruit from it. But though no fruit was on it, it was not yet to be cut down as a cumberer of the ground. He was a little longer to dig about it and dress it. Here, in the purification scene in the temple, is the commencement of that gracious process of digging and dressing. Whatever hindered its fruitfulness is now to be removed. Temple and tree in one symbol are to be rooted and grounded in the love of Christ, and to grow up into a holy habitation of God through the Spirit. It is the day of their merciful visitation. The first purification of the temple is a stroke for warning and not for excision,—the axe laid at the root of the tree. But widely different is the last purification of the temple. It is an act of judgment and not of mercy. The very connection in which it occurs in the narratives of Matthew, Mark, and Luke unmistakeably proves this. It comes in between the blasting of the barren fig-tree and the parable of the wicked husbandmen. During his last entrance into Jerusalem parable and miracle were combined into one work of judgment. He came no more to seek fruit, that was hopeless now; he came no more to purify. Those whom he had purified for a time had returned to their wallowing in the mire. The things that belonged to their peace were for ever hid from their eyes. The axe was now to be lifted against the tree. The terrible prophecy of the destruction of the temple and the city, in which one stone should not be left above another, was uttered; and now it remains that those who had desecrated

the house of God beyond forgiveness be cast out of the temple before its overthrow, in token that the house of God was to be no longer theirs. Rejecting their own Messiah, they were therefore to be themselves rejected. Long before, Isaiah represented, in his parable of the vineyard, the Jewish church and the vineyard as identical ; and therefore he described it, not as transferred to others, but as laid waste and destroyed. That parable of Isaiah corresponded with the first purification of the temple ; for representing as it did God's church confined exclusively within the limits of the Jewish nation, it was to be purified from its defilement, but not given over to others. But the last purification of the temple corresponded with the parable of the wicked husbandmen, in which the vineyard was to be transferred to more faithful servants. They had forfeited the tenure of the vineyard by their unworthiness. The kingdom of God was to be taken from them, and given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof. The candlestick was to be removed out of its place. Their house was to be left unto them desolate. And the postscript, as it were, of the parable shews how closely connected in the mind of Christ was that parable with the second purification of the temple on the morning of the same day. In the postscript he passes from the image of a vineyard to the image of a building, as if to shew that the vineyard and the temple were the same, and to express the solemn truth that he who was cast out and killed would himself yet take vengeance on his despisers and murderers. The builders who fell against the stone of the first purification of the temple and were broken, were to be ground into powder by the falling of that stone upon them in the second. As those upon whom the tower of Siloam fell, so they likewise perished because they repented not. The temple which they had desecrated became the instrument of their destruction. Their blood, in the most literal manner, was mingled with their sacrifices. Upon multitudes who fled to the courts of the temple for safety in the awful siege of Jerusalem, and while in the very act of preparing their sacrifices, the massive stones of the building, overthrown by the Romans, fell with a terrible crash, and crushed them in the universal wreck.

It is a very solemn thought, that in the abolition of the peculiar Jewish institutions, the utter rooting up of temple, and priesthood, and polity, with such agonies as came upon the Jewish people in consequence thereof, was a punishment that followed in the very line of the offence. Each institution perished, not merely because it was a shadow waxing old, and ready to fade away before the enduring substance, but *through some special and crowning abuse of it*. The beggarly elements of the Jewish ritual, proved themselves incapable of doing what they were designed to do, and in some great and glaring

act of representative weakness and sinfulness, they came to an end, and were superseded. The literal and the figurative were connected together. The Jewish people were scattered, not merely because there were to be no more privileges in the flesh, neither Greek nor Jew in Christ, but because they forfeited their distinction of God's peculiar people, by crowning their numerous and long-continued iniquities in slaying the Lord of glory with wicked hands. In destroying Christ, they destroyed their own nationality, which was hidden in their reception of Christ. In openly rejecting him as their king, they did it in words which repudiated their distinct existence as a nation,—“We have no king but Cæsar.” The city of Jerusalem was destroyed, not merely because the “Jerusalem above” was henceforth to be the centre of faith and worship—the point of convergence for all men—but because it had been the sepulchre of all God's martyred prophets and witnesses; and finally, the scene of the crucifixion of the Son of God. The Jewish Sabbath was abolished, not merely because the Christian Sabbath, the Lord's day, was to be established in its stead, but because those who were most zealous in its support had broken it by a peculiarly heinous transgression. The Pharisees, who found fault with Christ's disciples for plucking the ears of corn and eating them, and with Christ himself for healing the blind, the maimed, and the sick, on the Sabbath day, shewed how little they understood the true meaning and design of the Sabbath, and how grievously they violated the spirit of the law in their zeal for the letter of it, by sealing the stone, and setting a watch of Roman soldiers over the sepulchre of Jesus, and thus crowning all their previous breaking of the spiritual law of the Sabbath, by this glaring literal breach of it. The Jewish high priest, in the great representative sin of condemning Christ to death, rent his own priestly clothes, and thus committed a breach of the very law that made him a priest; so that he not only made void his priesthood, but according to an express law of Moses, even exposed himself to the sentence of death: “Uncover not your heads neither rend your clothes, lest ye die” (Lev. x. 6). “The high priest among his brethren, upon whose head the anointing oil was poured, and that is consecrated to put on the garment, shall not uncover his head, nor rend his clothes” (Lev. xxi. 10). In this way Caiaphas abolished his own office, and prepared the way for the raising up of a high priest for ever, after a new and eternal order, not by the law of a carnal commandment, but by the power of an endless life. When a high priest could accuse the Holy One of Israel of blasphemy, and condemn the Son of God to death, he put the finishing stroke to his guilt; he shewed how unworthy he was to hold the office, and how corrupt and debased the office itself had become, when it

could be thus perverted to such a wicked purpose. And it is a very remarkable circumstance, that Caiaphas uttered a last saying of wondrous import, in which all prophetic power of the Aaronic priesthood finally ceased: "Ye know nothing at all, nor consider that it is expedient for us that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not." "And this," adds the evangelist, "spake he not of himself, but being high priest that year, he prophesied that Jesus should die for that nation, and not for that nation only, but that he should gather together in one, the children of God that are scattered abroad." Here the last official representative of the priestly order prophesied involuntarily, like Balaam, under the inspiration of God, of the death of Jesus, as the true sacrifice for the people, which was to fulfil the end of the Jewish priesthood, and in so doing, to terminate it; and it was exceedingly appropriate that this purpose of God, in the death of Christ, should have been disclosed by one who knew not what he said, from whom the Urim and Thummim of the breastplate of righteousness had departed, and who, like all his fellow priests, was a blind leader of the blind, utterly ignorant of the nature and design of his sacred office. And finally, the narratives upon which our remarks in this article are based, shew to us very clearly that the temple of Jerusalem was destroyed, not merely because Christ, the living tabernacle, God in human nature, had appeared, to be the point of meeting between God and man, the dwelling-place of the soul; not merely because the Christian Church was henceforth to be the spiritual temple, built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Christ himself being the chief corner-stone, and every believer was to be a temple of the Holy Ghost, an habitation of God through the Spirit; but because its inefficiency to fulfil the ends of its construction, to point to the spiritual truths of God, was proved by its being degraded first into a house of merchandise, and then into a den of thieves.

In the temple Jesus took his stand during the last days of his ministry, as the point to which all his wanderings on earth led up; and in that symbolical place, flashed the fierce scathing lightning of his indignation against the whole vile system of Pharisaism, which superciliously proclaimed itself to be the true temple of God: "The temple of God are we." In that series of remarkable temple discourses which St Matthew records, he tore off the veil of Pharisaic sanctity, exposed the foul corruption underneath, and broke the grievous yoke of legal subtleties which the hypocritical teachers of religion had laid upon the people. He ended his public teaching as he had begun it,—in proclaiming the law of God. The Sermon on the Mount became the sermon in the temple; the blessings of the one corresponded with the woes of the other; the

welcome of love to the multitude was changed into the sentence of wrath against the scribes and lawyers; the declaration of the true nature and spiritual import of Judaism, gave place to the denunciation of the corruption of its practice. And while thus purifying the house of God, by casting out those who polluted it, who were poisoning the very well-springs of mercy, and shutting the kingdom of heaven on the wretched who were thronging its gates, he gathered round him in that temple, as the fitting place for such a work of mercy, fulfilling its true purpose and highest end, throngs of little children, of sinners, of the crippled, stained, maimed, and outcast, and uttered words of gracious compassion and tenderness to them, and healed them. His house of prayer was for the humble, contrite publican, and not for the proud, self-complacent Pharisee; for he came not to call the righteous but sinners to repentance.

H. M.

ART. III.—*M. Baius and the Foundation of Jansenism.*

THERE is no more interesting place in all Belgium to the lovers of antiquities than the venerable city of Louvain. If it does not contain so great an extent of civil and ecclesiastical structures of importance as Bruges, and has no single building to compete with the town hall of Brussels, it yields to no other Belgian city in its quaint air of antiquity, and its associations with the learning of the past are as unique as those of Ghent with its trade, or Antwerp with its commerce. The "great square" of Louvain is adorned by fronting, one another, the town hall, which, from its richness of ornamentation, has been called the Alhambra of the North, and the collegiate church of St Peter, not, like the cathedral of Antwerp, remarkable for external beauty, because injured in effect by the houses built against it, but possessing an interior of marvellous spaciousness, and in its screen between the nave and the choir, and other details, of uncommon richness and beauty.

Louvain was the intellectual centre of the low countries, and much depended on the course which its professors should take in the Reformation struggle. Unhappily they unanimously agreed to cast in their lot with the Church of Rome, and we may remark in passing, sent a letter of congratulation to Archbishop James Beaton and his assessors, for sending Patrick Hamilton to the stake. It was, however, impossible that, even at Louvain, a merely traditional style of theological teaching should go on as hitherto. Niedner attributes the circumstances of the Baian controversy, which gave to the Belgian

university for the time an European notoriety, both among Protestants and Romanists, to the influence of the Reformation in the Netherlands, and the seed cast, in former generations, by the brethren of "the common life." But the effects of the discovery of printing, of the renewed study of the classics, of the growing power of the commons throughout Europe, must also have combined to shew the defenders of the Romish faith the necessity of adopting the best methods, even if they seemed to be novel in form, of retaining the ground, as leaders of opinion, they were in danger of losing. It might once have been enough to imprison, condemn, and burn; it was now as necessary to write, to print, and do their best to confute the Reformers. The age of scholasticism was over. It had for some generations ceased to be original and productive; it could no longer be suffered to repose under the shade of an intellectually greater past.

It was every way natural that, if the schoolmen lost their once universal and unquestioned hold over theological mind, that Augustine should come to the front to replace the schoolmen. Even if the Greek had been as familiar to divines as the Latin, there was none of the eastern fathers who could compete with him in adaptedness to influence the European mind; and the questions agitated between the Reformers and the Romanists not a little resembled, in many points, those discussed in Augustine's time. If almost all the Reformers could say they were, in the questions of grace and predestination, more of Augustine's mind than a number of the contemporary Romish clergy, it would be replied that the Protestants were the successors of the schismatics whom Augustine had refuted, and greatly helped to extinguish; that they were merely northern and modern Donatists; that theirs was not the catholic church, but "the conventicle of a corner," as the Bishop of Hippo had said. If the theological writings of Augustine could be appealed to by Protestants, the ecclesiastical treatises of the same great doctor could be employed against Protestants. Augustine seemed, then, to be divided against himself. The opponents of Luther were semi-Pelagians. Luther himself was a Donatist. It might have been also remarked, the Catholic Church now is only an European one, —not even that entirely, for the east of Europe rejects her sway; in Augustine's time she was, with the exception of the Donatists in their "corner" of Africa, and those Easterns who were heterodox on the person of Christ, practically co-extensive with the professedly Christian world. This being the case, might not Augustine, if living in the sixteenth century, have revised his "church principles," and even if he did not, would it not be better to give up those "church principles?"

From the whole history of such controversies as the Baian one, the Protestant reader is warranted to draw the inference, that an uninspired guide, even so great an one as Augustine, must be in reality, one way or other, a source of difficulty to those on either side of the theological contest. No matter has called forth more ingenuity, more learning, more controversial power, and it must be added, more sophistry, than the debates in the Roman Catholic Church about the views and the authority of Augustine. He has been to the papacy incomparably the most troublesome "doctor" that ever was invested with authority. And many a pope, many a bishop, many a controversialist, must have in their heart wished they could be well rid of him. As it was, Augustine could be ill spared, and ill made use of.

Baius, so in a Latin-writing and Latin-speaking age was Michael de Bay generally called, was born in 1513, at Melun near Ath in Hainault. Educated at the University of Louvain, he became professor of theology there in 1551, by appointment of Charles V. From the first he was distinguished for his intimate acquaintance with the Scriptures, and the works of Augustine as virtually a commentary on them. Cardinal Noris, in his "*Vindiciæ Augustinianæ*," writes of the University of Louvain as a staunch defender of Augustinian views, but from its tuition had come forth Albert Pighius, not only a bitter anti-reformer, but a decided semi-Pelagian. His works, with those of Bartholomew, Camerarius, and other less known writers, had given occasion, in the low countries, to many to identify anti-Augustinian views with the support of Romanism, and this helped to make Dr Baius the more pronounced in the setting forth of the doctrinal system of the Bishop of Hippo. In his endeavours he was diligently seconded by his colleague, Dr John Hessel, less known as a theologian, but of superior general culture to him.

In 1552, Drs Ruard Topper and Josse Ravestein, also professors at Louvain, returned from Trent, the Council being interrupted for a time. They were both distinguished polemics against Protestantism; the latter afterwards wrote against Chemnitz, in defence of the decrees of Trent. They were jealous of the reputation which a professor, much younger in standing than themselves, had acquired, and found fault with his new ways of stating and defending "catholic" truth. Some years, however, elapsed before any public opposition was manifested to Baius, and it came from the Franciscans of the low countries, who were offended by his denial of the "Immaculate Conception of the Virgin," and his strictures on their lax practices in regard of confession. Through their influence, the Sorbonne at Paris was induced to take up and give judgment

upon eighteen propositions selected from the lectures of Baius. Of these, fourteen were condemned, as either wholly or partly heretical, the others as false and dangerous. "The Theological Areopagus of that time," as Professor Linsemann calls the Sorbonne, was too formidable an adversary to be despised, and Baius accordingly published an elaborate defence of the assailed propositions, making use, not only of Scripture, but of Augustine, Prosper, Anselm, and other esteemed writers, to support his views. Through Franciscan influence also, the Spanish universities of Salamanca and Alcala de Henares were induced to condemn nine propositions of Baius. To their strictures he made no reply.

The controversy went on in the low countries. The two professors were very highly esteemed in their native land, and the worst consequences to Romanism were anticipated from any step that might drive them into the Protestant ranks. Pallavacini informs us of the discussions that went on among those who had the management of the affairs of the Council at Trent, how the two inculpated doctors should be dealt with. At last it was resolved that they should come to the Council, in the twofold hope that in their absence controversial excitement might be toned down, and that communication with the legates and the assembled fathers might fully confirm their adherence to Rome. To Trent accordingly, in 1563, the last year of the Council, they repaired, in company with their colleague Jansen and three Belgian bishops. They were present at the last three sessions; and in one of them, Hassel, who had proposed the condemnation of the lately deceased Ambrose Catharinus for heresy, was replied to by the eminent Jesuit Salmeron, that his own writings also deserved condemnation for heresy.

In this year also, Baius, for the first time, appeared as an author. With the approbation of the Bishop of Bois-le-Duc, and with the royal permission, appeared his treatises, "*De Libero Arbitrio, de Justitia, de Justificatione, de Sacrificio.*" In the next year, after his return from Trent, were published the works, "*De Meritis Operum, de Prima Hominis Justitia, de Virtutibus Impiorum, de Sacramentis in Genere, de Forma Baptismi.*" A second edition of both volumes, with some new treatises, appeared in 1566. Several of these treatises were written against the Reformer; the essay on the sacraments is directed against Calvin, of whom he writes in the strongest terms as "one actuated rather by a diabolical than a human spirit."

Ravestein sent a number of propositions, extracted from the works of Baius, to Rome, to procure, if possible, condemnation of them from Pius IV. Shortly after that pontiff died, and

after three years' delay, through the influence, it has been supposed, of the General of the Franciscans, Montalto, afterwards Sixtus V., a bull of condemnation was issued by Pius V. on the 1st of October 1567. No person's name occurs in this bull, and in after times, the Jansenists made merry with the grammar of it, as "dicit," "docet," and other verbs occur without any nominative to them. The modern reprints of the bull, as those in Linsemann, Denzinger, Enchiridion, and the Leipsic edition of the Decrees of Trent, do not shew this grammatical anomaly, as they merely give the propositions condemned. There were seventy-nine propositions condemned, extracted from all the published works of Baius, except those on the sacraments and on the form of baptism. In January 1569, Baius, while professing implicit submission to the "Holy See," addressed a defence of himself to the Pope. This "Apologia" extends to forty-four pages in the quarto edition of his works, published in 1696 by the Benedictine Geberon, and goes over all the propositions, maintaining his views by Scripture and the fathers, but denying some of the propositions to be his. He wrote under the depression of severe illness, and the shock occasioned by the death of his bosom friend Hessel. About the same time Baius wrote to Cardinal Simoneta, whose acquaintance he had made at Trent, entreating his good offices on his behalf. In this letter he speaks with great modesty of his own writings, as not likely to have more than a merely contemporary influence. "His object, as a professor of theology, had been to turn attention away from the medieval scholasticism which had bred disputes between the Scotists on the one hand and the followers of Aquinas and Bonaventura on the other, to Scripture itself and the earlier Latin fathers, from Cyprian to Gregory (the Great). Thus he hoped to arrest the progress of heresy, and best serve the interests of the Catholic Church. Much private influence against him had been used by the Franciscans, both with the former and the present Pope; and now, when the bull against him had appeared, sixteen, at least, of the propositions condemned were not found in his writings, and he knew not whence they were derived." The cardinal, however, had died before this epistle reached Rome. The Pope wrote back to Baius in May of the same year, requiring implicit submission to the bull.

In April 1570, Baius, at the urgent request of the bishops of Ypres, Bois-le-Duc, and Ghent (the last his friend Jansen), delivered a defence of himself before the Theological Faculty at Louvain. In this defence he declares his desire to have retired altogether from professorial duties, on account of the agitation and disturbance which had been raised about his

views. He then goes over a number of the condemned propositions in detail, and, at the close, affirms that forty of them were not to be found in his works, a statement impossible seemingly to be reconciled with the above enumeration in his letter to Simoneta. "He had explained many points in a way unusual in the schools, for which, as having given scandal, he expresses regret. It was not intended to condemn him for heresy in the bull, as his friend the Bishop of Bois-le-Duc, from his acquaintance with the management of things at Rome, had assured him that books were often condemned merely as containing unsuitable innovations of expression." One of the instances he gives in this defence is the nineteenth, "The works of Christ derived no greater value from the dignity of his person." Any one who compares this with the seventh chapter of the second book, "*De Meritis Operum*," will see that Baius taught the very opposite.

In January 1579, Gregory XIII., in order to shew the incorrectness of the view that the friends of Baius had taken up—the bull of Pius was invalid—inserts it anew in a bull of his own. In consequence of this renewed pressure from Rome, Baius, in March 1580, wrote a retractation, in which he acknowledges that the bull of Pius proceeded upon a thorough examination of the questioned points. In this submission, however, he only admits that "several" of the propositions condemned had been taught by him in the condemned sense. In the same month, the Papal Nuncio for the Netherlands, at a special meeting of the University of Louvain, obtained from all the professors, licentiates, bachelors, and students therewith connected, an act of submission to the bull, and condemnation of the propositions censured by it. The Pope was now satisfied, and in June sent an apostolical brief to Baius, couched in most complimentary terms.

The strenuous Papalists found fault with two opinions of Baius, that all Bishops, as much as the Pope, have their power immediately from God, and that the Pope is not infallible in doctrine. He shews that the latter proposition cannot be proved from Luke xxii. 32. But neither of these views occasioned to him any public censure.

By far the largest of his works is his *Controversy*, which went on for a dozen of years, with the eminent Protestant statesman Marnix of St Aldegonde, upon the "authority of the Church and the sacrament of the altar." It was conducted with the utmost courtesy on both sides. St Aldegonde presses Baius very hard upon the question of transubstantiation and the "sacrifice" in the eucharist. The Franciscans and Jesuits (for the latter, though never referred to by Baius as his adversaries, took part against him from doctrinal views, and perhaps, also,

from the rivalry of their own academy at Louvain to the university) impeached him, not only of excess of civility to his opponent, but also of attributing too much authority to the Word, and too little to tradition or the existing church. In his first answer to St Aldegonde, Baius thus expresses himself:—"As the Holy Scripture, which can neither deceive nor be deceived, contains the very truth in itself; but the church is enlightened only by the truth contained in the Scripture, and left to itself could easily fall into its own darkness; therefore, it is more suitably said, that the Holy Scripture gives authority and dignity to the church of Christ than the opposite."

Honours flowed in upon Baius in the later years of his life. He was invested with the dignities of Grand Inquisitor of the Netherlands, Chancellor of the University of Louvain, and Dean of the Collegiate Church of St Peter in that city. The first especially of these honours testified to the confidence reposed in his orthodoxy.

The Theological Faculty at Louvain, in 1587, condemned—doubtless with his concurrence, though there is no evidence of his taking any special part in the matter—thirty-four propositions taken from the works of the Jesuits Hamel and Lessius, professors in the Jesuit college of the same city. Lessius was a distinguished theologian, peculiarly versed in the Greek fathers, to whose writings Baius seems to have paid little attention. The inculcated Jesuits obtained counter testimonies in their favour from the Universities of Mentz, Treves, and Ingolstadt. Of these propositions we may mention only the first and last:—"1. It is not necessary to suppose the very words of Scripture to be inspired by the Holy Spirit. 34. This view of predestination (having respect to good works foreseen) is most accordant with the divine goodness, the authority of Scripture, the testimonies of the fathers, and the justice of natural reason, in no respect favouring Pelagius, and as far as possible opposed to the opinion of Luther, Calvin, and the other heretics of our time, from whose opinion and arguments it is difficult to vindicate the contrary opinion."

By his legate, Frangipani, who repaired to Louvain for the purpose, Pope Sixtus V. endeavoured to reconcile the opposing doctors; and this being found impossible, enjoined all the writings on either side to be sent up to Rome, as there alone could the matter be decided, local parties anywhere being incompetent for that purpose. Pending a decision by the "Holy See," both sides were to abstain from all mutual accusations of false doctrine. The decision promised, however, never appeared.

Baius died at the age of seventy-six, on the 16th of Septem-

ber 1589. It is mere party exaggeration to speak of him, as Gerberon does, as the foremost theologian of his time. The Roman Catholic Church then possessed such distinguished theologians as Baronius and Bellarmine, Vasquez, Sanchez, and Suarez, any of whom, apart from the notice excited by peculiar views, must be classed as superior to Baius. But he was undoubtedly a man endowed with the distinctively theological mind. That mind, so thoroughly turned to divinity by its original conformation, he had diligently trained by profound scriptural study. He was well versed in the Latin fathers, and fairly so in the schoolmen. His favourite author was Augustine, whose voluminous works he had read nine times over. It is curious to remark the difference of treatment which he gives to Calvin and to St Aldegonde,—the former is “devilish” in his views, the latter is, at worst, an erring brother. Such was the influence of personal contact, and the expressed regard of his opponent in the latter case.

Baius has attracted less notice than Jansenius or Quesnel, whose views he undoubtedly contributed not a little to form. This is to be accounted for by the great theological and literary reputation of the Port Royal Jansenists. No body of men took up the views of Baius, though the epithet “Baian” was, for a time, as common in the mouths and pens of the Jesuits as “Jansenist” afterwards became. Vasquez, and other eminent writers of the Jesuit or Franciscan school, occupied themselves a good deal with the refutation of his views.

Protestant Calvinism is Scripture interpreted by itself: Baianism is Scripture interpreted by Augustine. Hence the former is a consistent whole; the latter is not. To the completeness of the former, the doctrine of gratuitous justification by faith is absolutely necessary, and no Calvinist has ever denied it. But Baius, and all who sided with him, held the Romish view of justification. No opponent ever insinuated that on that point he thought differently from the fathers of Trent. Hence, both as a theological system, and in reference to practice and life, the essential element of weakness in the views of Baius.

The case of Baius is eminently a case against the Church of Rome. What are we to think of the impartiality of that tribunal of doctrine which hastens to condemn seventy-nine propositions ascribed to Baius, yet when thirty-four propositions of Lessius and Hamel met with censure from a university whose orthodoxy, from the Romish standpoint, had just been proved by the most entire submission to the bull of Pius, re-issued by Gregory, claims indeed the decision of the questions for itself, gets possession, under that pretext, of all the relative documents, and never after all gives forth the promised and expected de-

cision. There was, indeed, a ground for this breach of promise. The powerful "Order of Jesus," which had rendered and was rendering greater service to Rome than any other religious community, previous or contemporary, had done, was implicated in the views of the two Louvain professors. Baius was able, and learned, and of unblemished character; equally so was Lessius. But the former was but a Flemish theologian; the latter had the most powerful community in the Romish Church to back him. Sixtus could brave the potentates of either Romanist or Protestant Christendom. But he cowered before the terrible Society!

Again, what are we to think of the judgment of Rome as a tribunal of doctrine in condemning the seventy-nine propositions? It is notorious—as, indeed, Professor Linsemann, in the volume before us, to some extent admits, and as any one who reads the works of Baius, and compares them with the propositions discerns—that a number of them are not to be found in his writings. Only ignorance, carelessness, party prejudice, or dishonest malignity can be assigned as reasons of ascribing these views to a man who, with all truth, disclaimed them as his, and even, as we have seen in his professed retractation, refused to acknowledge the disclaimed errors. No proof that they were his was attempted, and all proof would have failed. That his retractation, imperfect as it was (though thoroughly consistent with his previous disclaimers), should have been so eagerly accepted by Gregory as to call forth an apostolic brief of thanks, we may almost say, gives fresh proof of the inconsistency and weakness of Rome. The retractation, in the form it assumed, should not have been accepted, or the disclaimed propositions should have been honestly stated as having been charged to him by mistake. But, then, where would have been the doctrinal authority of Rome?

The condemned propositions have been, in various ways, a great source of trouble in the Romish Church. An "iota" separated, in the fourth century, the orthodox from a section of the Arians; a comma, the "comma Pianum," was the source of endless controversy between the friends and foes of Baian doctrine. Whether the comma was to be put before or after the words, "in the proper sense of the words meant by the asserters," was the question. If the former, then no one could in the Romish Church hold these views; if the latter, then "some of them, in a certain sense, could be sustained," in the sense meant by Baius, and they might still be held consistently with Romish orthodoxy.

Another difficulty was as to the sense in which the propositions were condemned. Some maintained that it was not the doctrine but the special form in which Baius put it forth that

was in some cases censured. It was notorious that several of the propositions belonged to the "communior sententia," in the existing schools of Roman Catholic theology, and it was contended Rome could never mean to condemn these in themselves.

Again, theologians of high eminence, and not partial to the views of Baius, such as Vasquez, Turrianus, and Suarez, maintained that, in various cases, the propositions were condemned, not for their own demerits, but for the severity with which Baius had censured the opposite views.

Another difficulty was, how to reconcile the condemnation of some of the propositions with the authority of Augustine, from whose works they were virtually taken. Rome had pronounced him one of the four doctors of the church, and how could Baius be attacked, and the Bishop of Hippo remain unharmed? Romanist writers, whenever they touch on these points, have this difficulty to face—by evasion. We may refer, as instances, to Cardinal Noris, *Vindic. Augustin. c. iv. sect. 5*, and to Perrone, *Tract. de Grat. c. i.*

Yet another source of difficulty about the bull was the ascription of heresy to some of the propositions and not to others. Surely it was treating the faithful very unkindly, not to let them know the precise boundaries between the deadly views of heresy and the less dangerous character of error. A tribunal which claims to be, not only the best, but the only one in the world, cannot be too definite in its deliverances, else those within the Roman Catholic pale must be perplexed, if they reflect, and outsiders will be tempted to deride the claims.

How different to the decisions of Rome are the judgments of the churches holding the Westminster Confession of Faith. Take the case of the condemnation of the Rowite heresy by the successive stages of Presbytery, Synod, and Assembly, and compare the procedure there with the case of Baius. In the former case the accused is heard, at every stage, to the full, confronted with his accusers, judged by his peers in the face of day, in the view of that and all other churches, and before the world at large. He is convicted from that very Confession of Faith, which as a minister he had signed. In the case of Baius, the accusation takes place at a distance from the alleged offender. He is not summoned or heard in his defence. Notwithstanding of repeated disclaimers, and without attempt, or indeed possibility of proof, he is condemned as the author of views which he never entertained, and of which he proclaims his rejection. Again, as to views admittedly his own, in various cases, neither the Council of Trent, nor any preceding authority of the church, had condemned these views. There is no open standard of appeal by which the truthfulness of the judgment

can be tested. That judgment, as to the preceding investigations, is conducted by fallible theologians; the same, or other equally fallible, draw out the condemnation, and the infallibility springs merely out of the issuing. It does not appear that Pius V. had ever read a word of the writings of Baius. Others read, profess to extract, and hand in certain propositions ascribed to the professor of Louvain. These confessedly uncertain materials are transmuted into absolute certainty by the magic touch of the fisherman's seal! Infallibility is certified in the mechanical act of the papal signature!

Other influences mix up themselves. French and Spanish universities, jealous of the fame of the renowned Flemish school of theology; Franciscans, seeking to extol Scotus at the expense of Aquinas; Jesuits, seeking to constitute themselves the arbiters of all questions in the Romish Church, and to make the pontiff but a triple-crowned vassal of the "order;" these are the influences that combine in the condemnation of Baius.

And what has the result of the condemnation been? The bull is indeed inserted in all collections of the authoritative documents of the Romish Church. But there is evidence that Baius taught, in different language, various of the views therein condemned, as long as he occupied his chair, *i.e.* while he lived. And ever since, differently stated indeed, and with the precise phraseology condemned avoided, men of varied schools in the Romish Church have continued to teach what was condemned in him. The bull was many ways blundering in its character, and, as it deserved to be, has been many ways inefficacious in its power.

But, on the other hand, we cannot commend the conduct of Baius. The difficulties of his position,—between a powerfully aggressive Protestant Calvinism, and a jealously suspicious Franciscan and Jesuit non or anti-Augustinianism in his own church,—may excuse, but cannot justify, his giving, as we have shewn, different statements as to the amount of propositions in the bull, which he denied to be his. They could not be at once forty and less than twenty. Again, his retractation, while he continued to deny these disclaimed propositions to be his, however valuable for the mere outward peace of the Romish Church in the Netherlands, was anything but a high-minded procedure on his part. The bull had no authority, except as coming from a supreme tribunal of doctrine; and how could it be authoritative when it continued to assert untruths? Was the submission anything else than the virtual endorsing of pontifical aberrations from verity?

Then, the accepting the office of grand inquisitor of the Netherlands was grossly out of place and character in Baius.

We do not indeed read of Protestants sent to the stake by him, but we know, what before, during, and after Alva's government, the Inquisition had been in that country. As a nonentity, the office was unworthy of a man of Baius' eminence and character; as at all a reality, the function was grievously unbecoming a man who, in various of his views, as those of the 21st and 27th propositions (acknowledged to be his) on the original state of man, and those on the relative authority of the Word and Church, not decided on by Rome, were undoubtedly Protestant. Baius held, as the above propositions shew, and his book on Original Righteousness proves, that man's righteousness, when first created, was a part of that nature, and not, as Romanist theologians hold, an added, supernatural gift. In regard to these propositions, he, in his defence addressed to Pius V., asks to be shewn, if wrong, where he was wrong. He was not so shewn, and he never specially retracted these propositions. Other instances of coincidence with Protestant theology might be given. He, acting as grand inquisitor, was like John Hus sending Lollards to the stake.

The work of Professor Linsemann of Tübingen, named at the head of this article, is a highly creditable production. The author is a Romanist, and, of course, writes with the views of an adherent of the church to which he belongs. But he is, on the whole, a fair and candid writer. The work is in two parts, the first embracing the life of Baius, the second, much the longest, his doctrine, in five chapters,—1st, Anthropological principles; 2d, The Fall; 3d, The Grace of Christ; 4th, Justification; 5th, The Church and the Sacraments. Now expanded into a volume of 270 pages, the work was originally an essay, written for a prize given by the University of Tübingen in 1858, subject, "Doctrine of Baius and its Consequences." Professor Linsemann has paid much attention to the history of the later scholasticism, as his articles in the *Tübingen Quartalschrift* on Gabriel Biel and Albert Pighius shew. He takes a good deal of notice of the correspondence between the views of Baius and those of Jansenius.

The works of Baius, as collected and annotated by the Benedictine Gerberon (1696), with the imprint of Cologne, but probably issued in Holland, are well worthy of study. He is a vigorous thinker, an acute reasoner, and a man profoundly versed in Scripture. Not a theologian of the first order, he is high in the ranks of the second class. He was a virtual Protestant in some parts of his theology; a decided Romanist in the rest.

ART. IV.—*Speculation and Practice : Some Liberal Tendencies Considered.*

Life and Remains of Robert Lee, D.D., F.R.S.E., Minister of the Parish of Greyfriars, and Professor of Biblical Criticism in the University of Edinburgh. By ROBERT HERBERT STORY, Minister of Roseneath. London : Hurst & Blackett.

Recess Studies. Edited by Sir ALEXANDER GRANT, Bart. *Essay V.*—"Church Tendencies in Scotland." Edmonston & Douglas.

The Contemporary Review for June 1870. Article—"Church Tendencies in Scotland." London : Strahan & Co.

A YEAR or two before the Disruption of 1843, a parish school-master of uncommonly quick turn of mind, and a rather too rapid eye for catching the separate points of a question, without rising to anything like the idea or principle involved, addressed some letters to those who had tried to interest him in the non-intrusion movement. They were trenchant, smart, and clear ; and it was evident that while he wrote them under show of pointing out difficulties, and wishing further light, he had more hope of gaining credit for his ingenuity than desire to get the light he professed to seek. The burden of his reply was, that he didn't see that the protesting party were acting either wisely or working towards the proper point. In the very fact of having secured admission to the ministry under the system which they were now uniting to destroy, he declared that their action was inconsistent and self-stultifying ; and that, by raising a clamour against the law, and threatening to act in defiance of it, they were rendering impossible the real reform of the church, even admitting that all they urged was substantially true. Through several applications he enforced and justified his position, and, with a certain air of omniscient humility, well becoming one who is in the habit of lecturing little boys on their mistakes, but far enough from becoming a Christian minister (for he was a licentiate of the church) trying to view, in a proper spirit, matters which involved conscience and truth, he managed by a kind of *finesse* to assume pretty much that attitude of simple questioning which contrives to evade the effect of any proper answer which may be made. His was the attitude of the lawyer, rather than that of the statesman ; of the mere debater, interested in the very tone of victory which he claims for himself, rather than that of the genuine seeker of principles of freedom and right.

We have recalled to mind this writer's pamphlets, because he was the first man, as far as we are aware, who in Scotland *distinctly* formulated the ideas which have become common enough with a certain party in Scotland, now known as the

Broad Church School—so far at all events as these bear on the principles of church politics. Probably he would have called himself a “Moderate,” but his keen head had led him a little further on the logical highway than the moderates would have gone; and he developed as positive principles what they would have simply said was submitted to by them as inevitable, from which no escape was possible, save into a far worse and less hopeful condition of matters. With him the “moderate” expediency was lifted up, and rarefied into a principle. But as one read, one could not help fancying that he caught the sound of later words, which got confused with the earlier writing; and at length one was compelled to acknowledge to oneself that in the parish schoolmaster’s pamphlets there lay the germ of all that Dr Robert Lee had more recently developed. The light of the morning star had been quenched in the advent of the ascending sun. Such fate too often overtakes the early half-isolated promoters of great reforms!

A great reform truly,—were human nature only of the stuff to permit its realisation,—was that to which Dr Robert Lee devoted himself, and which possesses the brains, if not the hearts, of his few devoted successors. A State so purged from the grosser adhesions of Erastian expediency and political self-will as to embrace within its bosom a church to which perfect freedom is secured, while the very dependence of the spiritual upon the civil office is but a surer means of wider and truer influence,—Who would not admire such a happy condition of things as this? A Church so secured in the broad, peaceful freedom of its teaching as to develop no idea of liberty alien to the State’s idea of the true political development of the people,—what a dream for Ambition’s young soul to fight for and to realise! It is easy to reconstruct and to broaden the boundaries of a church *in idea*; but what a gap there ever lies between the ideal and the real! That pious German, Richard Rothe, who in his youth had received into his nature a leaven of the Hegelian doctrine, patiently developed his ideal of the church, speculatively, with a steady reference to the ideal of humanity conceived in its most abstract form. It was involved in the very nature of his scheme, that humanity in its oneness should at the last merge its political in its religious life, and find both intensified in the identity. The State, at last, drawn up to the plane of the Church, became in all its organs but another set of instruments for the diffusion of the Christian idea; and the king was by virtue of the very completeness of Christian life both individually and socially, the head of the church. Rothe was an Erastian from one point of view, and yet from another he was not. He was certainly an Erastian in so far as he sought to directly realise these ideas

amidst the disorganised politics of Germany ; but he was no Erastian in so far as he confined his doctrine to its speculative form alone. For who of us is sceptical about the final issue of a purified form of humanity realising this, so that he who rules shall also be the symbol of that which is worshipped ? It was this prophetic belief which led the leaders of the early Scotch church to associate with their doctrine of the Headship of Christ over his church, this other, that he was also Head over the nations ; it is this which has led so many devout souls in later Christian ages to return upon the early idea of a personal reappearance of Christ upon earth, to reign over a nation gathered out of all peoples and tongues in the re-glorified city of Jerusalem.* The union of church and state in its higher form is almost a speculative question, in spite of the fact that this is what nations in their earliest flush of faith have ever tried to realise ; the rude contact of the real facts of life have tended to shew that in practice the idea was but a dream, and that the involved and ever-shifting relations of modern states, made the realising of it more and more difficult.

So far, then, as our Broad Church friends are content with the speculative development of fascinating doctrines of this kind, we can sympathise with them, just as we can sympathise with the exquisite thought and pure spirituality of Rothe, which look through upon us in all his writings. But Rothe at last found his place among the rebels of the German *Protestantenverein*, and was not long till he found himself out of place there. Even the politic double-dealing found needful to maintain some appearance of power and unity in this organisation was most distasteful to him ; he soon came to see that even spiritual individuality, yielding to the pressure of such political considerations as this institute brought to bear upon it, was likely to be much weakened. He retired from it as

* See with what exquisite delicacy that true artist, the author of "Stone Edge," seizes this tendency of the common religious instinct in "Lettice Lisle" : "Be ye any better to-day, Master Jesse ?" said Lettice timidly.

"Well, child, I don't know when I've ailed so bad. I told the clock, I believe, every hour all night. I think by whiles that it will be a fine thing for to go away. But we must wait patient till we gets our orders ; no man can sail wi'out them. The Lord he knows. I were just a searching into the Kingship of Christ," he said, with the far-seeing, abstracted look in his deep-set eyes of one intent on 'spiritual experiences.'

"What was it, Master Jesse ?" said Lettice, after a pause, not feeling quite up to the point. — "The second Advent, child, ye know ; and the thousand years, and the thrones, and the beloved city,"—and he began to read out in his earnest, rapt tone, one of those chapters in the Apocalypse, whose gorgeous eastern imagery seems to have such a fascination for the minds of the hard-working folk much driven by life.

"'Tis like the music of great waters," said Lettice earnestly, as the sound of the words died away. "I used to dream of them in the white robes with the gold often and often beforetime."

far as he could ; and on his deathbed he begged that the Union might not be made an instrument in intensifying the bitterness of divided parties over his grave. So much for the ideal and for the facts.

We do the Broad Churchmen of the Established Church of Scotland the credit of trying to be sincere. They aim at a high ideal. Their efforts would need to be as ceaseless as their aim is high. They wish to realise a true National Church. The course to attain it lies through the pathway of a fiery, and unrelenting heroism. When Dr Wallace, who, while we allow him the utmost honesty, cannot force from us the admission that he is possessed by a controlling enthusiasm, tells us that "*the true salvation of the church lies in its embracing as much as possible of the national religious life, so that it may meet the righteous demands of religious equality*,"—we are compelled to admit that the ideal is high. But we cannot help thinking, after having cast our eyes round us a little, that our theorists solve their problem in the mere recognising of it—indeed, in the mere stating of it. In spite of their protestations, and their many words, they tensely separate their theory from their practice, and discover themselves to us on a fair study of them, as being, after all, more of speculative philosophers than practical reformers. The pity is that they try to influence those outside on the ground of reforms, which, with themselves, are so far confined to the region of speculation. We do not mean to raise any charge of hypocrisy ; far from it. Dr Robert Lee was, for instance, a very active man ; but, then, is it not more than evident that his activity played more round a personal centre than is the case with reformers whom the world, after prolonged study of them, consents to maintain in perpetual honour ? He fought very bravely to defend himself from the action of certain bodies whose adverse decision would have driven him out of the church, and out of the *several* offices he held, and could only hold, on the ground of a presumed genuine subscription. His ideal of the church was that of a society so completely protected against its own united voice that no individual could temporarily suffer disability under an ecclesiastical decision. A beautiful speculation ; but then there is the fact of the Church Courts, with the General Assembly as only absolute court of appeal in matters of doctrine. Why did not Dr Lee openly advocate for a final Court of Appeal such as exists in England ? His ideal had not even the shadow of a chance of being realised, not to speak of being triumphant, under any other conditions ! Then Dr Lee claimed a right "to ponder and to reason," with "no conclusions determined beforehand ;" while yet he found it consistent with his high ideal of honour, and his deepest convictions, to remain

the minister of a church which enforces a very stringent subscription to a creed so strictly and logically defined as to be at least anything but vague in its references. On this point we read recently a paragraph which is more apt than we can hope to be, in its terms of expressing the same thought which has not unfrequently occurred to us :—

“ Dr Lee’s statement that to ‘ investigate, to ponder, and to reason, when we have for ourselves, or when others have determined for us beforehand, the conclusion at which we must finally arrive, is indeed a laborious farce and a solemn mockery,’ cuts at the very root of all dogma whatever, and properly annihilates a church in the ordinary sense of that word, most certainly in the sense in which a State Churchman is, above all, bound to understand it. For, as a nation cannot be expected to endow where it has no power of control, you must contrive somehow to give it a definitory instrument, and this can only be a line drawn somewhere around dogmas—in short, a test of some kind or other. There is no escape out of this position. And as it is of the very essence of a test, however wide, however liberally conceived, that there should lie in it the possibility of excluding people, it seems to be specially involved in the nature of a State Church that it must have dogmas, whatever other churches may do. But if you have dogmas, however simply conceived, subscription to which is a necessary preliminary to admission to orders, then in greater or less degree ‘ conclusions are inevitably determined beforehand ;’ the same difficulties arise however wide you may draw the line, for a line is there, and a bar put upon freedom of opinion. The church, of course, is not an institution for promoting research, but for framing men to piety and purer lives ; and no restriction is thereby put upon activity exerted for its proper object. But the getting rid of the restriction of ‘ conclusions determined beforehand,’—that is, the bugbear of all dogmatic truth whatever, so that no man can any longer be held bound even by the rudimentary dogma, ‘ That there is a God,’ is simply to reduce the church to a mere organ of philosophy and culture, and a true union on the basis of Christian belief is no longer possible. The isolation of Dr Lee’s position, looked at from this point of view, becomes intelligible. Dr Mitchell of St Andrews, speaking of this claim for a right ‘ to ponder and to reason,’ declares it a *carte blanche* to be given into the hands of Dr Lee, and afterwards to be filled up according to his pleasure. And we are compelled to agree with Dr Mitchell ; for not only would Dr Lee’s principles, carried fully out in practice, reduce Presbytery to chaos, but it would render impossible any settled combination and communion for the furtherance of Christian objects.”

And when we turn to study the attitudes and activities of those who would claim to follow and to represent Dr Lee, we are forced to a very similar conclusion in their case. Dr Wallace, for instance, advocates “ an institute of *free* religious thinkers and teachers of the nation,” while he has himself signed, as the

"Confession of *my* faith," the creed of Westminster, which, on a great many points, is very decisive and clear, and not more clear on any point than this, that "the Lord Jesus, as King and Head of his Church, hath therein appointed a government, in the hands of Church-officers distinct from the Civil Magistrate," which itself suffices to set a considerable bar in the way of attaining that "institute of *free* religious thinkers and teachers." Dr Wallace, like his predecessor, is great in that department of *speculative* theology, in which Richard Rothe was so distinguished! We do not, therefore, feel that it is needful to criticise the principles of Dr Wallace and his friends in so far as they are *purely speculative*! Large latitude must be allowed to men here; they must not be too hardly dealt with, as if they were ready to undergo *any* sacrifice whatever of means and of *comfort*, yea, even to give up life itself, for the realisation of their ideas. Their ideas may be a great comfort to them; may cheer their weary hours, and solace painful thoughts in the retirement of the closet; but if it is not sought by all means to compass the application of these to the practical affairs of life, persons who do not agree with them in all their relations may still be able to consider them with calmness and forbearance.

Now, it is certainly the fact, that this Broad Church party, while it is ever loudly setting forth its own ideas of freedom and reform, is very slow to take any really effective step in the direction of transferring its ideas into consistent actualities. It loves to contemplate abstract possibilities; yet, with that strange contradiction so often noticed in the national character, it clings to the *status quo* in a most surprisingly cautious way. We can only account for this on the ground of the ruling distinction between speculation and practice,—between the love of an idea and the power of fighting and sacrificing to ensure its triumph! In proceeding, then, to say a few words about the effect which would be inevitable were these doctrines to be carried into actual practice, it will be understood that our calmness of temper is begotten of a due appreciation of that calm self-satisfaction which characterises those with whom we deal, and which is much more likely to be generated in men who are accustomed to concern themselves with favourite ideas in the closet,—ready always to adjust themselves to any shape at the airy motion of the master's mind, rather than with the awkward, fluctuating, and almost uncontrollable facts of actual life itself.

On the other hand, it must be borne in mind, that speculative ideas have always had a more or less direct influence upon the life. Men's thoughts, if they do not directly modify or

control their practical conduct, yet impart to it a certain tone and colour, not to be explained otherwise than by a reference to these thoughts themselves. In seeking to exhibit the speculative ideal of the Broad Church party, we shall endeavour to shew also how the practical life, in spite of its being apparently withdrawn wholly from the speculative region, does yet in a subtle way, but none the less surely, affect and colour it.

Their ideal is a comprehensive church—a church which shall embrace, as nearly as possible, all the religious life of the nation, consistently with the demands of religious equality. According to Dr Wallace, this can only be obtained through the State, but a State that can justify its tolerance by declining to enforce any dogma whatever. It is to institute a church, and endow it for the express purpose of embracing all the religious life of the nation. And yet that religious life is, on this hypothesis, to be deprived of an object. For how can men be united for an object if that object is not defined in some form or other. But we have an approach to a definition supplied by Dr Wallace himself: "So as to meet the righteous demands of religious equality." Quite so; but what are the *righteous* demands, and who is to define them? Is it the Prime Minister, or the Cabinet, or parliament, or men like Dr Wallace, who, being in the enjoyment of certain privileges, are to do it on the good old principle, that—

"They should take who have the power,
And they should keep who can"?

When Dr Robert Lee gave his deliverance—a most memorable deliverance, too, as regards the light it cast upon the bearing of his speculative doctrines in one direction—upon the question of opening the pulpits of the Established Church to dissenters, he spoke with a very incisive wisdom as to the determining power in the matter. He said:—

"Why is this proposed? To exhibit the unity of the Church? What does this phrase mean? That there is unity among all the Protestant sects—Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Independent? If they are united in all matters of importance why are they yet separated? Why are they sects? If they are not united in all matters of moment, then this declaration of their unity is a declaration of a thing that does not exist. It is therefore an act of hypocrisy or an illusion. *Is there not something incongruous in our making laws, declaring persons to be ministers whom our church holds not to be ministers.*"

We are thus to have a comprehensive church, whose object is to be defined for it solely by the State. For what does Dr Lee here mean by the fact of the sanction of the State being

essentially necessary to any one whom he could consent to recognise as a minister? Dr Lee will have no dogma. Yet how neatly he asserts the dogma, that only a state-churchman is a minister. Perhaps Dr Wallace will relieve us from the dilemma we cannot help feeling, when we try to find a nexus of consistency between Dr Lee's speculative ideal—a comprehensive church, which should include, if possible, all the religious life of the nation—and his practical conduct as here brought before us.

When we return once more to Dr Wallace himself, we cannot say we expect any very satisfactory account. For Dr Wallace finds all the *sects* of Scotland have lost that in which sectarianism consists. Liberality grows and flourishes among them, as much, or even more, than it does in the establishment; they "value highly the services of the Established Church," and "reckon them a valuable contribution to the welfare of the nation;" and yet the "*righteous* demands of religious equality" are not to be held such as to lead him to encourage even the idea of winning them back to the establishment, or of preparing a welcome—not to speak of killing the fatted calf—should the wandering sons make any sign of returning to the father's house.

But the fact of getting rid of any sort of bond between the ministers of a church, and resolving so completely its whole self-regulating power into the State, is to leave the Church resting upon nothing else than the poor, bald condition of endowment. In truth, in the process, the Church—at all events the Scriptural Church—that is, a body of men united first of all by bonds of belief and of love twined around a common object of worship—has absolutely vanished; and, in its place, we have a Humanitarian Society, upheld for certain political ends; and, if the *righteous* demands of religious equality is to be made commensurate with the presumed action of an institute of "*free* religious thinkers and teachers," it should certainly include a very large body of literary men. Dr Wallace, no doubt, remembers very well Mr Carlyle's picture of the man of letters, who, by virtue of his pen and paper, sets up his invisible pulpit, and preaches his gospel to all and sundry who will listen to him. There can be no doubt that several men whose profession is purely literary, have influenced as deeply as Dr Wallace may ever hope to do, the spiritual part of man; and we simply put in a plea that the "*righteous* demands of religious equality" should be listened to so as to include *them* in the benefits to be hereafter secured to any institute of "*free* religious thinkers and teachers"!

These, however, are only the speculative outpourings of Dr Wallace's ingenious mind! His name is still attached to a

very detailed confession of doctrines, and we have not yet heard that he has very largely sacrificed any of his worldly means for the realisation of his ideas! He is a respected minister of the Scotch Establishment, reaping the *comfort* of the temporalities of an institution which was certainly never founded with the idea of being reduced to an "institute of *free* religious thinkers and teachers." Dr Wallace we believe to be a man of *rare honesty and force of character*, and to say that there is a wide breach between his speculative ideas and his daily practice is only to gain a fresh ground to our kindly judgment of him. But he himself has thought right to use the word *comfort* in a connection which enhances all the effect of our judgment of him, so that we can say our words are measured by strict relation to his own. The writer from whom we have already quoted takes occasion to say:—

"It is extremely awkward for Dr Wallace's liberalism that he should so clearly claim to have it both ways! The Free Church is advancing towards the very point liberal Churchmen wish, and yet that is to be held a good reason for not recommending any policy to bring them back. But a recurrence to Dr Wallace gives us the reason. The progress of the Free Church in this direction,—‘a feature more or less characteristic of all the churches,’ of course, goes very fitly to support the generalisation that—

"It is certainly the testimony of history that when religion is left to take care of itself, *left* to grow into any shape that can be given to it between priests and people, *without the organised application to its development of the best reason in the community* [an Arnoldian roundabout, better expressed by the single word, the State], it is too apt to assume forms that react disastrously upon the commonwealth."

"And the very height of unconscious inconsistency seems reached when it is admitted that '*many of the clergy*' of the United Presbyterian Church—a strictly voluntary Church, be it noted—are, as well as *many* in the Establishment, 'men of liberal sentiments.' Dr Wallace might have added, only it would have borne rather strongly against his position, that these United Presbyterians, by the very fact of subscribing a modified formula to the effect that the Confession is taken as exhibiting the sense in which Scripture is believed instead of the more binding subscription as 'the Confession of *my* faith,' had already made a step forward. But then the awkward thing is that this is a purely voluntary church, which, on his principle, should only develop what is 'apt to react disastrously upon the commonwealth.'"

"But the practically disastrous reaction anticipated in this

special instance is that 'liberal churchmen feel that a great accession of Free Churchmen might not prove *comfortable to them.*' If the *comfort* of liberal churchmen is identical with the true good of the commonwealth, then it must be admitted that Dr Wallace has *more* than proved his point. The *comfort* of liberal churchmen thus becomes the central element in the process of making the church doctrinally comprehensive. It is well to see brethren growing together into unity of opinions. This is from a recent volume, written by distinguished English Nonconformists—

'The right of presentation, if it appears an advantage on one side, is manifestly a disadvantage in another. If it bestow independence upon an incumbent, it inflicts the opposite upon a people. They have no voice in the selection of their instructor. They must submit to his teaching, however contrary it may be to the Word of God, and to their own conscientious convictions. Much is said of the freedom of clergymen so inducted ; but such freedom for a clergyman is really the bondage of his parishioners.'—*Ecclesia*, p. 37.

"Dr Wallace's true policy, and certainly his best argument, would have been to shew that no progress towards liberality had been made outside the Established Church."

Dr Wallace has to defend the Scotch Establishment from any reference to it of the principle which has been applied to the Irish one. This is how he does it :—

"The first duty of the civil magistrate is to preserve the public peace, and it was a perfectly relevant argument that, as the Irish Church was part of a system of things that was productive of permanent and not unreasonable national exasperation, and could not be modified so as to meet the necessities of the case, it must be sacrificed. But the Scottish Establishment is otherwise placed. It forms no violent irritant to the religious antipathies of the nation. The rest of the community do not believe, as the Irish Catholic must have believed of his Protestant Establishment, that its services minister to the perdition of souls, *but value them highly* when well performed, attend them occasionally with satisfaction, and regard them as a *substantial contribution to the wellbeing of the nation.*"

This is delightfully vague ; but to have any clearness we need to be informed to which services of the Established Church these words apply. Is it to the services where a liturgy is read, an organ played, and a "broad theology" taught ; or is it to the churches where the old evangelical views are still more or less strictly preached, and the old Presbyterian order of worship followed. It is needful to be explicit. If Dr Wallace means the first, then he admits that the Established Churches, save with some rare exceptions, such

as his own Greyfriars, are quite out of sympathy with the rapidly growing national needs and feelings; and this is surely a good argument for far more practical and definite measures on the part of his friends than they have yet ventured. If, on the other hand, he means the general run of services in Established Churches—the services performed by that great mass of clergy whom Dr Robert Lee and Mr Story and “Shirley” have felt called upon to speak of in such delightfully delicate, well-chosen terms—is it not plain that the nation, after all, has not gone quite so fast ahead towards breadth and rationalism as Dr Wallace had tried to prove to us. We believe him to be perfectly ingenuous in his statements; but here there is considerable vagueness, and we must say a blameworthy vagueness, if he meant such exceptional churches as Greyfriars. Then, if he did not—if the general services of the Established Churches as now performed are so satisfactory to the nation—is there not reason for the question, Are you Broad Churchmen not to some extent and degree playing the part of schismatics? Are you not dividing and tormenting the Church in seeking for changes that are likely to be mischievous in so far as they disturb this position of things,—Seceders cultured and tolerant enough to take advantage of the Establishment,—a position so unlikely “to react disastrously upon the commonwealth.” “Your reform is not only uncalled for,” it may be urged, “but dangerous in interfering with so happy a condition of matters; and out of your own mouth you are convicted either of making oblique statements, or of trying to hinder all practical progress and real Christian union. Or is it that the Seceders have breadth enough to value and to appreciate both parties—the new and the old, the broad and the narrow—those men who were Dr Lee’s recorded detestation, the obstinate, prejudiced, self-interested brawlers in the church courts, as he so discriminatingly and generously named them, as well as you, Dr Wallace, with your force and depth and freedom, and Mr Story with his nimble grace and vigour?” Anyway, according to Dr Wallace, the Seceders may claim the prize for leading the way to true liberality; and the Broad Churchmen are themselves, on their own confession, at least one half century behind! Only think of Dr Wallace’s words in connection with Dr Lee’s diatribe against the *sects*! No wonder Broad Churchmen never so much as think of comprehension, dissent having now proved itself so useful, and so little ‘apt to react disastrously upon the commonwealth!’” Perhaps it was some sense of this which made Mr Gladstone so averse to view the Seceders as mere sects when recently the deputation from the General Assembly waited on him to ask the abolition of patronage; and who can blame

him now that we have such a confession from Dr Wallace's mouth? Or must we, in sheer despair, fall back on the consideration that Dr Wallace has allowed himself to prove too much?

Then, might we not further dwell on the strange contradiction which arises on us as between speculation and practice, when we try to find a reason for the strong aversion our "liberals" feel to taking any decisive movement against the articles which are so roundly abused by them. Is not the necessity which is thus admitted to rest upon them for something being held forth to justify that *comfort*, which consists in the enjoyment of what Coleridge called the usufruct of the nationality, itself but another proof of the difficulty that lies in transforming the real into the ideal, the actual church into an "institute of *free* religious thinkers and teachers," in transmuting speculation into practice, that they may be one?

That poor Confession, it fares indifferently enough, truly, at the hands of our reformers, who now blow hot and now blow cold as they incline to the region of speculation or practice. Dr Tulloch, of St Andrews, who because of his beautiful instincts, his exquisite fancy, and fine sense for concrete realities, inclines more to appreciating the practical side of things, counsels students not to be always probing away at the foundations of the creed, as though nothing had been settled, for that whatever the value of the old dogmatic settlements, they "are entitled to your fullest respect." Most nobly spoken! And then the Principal takes occasion to fall into mourning over the harsh divisions and conflicts which have marked the ecclesiastical history of Scotland, giving some samples of very honest, straightforward speech between people who did not see exactly the same way in the rude, rough times of Revolution and the Covenant. We can fancy a future Tulloch saying something about unseemly words not quite so rough (for oh, isn't ours an age of breadth and *polish*!) but words at least equally tipped with the venom of contempt, and indicating a frightful amount of narrow jealousy and smallness of soul, if the scope of the differences circled around a form which is "entitled to your fullest respect"! "Sister, go in peace!" said the blind old abbot of Landisfarne, when leading Constance to the horrid doom of being built into the wall alive. Out of that he knew that she should never come; and his conduct illustrates well a certain form of the sad disparity between speculation and practice which is too often witnessed in times of culture like ours.

The sacredness of law, for instance, is what many of our most advanced minds profess to put their trust in. That the revolutionary party in 1843 were acting against the law in going outside the church to put their protest the better on

record before the world, was a sad matter ! Yet it never seems to occur to these new "liberals," that speaking disrespectfully of a Confession, which, so long as things remain as they are, is as much part and parcel of the law of the land as the law relating to inheritance, is precisely the same sin ; and that they themselves, in every word they utter against the Confession, while remaining ministers of the Establishment, are simply insidious breakers of the law. Let us give an instance—a genuine practical one—bearing on this point.

"The Confession of Faith," says Dr Lee, "is settled by law. It is an Act of Parliament, and no resolution of ours can set that Confession of Faith aside, or exempt ministers from signing that Confession of Faith. . . . It is otherwise with lay elders." Here, therefore, we are forced to take up one of two positions. Either the freedom enjoyed by such ministers of the Scotch Establishment arises from an insensibility on their own part to the scruples which they say do *righteously* determine the conduct of members in regard to the eldership, and which they deeply sympathise with, making all efforts to free them from such bondage ; or else they regard their attitude towards a subscription law imposed as something wholly different from what their relations would be to anything voluntarily subscribed. In either case, it is admitted that the boasted freedom conferred by law, can only, in the last result, issue in a moral bondage ; since it is confessed by Dr Lee plainly, that the *real* belief of himself and his friends is utterly inconsistent with the Confession, which, therefore, must be subscribed under very strong secret protest as "the confession of *my* faith." But this is the inevitable lion in the path to offices in the Church of Scotland, of which Dr Robert Lee held several.

The freedom that is only guaranteed to a church by law, can have nothing in common with the freedom of Christianity—a thing, indeed, which is but too stringently proved by Dr Lee's own keen deliverances on the subject. Nor is the illustrations which Dr Lee's life supply of the unity and brotherly forbearance of members of the church courts such as to make us fall very deeply in love with his idea of Christian unity, law-sustained and law-compelled !

Dr Lee tells very frankly his own difficulty in getting elders, because of the bar which the subscribing of the Confession raised, and it is evident enough how far his sympathies were with the worthy men who declined such subscription ; and others, he said, were equally unfortunate with himself as to the eldership. If the Confession of faith is what Dr Lee says—a thing likely to raise question and difficulty in the very measure that it is studied, then how surprising it is that clergymen, who agitated for its subscription not being required from elders, should

themselves manage to make their consciences so elastic as to hold firmly by their "pluralities," for which subscription is a *sine qua non*. Perhaps it is a weakness on our part, want of skill in reconciling the speculation and the practice of a worthy body of men; but we cannot get the difficulty banished; it intrudes, like Banquo's ghost, as we read Mr Story's very interesting memoir, now and then actually making us cry: "Avaunt! If that spectre would but keep aloof, how pleasant were it! If the bones of that skeleton would but cease rattling in the high winds of noble reform, how peacefully we should yield ourselves to the lulling sounds of most musical voices! We are tormented with the sad burden of the times—the chasm that seems to yawn, widening more and more, between speculation and practice!"

In truth, we can find no consistent way of reconciling the many contradictions which here emerge, other than that we intimated at the outset, to the effect that our Broad Church friends are greater as speculative philosophers than as practical reformers; and that to compel a reconciliation of their contradictory positions, would be the cruelest unkindness that could be done to them, although far from likely to issue in convincing intelligent people of any worse defects on their part than patent inconsistency.

ART. V.—*Free Will and Grace.*

Die Lehre vom freien Willen und seinem Verhältniss zur Gnade in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung dargestellt, von CHR. ERNST LUTHARDT der Philosophie und Theologie Doctor, der letzteren ord. Professor zu Leipzig. Leipzig: Dörffling und Franke. 1863.

(The Doctrine of the Freedom of the Will and its relation to Grace, presented in its Historical Development. By Dr C. E. LUTHARDT, ordinary Professor of Theology, Leipzig.)

NO subject has filled a wider or more important sphere in the controversial discussions of philosophers and theologians than the question of the freedom of the human will in its relation to the doctrine of divine sovereignty or the operation of divine grace. Is a direct and immediate work of God necessary, and in what respect and to what extent is it so, to put man into the possession of salvation? This great question of the relation of grace and human freedom has, from the earliest times, held a prominent place in theological literature. It has very wide ramifications, touching at some points the

whole system of doctrine regarding the state of man by nature, and the way of salvation revealed in the gospel.

Dr Luthardt in his admirable monograph, the title of which we have given above, has supplied us with an immense store of valuable and well-arranged materials by which we may trace the historical developments of the subject down to the present times, and may observe the varied aspects of the prolonged controversy that has gathered around it. The history of doctrine has long formed a distinct and very interesting branch of study to German theologians, and many most valuable works in this department (*Dogmengeschichte*) are accessible to the student. But there are writers who limit their attention to certain specific doctrines, and following out the various forms they assumed amid the different controversies by which the church has been agitated, have presented us with monographs which are assuming more and more, and deservedly so, a prominent place in the study of church history. Perhaps the most remarkable and most valuable work of this kind which has appeared in Germany within these few years is Dorner's "History of the Person of Christ," a work which is unrivalled for its comprehensive and masterly treatment of the subject. Dr Luthardt's work now before us is of the same class. It follows out in all its ramifications the great and yet unsettled controversy which has engaged the attention of the Christian church on the relation between Grace and Freedom. By his aid, we propose to present to our readers, in the following pages, an outline of the controversy, and of the literature of the subject.

For the long period of more than fourteen centuries, whenever any vitality has appeared in the Christian church, the subject dealt with in this volume has come to the foreground as one of surpassing importance. On the one side we see ranged in the successive periods of history, Augustinians, Thomists, Dominicans, Jansenists, and Calvinists; and on the other, Pelagians, Scotists, Franciscans, Jesuits, and Arminians, skillfully wielding their respective arguments, and swaying to and fro in keen contest. The main questions involved in this controversy are these two:—1. Whether, and to what extent, man's ability to do good has been enfeebled by sin? and 2. What bearing man's free moral agency has on the operation of divine grace in the work of conversion? These two questions, however, are so linked together that the answer to the one will always be found determining the answer to the other.

Before entering on his historical exposition, Luthardt devotes a chapter to a philosophical investigation of the question as to what true freedom of the will consists in. He distinguishes between a formal freedom (*formale Freiheit*) and a real

freedom (*reale Freiheit*). By the former expression is meant ability as the condition of the latter, which is liberty actually existing. The ability or formal freedom may be lost, and yet liberty or real freedom remain. The former has been lost since the fall, and yet for all that man has liberty, real freedom, inasmuch as his acts are determined by his character. Man is a free agent, has real freedom, when he sins and when he serves God; for in either case his acts are the free expression of his inward nature. Nothing is more important in this discussion than to bear this distinction fully in view; for the overlooking of it has caused endless confusion, and has given rise to many mistakes. From not observing this distinction, the controversy has frequently been about human ability rather than the freedom of the will, as in many instances will be apparent as we proceed. Man is a free and responsible agent, because he is the author of his own acts,—his acts are determined by his internal state or character; but he has not formal freedom, that is, ability to change that inward state or character by a volition.

It may be said that the mind determines its own volitions, inasmuch as the character of the mind is expressed in these volitions. But then the mind has not the ability, all things remaining unchanged, that is, the mind acting under precisely the same bias and under the same circumstances, to form different volitions from those it actually does form; that is, it has no "self-determining power," as it has been called. The will cannot be viewed as a distinct and separate faculty of the mind, having the power of working independently and of making "contrary choices," but is the mind itself working *as a whole* in a certain direction, which is determined by its character. It is a primary truth in philosophy as well as in theology, that a man's moral character will always and certainly determine the direction and quality of his volitions. If his moral character is vitiated by sin, then he has no ability to choose that which is good. The *efficient* cause of every volition resides in the mind. It is not the motives presented, but the character of the mind to which they are presented, which determines the choices that are made. In all his choices man acts freely, in this sense, that he is not determined by anything out of himself, and yet these choices are the necessary product and expression of the man's character; so necessary, that the character remaining the same, they could not be different. And yet it may be affirmed that these volitions are free, because they only give expression to his character, and therefore man has a real freedom, and is responsible for his volitions. He is a free moral agent. When, on the other hand, it is affirmed that, in consequence of sin, man has lost all freedom

of the will, all we mean is, that so long as he continues under the dominion of sin, and an alien from God, and opposed to his holy law, his choice, determined by this evil nature within him, will only be evil. The will is thus in a state of bondage. This is the only doctrine of necessity, as to the operations of the will, that is taught in the symbols of the Reformed Church, a necessity arising from the depravity man inherits as the consequence of the fall. The purely metaphysical aspects of the question are ably and conclusively handled in the masterly argument framed by Jonathan Edwards, in his celebrated treatise on the "Freedom of the Human Will." This, however, is to be noticed in speaking of that remarkable work, that the author has not used the term Will always in the same sense. This is its great defect. His definition of the term sets it before us in its widest sense, as including all the desires, and affections, and emotions, and yet his argument is valid only when we take the term in its restricted sense, as the faculty by which we decide on our acts. As a purely psychological question, we may or may not hold the theory of philosophical necessity as maintained by Edwards; but viewed theologically, and in the light of Scripture, we can see no way of escape from the conclusion, that after the fall, and in consequence of it, man fell into a state of spiritual servitude. As unfallen, man was free; as fallen, he is in bondage so as to be altogether unable to choose what is good. Edwards, and those who have followed him or opposed him in the same line of discussion, have drawn their arguments from the nature of the mental constitution, and from man's relation to God as a responsible and dependent being, and not directly from the Scriptures. Such speculations do not properly belong to the theologian, and we may or may not acknowledge their validity and conclusiveness. A clear conception of the Scriptural doctrine, that salvation is "by grace," and that "every imagination of the thoughts of man's heart is only evil continually," will guide to the only satisfactory solution of the question; and as we follow Dr Luthardt in his review of these discussions, this will, at every step, become more and more apparent.

When it first went forth on its mission of conquest, Christianity came at once into violent conflict with the principle of self-sufficiency and self-dependence, which found its expression in the religious systems of Greece and Rome, and in the ruling forms of philosophy, and at the same time with the spirit of self-righteousness which animated the religious life of the Jews. With great force it also encountered the principle which was embodied in the speculations of certain schools of philosophers, viz., that evil was an inherent property in matter, and entered as an essential ingredient into the organism of

every human being, and hence, that guilt and sin, as a free act of the will, was a thing impossible. Thus Christianity came into collision with two opposite tendencies. The early Christian teachers who succeeded the apostles, were hence led in their assaults against error, frequently to present an exaggerated form of the doctrines they defended. These doctrines assumed a one-sided development, according to the circumstances under which they were promulgated, and thus, in the teaching of many of the early fathers are found the germs of various errors.

The first doctrinal controversy in which the ancient church was publicly engaged, bore on the whole subject of the relation subsisting between the persons of the Godhead and between the divine and human natures in the person of Christ. During its progress, the Catholic doctrine on the points in dispute, gradually arose into greater distinctness and definiteness of form. It terminated in the ascendancy of the Nicene creed, and the establishment of the doctrine of the supreme divinity of the Saviour. During the first three centuries there was no formal or open controversy on the doctrines of sin and of grace, although the manner in which these subjects were spoken of, showed the existence of two divergent tendencies in the way in which they were conceived of, which gradually developed into greater distinctness in the direction leading to Augustinianism on the one hand, and Pelagianism on the other. The influences which conspired to the unfolding of these opposite tendencies were very diversified. Much was no doubt due to the peculiarities of temperament and mental habits which characterised different writers, and to the influence of philosophy and of surrounding circumstances. The former of these two tendencies prevailed mainly in the western church, for which also the controversy had more significance, and the latter in the eastern.

Dr Luthardt directs attention, first, to the writings of the fathers of the eastern or Greek church, and to the form which the doctrine there assumed. When they made any reference to the subject of the will in its relation to the doctrine of divine grace, it is obvious that they had, at first, no very definite opinion on the subject. Their statements take the complexion of synergism. In opposing the fatalism and determinism of the Gnostics, they asserted that man did possess freedom of will, that is a power (which, they said, was inherent in man's very nature, an indelible part of the divine image in him, which was, in no respect, impaired by the sinfulness of his nature) to choose good or evil. Their language, however, is frequently very vague; and whilst it appears to favour synergism, it cannot be certainly affirmed that they meant to teach

anything more than the doctrine, that man is a rational and responsible being, and in that sense a free agent. There can be no doubt, however, that the church-fathers of the east, Clement and Origen, and the fathers of the Alexandrian school, Athanasius and the three great Cappadocians, Gregory Nazianzum, Gregory of Nyssa, and his brother Basil the Great, gave an impulse to those forms of conception which ultimately found their fullest expression in Pelagianism.

In the Latin Church, the church of the west, to which Luthardt next calls attention, the doctrine was more fully and satisfactorily discussed. It seems, indeed, to have had all along a wonderful attraction for the western mind. The history of the controversy down to the time of Augustine, is very fully exhibited in the work of Dr Wœrter, professor of theology at the Roman Catholic University of Freiburg, published about ten years ago, on the Relation between Grace and Freedom,* which was continued in his work on Pelagianism, published four years since, carrying the history down to the close of the Augustinian era. The same field has also recently been explored by another Catholic divine, Dr Kuhn, professor of Dogmatics at Tübingen. The period extending from Tertullian to the death of Augustine, or rather to the close of the semi-Pelagian controversy, was one of great activity in the western church. It was emphatically the formative era of the church's confession in regard to the doctrine of divine grace.

Tertullian, who was the founder of the school of North Africa, may be taken as the representative of the western church tendency. At first his views appear to have been somewhat obscure. He taught that the corruption of our nature—the *vitium originis*—though propagated from soul to soul with all the force of a second nature, could be overcome by the combined agency of divine grace, and the free will of man co-operating in some way therewith. He was afterwards, however, more and more disposed to give prominence to divine grace in the work of conversion. At length, he proclaimed the doctrine of the necessity of the work of the Spirit in delivering man from the dominion of corruption. In his writings are thus found the outlines of that system of doctrine which ultimately prevailed in the west, and which first assumed a definite and distinct form in the controversial treatises of Augustine.

The two great representative teachers who next appeared were Ambrose of Milan, and Hilary of Poitiers. The former followed in the track which had been opened up by Tertullian,

* Die christliche Lehre über das Verhältniss von Gnade und Freiheit bis auf Augustinus. Freiburg 1860.

and gave yet clearer and fuller utterance to the doctrines of human depravity, and the necessity of a divine power being put forth upon man in order to his salvation. He traced all that was good in man solely to the efficient agency of God. The writings of this distinguished father greatly influenced the doctrinal views of Augustine. In them he found those principles of philosophical realism, which gave a complexion to all his theological discussions, and which he afterwards expanded into so compact and consistent a system. Hilary of Poitiers, on the other hand, while teaching distinctly the doctrine of the derivation of human depravity from Adam, and the inability of the free will of man of itself, at the same time largely insisted on the idea, that the operations of divine grace were conditioned on the exercise of man's free will. He taught, in fact, the doctrine of the eastern church, and advanced a stage toward Pelagianism by developing the tendencies of the Alexandrian school. Thus, it was not in a collision between the eastern and the western churches, that the two opposite tendencies came first distinctly to light, but within the western church itself. Jerome may be ranked as standing with Augustine against the Pelagians, yet he seems to ascribe salvation partly to the free will of man and partly to the grace of God. Thus speaking of divine help imparted to man, he says, "*Nostrum est rogare, illius tribuere quod rogatur; nostrum incipere, illius perficere; nostrum offerre quod possumus, illius implere quod non possumus.*" These words look like semi-Pelagianism. Salvation, with Jerome, was the joint effect of free will and grace.

Augustine and Pelagius rose together in the west as the representatives of the two systems. Many things in their early training, as well as in their habits of mind, and in the personal religious experience through which they passed, tended to give form and strength to the opinions they entertained on the whole subject of the corruption of human nature, and of divine grace as an element in the work of salvation. The collision of the two systems brought them out more and more into distinct and sharply-defined outline. In the progress of the controversy he so long maintained with Pelagius and his followers, Augustine acquired a clearer apprehension, and a firmer grasp of those views which afterwards became associated with his name. A comparison of the works which, from time to time, came forth from his busy pen, makes it manifest that he gradually modified his views into the form which they ultimately assumed. In his work "*De libero Arbitrio*," he speaks as if, in some degree, grace were conditioned on free will. But in his "*Explicatio Propositionum Quarundam de Epistola ad Romanos*," addressed to Simplician, Bishop of Milan, (A.D. 394),

he expounds the 9th chapter of that epistle as teaching the doctrine of absolute predestination to the entire exclusion of free will. In his treatise "*De diversis questionibus octoginta tribus*," published A.D. 388, he had already expounded Rom. ix. 18, as teaching that in sinners there existed something antecedent to their justification, and on the ground of which they merited that blessing. He gradually, however, freed himself from the idea that God's dealings in the way of grace were conditioned by anything in man. At length, in the fullest sense, he regarded salvation as the result of divine monergism. He rose to the conception that election or predestination was not conditioned by foreseen faith or foreseen works, the fruit of faith, but was absolute and unconditioned. This gradual change in Augustine's whole mode of thinking on the subject of the relation of grace to man did not result principally from the controversies in which he was engaged with Pelagius, though these controversies, no doubt, contributed to their fuller and more proportioned development, but it sprang from the inner workings of his own mind, which was deeply exercised with those questions before he encountered Pelagius at all.

Pelagius, from his natural temperament and his early training, showed a great sympathy with the anthropological system of the Alexandrian school of church fathers. The prevalence of Antinomianism in the western church, led him to give greater prominence to the ethical than to the doctrinal element in Christianity. His system, which is nothing but pure naturalism, grew up mainly during his controversy with Augustine. He taught that man had freedom of will sufficient to lead him to a life of perfect holiness, that by his own strength, and without any supernatural aid whatever, man had the power of doing all that was necessary in order to attain salvation. This idea of man's power lay at the root of his denial of the depravity of human nature rather than proceeded from that denial.

For twenty years, from about A.D. 411, the whole church was convulsed with this great controversy between Augustine and Pelagius and his followers. During this time the tendencies previously existing became more intensified in their mutually repellant force, and grew up into the two systems which have ever since divided between them the Christian church. Pelagius and his followers were strenuous in maintaining that man's free will was incapable of being influenced or constrained in any way, or by any power whatever. They affirmed that grace, by which they meant both external and internal aids from above, was conditioned in all its operations, on the actings of the free will of man. Augustine, on the contrary, while by no means denying that man had freedom of will, taught that

this freedom did not consist in a self-determining power possessed by the will of choosing good or evil. He held that, from its very nature, grace absolutely excluded all merit, and therefore he denied that it was in any respect conditioned on the will or state of man.

The conception of an internal communication of divine life to the soul of man was altogether foreign to Pelagianism. Both Pelagius and Julian of Eclanum, spoke vaguely of help from God imparted to man, "*præcipiendo, benedicendo, sanctificando, coercendo, provecando, illuminando,*" but yet all this help might, or might not be efficacious, according as man willed it. Augustine, on the other hand, taught that there was a "*gratia præveniens, preparans,*" which brought back spiritual health to the diseased soul, and thus, delivering it from the bondage of sin, restored freedom to the human will. This "*gratia*" he spoke of as "*operans,*" in that it created in man a free will toward that which is good, and as "*co-operans,*" in that it upheld in its exercise this restored free will, carrying it forward in its struggle against sin. "*Nolentem prævenit ut velit, volentem sequitur ne frustra velit.*" The monks of the cloister of Adrumetum, in the province of Byzacene, in North Africa, so far perverted Augustine's reasonings on the subject as to conclude that all efforts God-ward on the part of man were altogether unavailing, since God did everything from first to last in the salvation of man; and hence also, that it was unjust in God to punish man for his sins, since he had no power of himself to turn from evil. For the purpose of counteracting this false doctrine, Augustine composed and sent to the monks (A.D. 427), his two treatises, "*De gratia et Libero Arbitrio,*" and "*De correptione et Gratia.*" In these he distinctly taught that grace did not destroy the freedom of the will, but rather that the will was truly set at liberty by grace. It was a common expression of his, "*Libero Arbitrio male usus homo et se perdidit et ipsum.*" He held that, before his fall, man had liberty of will, such liberty as that which Pelagians contend for, but that the fall deprived him wholly of it, so that his will is now in a state of bondage to sin, in such a sense that he can of himself will or choose only that which is sinful, and not that which is spiritually good. This bondage of will belongs to man only as a fallen creature, and ceases the moment he is renewed by grace.

In southern Gaul there also sprang up a party strongly opposed to the teachings of Augustine. They held that grace was conditioned by free will. Prosper Aquitanus and Hilary sent to Augustine separate letters informing him of the rise of this sect. For the purpose of counteracting their teachings,

he composed and sent into Gaul two treatises, viz : "De Prædestinatione Sanctorum," and "De dono Perseverantiæ," in which, while acknowledging that they were not to be identified with the Pelagians, inasmuch as they recognised the doctrine of original sin, and the insufficiency of free will of itself to lead man to begin and carry on to completion the work of his salvation, he yet condemned the views of that party, and reaffirmed and illustrated his great doctrine, that grace is absolutely unconditional and irresistible. Much of his reasoning proceeds on the fact of a very close connection between the doctrine of the bondage of the will and that of unconditional predestination, or personal election on the part of God. If it is true that converting or renewing grace is the sole cause of all goodness in man, and if this grace is certainly efficacious and irresistible, then we are led to the great doctrine of predestination as a necessary conclusion from these doctrines. If this agency, without which there is no spiritual life in man, is put forth by God, then it must be put forth in consequence of a purpose or decree. Whatever God does, he has purposed to do. Whatever he does in time, he has purposed to do from eternity, because with him there is no succession of time. When God converts or regenerates a man, that is done because he has purposed or decreed so to do. If all spiritual goodness in man is to be traced solely to the preventing and irresistible grace of God as its real cause, then it is obvious that the purpose of God to put forth his saving grace cannot rest on the ground of foreseen faith or repentance, or anything else that is good in man, but must be absolute and sovereign. Thus we see how the doctrine of predestination enters into the controversy about the freedom of the will. The view which any one takes on the doctrine of predestination will determine the view which, to be consistent, he must take on the freedom of the will, *i. e.* on the question of man's ability in and of himself to choose what is good.

The chief of these opponents of Augustine in south Gaul was John Cassian, the founder and abbot of the monastery at Marseilles. He had probably come from the region bordering on the Black Sea, where there was a company of "Scythian monks." He had at one time been a deacon under Chrysostom, and he delighted to speak of himself as his pupil. He was strongly influenced by the Oriental philosophy and theology in all his modes of doctrinal conception. On the one hand he denied Augustine's doctrine of original sin, but on the other, he also denied Pelagius's doctrine of grace and free will. He held that in no case can grace operate independently of the free, self-determining power of man. He resisted the views of those who taught that the human will had no ability to

create the germs of goodness by its own unaided efforts, and that grace was always *prævenient* in its operation. He gave great prominence to the doctrine that grace was conditioned in its operation by the free self-determination of the human will. Like Arminianism of a later day, his system was nothing else than "a scheme for dividing or partitioning the salvation of sinners between God and sinners themselves, instead of ascribing it wholly, as the Bible does, to the sovereign grace of God, the perfect and all-sufficient work of Christ, and the efficacious and omnipotent operations of the Holy Spirit."

Augustine died at the age of seventy-six, in the year 429, while the city of Hippo, where he resided, was being besieged by the Vandals. He died in the third month of the siege. The controversy in which he had taken so prominent a part did not, however, terminate at his death. Prosper of Aquitaine now became the leader of the Augustinians. The party which was led by Cassian, and which came to be distinguished by the name of Massiliensians from Marseilles, the seat of the cloister over which he presided, and more generally afterwards, during the middle ages, semi-Pelagians, spread extensively over southern Gaul. In conjunction with Hilary, Prosper endeavoured to obtain from Coelestius, the bishop of Rome, a declaration in favour of the Augustinians, and against the semi-Pelagians. The bishop, however, gave an ambiguous reply to their application, which yielded them no advantage. During the second half of the fifth century a treatise appeared, entitled "*De Vocatione Gentium*," in which the author (probably Leo the Great), endeavoured to shew the entire harmony between the doctrine of grace and of free will. This work rests on an Augustinian basis. The main effort of the writer is to reconcile semi-Pelagianism as represented by Cassian, with Augustinianism as represented by Hilary. He distinguishes between a "*gratia generalis*," by which God leads all men to a knowledge of himself, and a "*gratia specialis*," without which no one can attain to salvation. This thought runs through the whole work, that salvation is by grace alone. Though he goes so far with Augustine, yet he does not give distinct utterance, as indeed his aim would prevent him from doing, to the doctrine of a "*gratia irresistibilis*." Faustus, who was bishop (A.D. 454) of Rhegium (Riez in Provence), distinguished himself by his zealous opposition to the doctrine of predestination. He encountered in controversy the equally zealous presbyter, Lucidus, who defended the views of Augustine. The semi-Pelagian Synod of Arles (A.D. 475) enjoined Faustus to draw up a detailed statement of his views. He accordingly published a treatise, "*De Gratia Dei et Humanæ Mentis Libero Arbitrio*," in which he explains the

relation between free will and grace according to the semi-Pelagian theory. He was followed in the same direction by Gennadius of Marseilles, in his work "*De Dogmatibus Ecclesiasticis*." Faustus and Gennadius did not, however, take up a position of clear antagonism to Augustine. They were moderate semi-Pelagians; and although they did not wish to be regarded as the opponents of Augustine, they yet cordially countenanced the idea, which Augustine absolutely repudiated, that man has power of himself to obey the commandments of God. They held, neither with Augustine that man is morally dead, nor with Pelagius that he is morally well, but only that he is morally sick.

While the church of Southern Gaul inclined, in a great degree, towards Pelagianism, there yet existed, a by no means inconsiderable party, which strenuously defended the views of Augustine. Chief among these were Avitus, Bishop of Vienne, and Cæsarius, bishop of Arles (*d.* A.D. 542). The incursions of the Vandals into North Africa caused many of the followers of Augustine to seek refuge in Sardinia, and Corsica, and at Constantinople. They renewed the controversy wherever they went. At Constantinople, the "Scythian monks" sustained with great vigour the views of Augustine against the semi-Pelagian tendencies prevalent in the East, and particularly against Faustus of Rhegium. They appealed first to Hormisdas, bishop of Rome, for his opinion, without, however, eliciting any expression in their favour, and then to Fulgentius, one of the most distinguished North African bishops, who had taken refuge at Ruspe in Numidia. They sent to him a copy of the writings of Faustus. This brought Fulgentius into the controversy. He wrote several works in defence of Augustine's doctrine, and in condemnation of Faustus. In his Treatise, "*De veritate Prædestinationis et Gratiae Dei*," he promulgated the idea of a "*prædestinatio duplex*," viz., of the elect to salvation, and of the condemned to everlasting woe. A statement of doctrine drawn up by Cæsarius, bishop of Arles, was adopted by the Council of Oranges* (*concilium Arausicanum* II, A.D. 529), as expressive of the general views maintained by the Western Church. It is strongly Augustinian in its character. It teaches as a primary principle, that prevenient grace is the first spring of all goodness in man, and not the actions of man's own free will. The Council of Valence (A.D. 529), afterwards concurred in the decrees of that of Oranges. Boniface II. of Rome also gave them his sanction. Thus, at length, the doctrinal views of Augustine became dominant in the Western

* The principal decrees of this council are given at length by Luthardt, pp. 52, 53.

Church. It was everywhere the accepted doctrine, that the will of man was enslaved by sin, and that there was need of a divine efficacy—*gratia præveniens*—to renew it and set it free. Semi-Pelagianism was not, however, without its adherents, who sought more and more to give currency to the Greek Anthropology even in the West.

From the first in this controversy, the church-fathers in the East shewed a tendency in favour of Pelagius and against Augustine. This tendency may be regarded as represented by Chrysostom,* the most distinguished father of the Antiochean school, which was an offshoot from that of Alexandria. His "Christian life and character had not been the result of any violent crisis, or conflict with sin, as was the case with Augustine; but from his early youth it had harmoniously and peacefully developed itself under the influence of a profound study of the sacred Scriptures, and of pious friends and associates surrounding him with a gentle atmosphere of Christian life." This, his early training, may in part account for his being led to give greater prominence to what was practical, and to place more in the background what was argumentative and systematic in Christian doctrine. With him feeling or emotion predominated. In regard to character and temperament, he has well been likened to the Apostle John, while Augustine, from his dialectic turn of mind, has been compared to the Apostle Paul. A man of deep religious feeling, Chrysostom gave comparatively little heed to the forms of doctrine. He does not seem to have had any very definite views of the doctrine of original sin, or of the nature of the connection between Adam and his posterity. When he does make doctrinal statements, they are plainly of a semi-Pelagian complexion. He held, that if man begins then God helps him toward salvation, and that all the divine dealings with man are conditioned on his free will. With more or less distinctness the various parties in the Greek Church all held the doctrine of the co-operation of grace and free will. They denied the doctrine of irresistible grace and absolute predestination, and taught that if man did his part grace would never be wanting to assist him.

In the next chapter of his work, Luthardt carries down the history to the time of the Reformation. The discussions and controversies of the middle ages within the Romish Church are fully illustrated.

In the ninth century, after a period of comparative indiffer-

* See an excellent work which has recently appeared on the doctrinal views of Chrysostom: "Chrysostomus in seinem Verhältniss zur antiochenischen Schule. Ein Beitrag zur Dogmengeschichte, von Förster. Gotha, Perthes, 1869.

ence to questions of doctrine, if we may except the two eminent Anglo-Saxons, the Venerable Bede (*d.* 735), and Alcuin (*d.* 804), who were both Augustinians in their views, the subject of the relation between free-will and grace again engaged the eager attention of contending parties. The controversy was renewed by Gottschalk, a Saxon monk in the Franciscan monastery of Orbais. He was naturally of a speculative turn of mind, and entered with great keenness into the discussion of the subject. He came forth as the champion of Augustinianism against what he regarded as the Pelagianising tendencies of the age. He seems to have followed as his leader Fulgentius of Ruspe, for with him he held that there was "*a gemina prædestinatio*," applying the term *prædestinatio* both to the "*beneficia gratiæ*," and to the "*judicia justitiæ*." Augustine never used such language. He applied the term "*prædestinatio*" only to the case of those who were appointed to salvation, speaking of the rest of mankind as simply "*præsciti et reprobati*." Rabanus Maurus, Archbishop of Mentz, who cherished an old grudge against Gottschalk, because he had left the monastery of Fulda when he was the abbot there, and had gone to that of Orbais, hearing of his advocacy of the "*prædestinatio duplex*," wrote in vehement condemnation of his views. He drew conclusions from Gottschalk's arguments which they did not legitimately bear. He accused him of teaching that, if any one wished to be saved, he would labour in vain unless he were among the predestinated. The whole papal church had by this time so far swerved toward Pelagianism, that the attempt made by Gottschalk to revive Augustinianism, called forth strenuous opposition. The Council of Mentz (A.D. 848), which was presided over by Rabanus, condemned his views as unsound. In the same year he was called on to defend himself before the synod of Chiersy (Carisiacum), but refusing to recant, he was condemned to imprisonment for life. For twenty years he pined in the prison of the monastery of Haut Villiers, and at length died a martyr. But Gottschalk did not stand alone. Others contended in the same ranks with him. The most noted of his associates were Prudentius, bishop of Troyes, Ratramnus, a monk of Corby, Remigius, archbishop of Lyons, and Servatus Lupus, abbot of Ferriers. They all, with equal clearness, taught the doctrine of unconditional predestination, and the need of prævenient grace to deliver the will of man from the bondage of sin. Hinkman, archbishop of Rheims, who had taken the lead in the condemnation of Gottschalk, looked around him for help in his controversy with these his followers. John Scotus came to his aid, but from his rashness and want of skill, he did little benefit to Hinkman. The second council at Chiersy (A.D. 853),

over which Hinkman presided, issued a formal condemnation, embodied in four propositions, of Gottschalk's teaching. This opposition had not, however, the effect of suppressing the reviving tendency in favour of Augustinianism.

Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury (*d.* 1109), was one of the most remarkable men of the age in which he lived. His writings have ever since his time exerted a powerful influence on the current of thought, on the profounder themes in the sphere of Christian theology. He discussed the question of the freedom of the will, in a work entitled "*De Libero Arbitrio*," in all its diverse bearings, in the form of a dialogue with one of his pupils. Anselm maintains the views of Augustine and his pupil those of the semi-Pelagians. He condemned the idea that freedom could be defined as the "*possibilitas utriusque partis*," because such a definition could not apply either to God or to holy angels, who are certainly free, and yet at the same time destitute of any power to sin. Therefore, he argues, the power to sin, to choose evil, cannot be an element in any right conception of moral freedom. He rejects the idea that freedom is caprice, and contends, that since man was created with an inward inclination to holiness, he can only act freely when *proprio motu* he chooses holiness. Freedom is self-determination to holiness. Abälard, while agreeing with Anselm in rejecting the Pelagian definition of freedom, defined it as consisting in the ability to do whatever was agreeable to reason.

The schoolmen for the most part agreed with Augustine in maintaining, that man before his fall was dependent on grace. Peter Lombard, the "*magister sententiarum*," whose four books of "*sentences*" were the great authority among scholastic theologians, calls man's original endowments which were bestowed on him as a creature, "*dona naturalia*," and the gifts bestowed in addition to these "*dona gratiæ*." He taught that unaided by the "*dona gratiæ*," man could only do that which was evil. He affirmed that grace, not merely co-operans, but operans, was necessary to enable man to do that which was good. He held that the consequences of the fall were the withdrawal from man of the "*dona gratiæ*," and the corruption of the "*dona naturalia*." The distinction thus drawn by the "*magister*," between the *dona gratiæ* and the *dona naturalia*, continued to be observed by subsequent theological writers; but the term *gratia* came at length to receive a wider signification. It was used to denote not only the divine "*concursus*," common to all God's creatures, but the special *concursus* also, by which men are enabled to do what they cannot do when aided merely by the general *concursus*. The *gratia*, as a "*dispositio ad salutem*," was styled "*gratia gratis*

data." The "*gratia*," as the communication of a permanent divine life conferred on man, in virtue of which he becomes acceptable to God, was called the "*gratia gratum faciens*," or the "*salus ipsa*." But the mediæval theology has ceased to be of any importance, other than as shewing the frivolous, endless janglings of controversy, by which the schoolmen amused themselves. Towards the close of the thirteenth century, the controversy between the nominalists, under the leadership of William of Occam, and the realists, who were generally found on the side of reform, gave token of the approach of a better state of things. As life returned to the church, the doctrines of grace were discussed with greater earnestness, and to better purpose. As in those days before the darkness of the middle ages fell upon Christendom, so now, when the light of the new era was dawning, the relation of man to God in the great matter of salvation engaged the attention of thoughtful men. The Thomists and the Scotists, as representatives of the departing age, appear prominent on the scene. The former, who were in ecclesiastical connection, Dominicans, adhered to the old system of Augustinian theology; the latter, who were Franciscans, advocated the semi-Pelagianism of Cassian, as embodied in the system of their master John Duns Scotus. Thomas Bradwardine ("*doctor profundus*"), archbishop of Canterbury (*d.* 1349) was an able representative of the Thomist school, and vigorously assailed the semi-Pelagianism of his time, in a work entitled "*De Causa Dei contra Pelagium*," which he dedicated to the students of Merton College ("*ad suos Mertones*"), of which he was master. He complained that "all the world had fallen into Pelagianism." * Wyckliffe, Savonerola, and Wesel, these distinguished "Reformers before the Reformation," also advocated the doctrines of Augustine.

Dr Luthardt enters with great minuteness into the different phases of the controversy in the time of the Reformation. A lengthened chapter is devoted, and justly so, to the development of Luther's views, and another to the doctrine of Melancthon. After that time the sphere of the controversy spread, new elements constantly arising to change its course. In this period the first name of note we meet with, is that of Erasmus of Rotterdam. In the year 1524, he published his "*Διατριβή de libero Arbitrio*," † in which he advocated semi-Pelagian views. Luther appeared against him in a work entitled "*De servo*

* "*In hac causa quod Domine cum Pelagio pro libero arbitrio contra gratuitam gratiam tuam pugnant! Et quod et quam innumerabiles eis fovent! Totus enim pæne mundus post Pelagium abiit in errorem.*"

† The controversy between Erasmus and Luther, however, was not about the "*reale freiheit*," or liberty properly so called, but as is obvious, it was only about the "*formale freiheit*" or ability.

Arbitrio," which was published the following year. He defended the doctrinal views of Augustine, maintaining that salvation can only be attributed to free grace. At first, Philip Melancthon ("preceptor Germaniæ") agreed with Luther in his views on this question. In the first edition of his "*Loci communes rerum theologicarum*" (1521), he taught the utter helplessness of the human will in all matters relating to salvation. He taught that, from first to last, salvation was due solely to the free grace of God. He even went the length of saying, that "since all things happened necessarily according to the divine predestination, there is no such thing as liberty in our wills." He based the doctrine of the bondage of the will on that of God's predestination. This is a position which was never taken up by any other of the reformers. Calvin, and those who adopted the form of doctrine generally styled Calvinism or Augustinianism, taught that the bondage of man's will as a fallen being—for he taught that, as originally created, man had liberty of will—was based, not on his relation to God as a dependent being, and hence not on predestination, but on the entire and total depravity of his nature. Melancthon, however, gradually fell away, not only from that extreme position he had assumed, but even, as it seems, from the doctrine of monergism altogether. In the later editions (especially in that of 1543) of his "*Loci*," no fewer than sixty editions of which appeared in his lifetime—and in his Latin edition (the "*Variata*," 1540) of the Augsburg confession, which, as originally published in 1530, is distinctly Augustinian in its doctrine, he taught that the remains of free will in man co-operated with divine grace in conversion. In the Leipsic "*Interim*" also, he purposely avoided the use of the word "*sola*," so as to leave room for the opinion that something besides faith was necessary to salvation. Naturally of a mild and pacific temper, he shrank from what he regarded as the extreme views of Luther on the doctrine of predestination, and of the helplessness of the human will, and the passivity of man in regeneration, and gave his countenance to the synergistic theory of the semi-Pelagians. As explanatory of the way of salvation, he said, "*concurrunt tres causæ bonæ actionis, verbum Dei, Spiritus Sanctus, et humana voluntas assentiens nec repugnans verbo Dei.*" He styled the free will of man the "*facultas se applicandi ad gratiam.*" He held that there was a "*clinamen*" of the human will, an instinctive striving of the soul, by virtue of its divine origin, in the direction of what was right, but that this striving could only be carried to a successful issue by the operation of the Holy Spirit.

The "*First Helvetic Confession*" (1536), called also the "*Second Basle Confession*," was drawn up principally by

Bullinger of Zurich, and Oswald Myconius, and Simon Grynæus of Basle. It was adopted by all the Swiss churches as their confession of faith. In regard to the doctrine of the freedom of the will, we find in it this explicit statement: "We attribute free will to man in this sense, viz., that when in the use of our faculties of understanding and will, we attempt to perform good and evil actions, we are able to perform the evil of our own accord and by our own power, but to embrace and follow out the good we are not able, unless illuminated by the grace of God, and impelled by his Spirit." This confession agrees with that of Augsburg, in denying to the will of man any recuperative power whatever. The "Second Helvetic Confession" was drawn up by Bullinger (1566), at the request of the Swiss theologians. It was adopted by all the Reformed Churches of Switzerland, except that of Basle, and also by the Reformed Churches of Poland, Hungary, Scotland, and France. It thus exhibits the doctrine in question:—

"Man before the fall was upright and free; he was able to remain holy, or to decline into evil. He declined to evil, and involved in sin and death both himself and the whole race of man. . . . The intellect of man was not taken away by the fall, neither was he robbed of his will, and changed into a stock, but his intellect and will are so changed and enfeebled, that they cannot any longer perform what they could before the fall. The intellect has been darkened, and the will has been converted from a free into an enslaved faculty. But it is still a will. Hence, in respect of sin, man commits it *sua sponte*. . . . But the mind or intellect is the guide and leader of the will; if therefore the guide is blind, it is easy to see how far the will also is affected. Wherefore there is no free-will to good in an unrenewed man, no strength for acting holily. On regeneration the intellect is enlightened by the Holy Spirit, and the will itself is not only changed, but is strengthened, so that it spontaneously wills and performs the good."

Thus in these, the leading confessions of the German and Swiss Reformed churches, we find there was distinctive utterance given to Augustinian doctrine. The position taken up by Melancthon, however, tended greatly to favour a movement in a semi-Pelagian direction, though he did not proceed so far in that direction as his followers did. The Lutheran Church became divided into two hostile parties,—the followers of Melancthon (Philippists, as they were called), and the strict Lutherans, who adhered to the doctrine of Luther. John Pfeffinger, superintendent at Leipsic, gave full expression to the synergistic theory, in a work which he published in 1555 in defence of Melancthon, entitled "*De Libero Arbitrio*." He took the lead among the Philippists. The chiefs of the strict Lutheran party were Amsdorf, Matthias Flacius, and

John Wigan, professors at the university of Jena. They were directed by the Duke of Weimar to prepare a confutation of the semi-Pelagianism of the Philippists, which they did, but the Duke soon after joined himself to that very party, and, dismissing the Lutherans, filled the professorial chairs at Jena with divines who were the followers of Melancthon.

This prolonged controversy among the divines of Germany, known in history as the "Synergistic Controversy" (1555-1567), led to the celebrated "Weimar Disputation" in 1560, the year of Melancthon's death. Of this disputation, Luthardt has given us a detailed account, gathering his materials mainly from the work of Simon Musæus,* in which there is a full record of the whole discussion in all its particulars. Matthias Flacius of Illyria maintained the side of the Lutherans, and Victorin Strigilius the side of the Melancthonians. The majority of the Lutherans declared against the synergism of Melancthon. Yet the influence of his views extended in various directions, and to the present day is seen in the doctrine of the so-called *recipiency* for the grace of the Holy Spirit, which is favoured by many Lutheran divines.

Another great man now comes forward into the field of theological controversy,—a greater man, as a theologian, than any of his contemporaries. We allude to Calvin. We are surprised that Luthardt has not seen fit to devote a whole chapter, as certainly the subject was every way worthy of it, to the development of his views. It is a serious defect in a book which otherwise we cannot speak of but in terms of highest commendation. Luthardt is sectarian, in the sense of failing to see that there are other sources besides those that are distinctively Lutheran and German, from which he might have gathered materials still farther to enrich his really admirable volume. Calvin gradually arose into great and merited prominence as *the* theologian of the Reformation. The place he occupied, and the time at which he lived, gave occasion for the forthputting of that remarkable dialectic power, which enabled him with ease to disentangle intricate controversies, and skilfully to defend those doctrines which he believed to be in accordance with the word of God. He inherited the spirit of Augustine, and indeed, in many points of character, both intellectual and moral, he greatly resembled that illustrious father of the ancient church. Calvinism may be regarded as simply another name for Augustinianism. The Genevan reformer was powerfully influenced in his whole course of study by the Bishop of Hippo, and in his various

* *Disputatio de originali peccato et libero arbitrio inter Matth. Flacium et Vict. Strigel publice Vinarie per integram hebdomadam, &c., anno 1560, habite.*

controversies and doctrinal writings he gave embodiment to the views he had taught. As might have been expected, therefore, Calvin took the side of monergism. He maintained the doctrine of predestination, as Augustine had done, setting it forth with great clearness and comprehension in the "Consensus Genevensis," which he drew up in 1551. Like Zuingli, he identified predestination with prescience, regarding them as of equal extent. He lamented the departure of Melancthon from what he believed to be the scriptural view of the relation between grace and freedom, and endeavoured, though in vain, to win him back to Augustinianism. He dedicated to him (1543) his treatise on the freedom of the will, entitled, "*Defensio Sanæ et Orthodoxæ Doctrinæ de Servitute et Liberatione Humani Arbitrii Adversus Albertum Pighium.*"

In that work, Calvin explains with what limitation the doctrine of the bondage of the human will is to be affirmed. He by no means denied that, as an essential property of his mental nature, man does possess freedom of will. He admitted that liberty must be predicated of the will as a mental faculty in this respect, that from the very nature of the case, the will is not of necessity compelled to act, but acts spontaneously or freely,—*i. e.*, has a natural power of willing or choosing. This is true of man under all circumstances as a rational and responsible being. The fall did not deprive him of that power of volition; and hence, Calvin argues that the fact of man's choosing only evil in consequence of the fall, is not to be ascribed to any natural inability in the will to choose good as well as evil, nor to the operation of any force compelling the will if that were possible, but to a cause lying behind the operation of the will as a whole,—*viz.*, to the depravity of man's whole nature. Calvin, and the reformers generally, while acknowledging the freedom of the will in the sense described, spoke of the will at the same time, as in a state of bondage or servitude, as established by the fact that, when left to itself, it always and invariably chooses evil and not good.

In 1544, Sebastian Castellio published at Basle, an exposition of the 9th chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, in which he opposed the doctrinal views of Calvin. After his death there appeared also (1578) another work from his pen, entitled "*Dialogi IV. de prædestinatione, de electione, de libero arbitrio, de Fide,*" in which he promulgated semi-Pelagian views. That work gave rise to much controversy, especially in the Netherlands, and formed an important element in the preparations going forward toward clearer views of the whole subject. The synergistic controversy, which had for so many years convulsed the German church, was at length brought to a close by the adoption (1577) of a "*Formula Concordiæ,*" agreed upon by

the contending parties. Jacob Andreaë, the chancellor of Wurtemberg, and Martin Chemnitz, the most learned of Melancthon's disciples, after consulting on the divided state of the church with several of the leaders of the different parties, drew up (1574) a "Form of Union," which was revised, and at length adopted by a theological convention held at Maulbronn. This Maulbronn "Form" was then submitted to other theologians, by whose advice a second convention was held at Torgau (1576). The "Form" was re-examined and adopted by the Torgau convention, and from this circumstance came afterwards to be known as the "Torgau Book." The evangelical princes then invited Andreaë, Chemnitz, Selnecker, and others, to meet in the monastery of Bergen, to examine anew the "Torgau Book." This meeting resulted in its adoption, under the name of the "Bergen Book," or the celebrated "Formula Concordiæ." This "Formula" carries out the doctrine of the Augsburg Confession to its logical issue. It teaches that, in consequence of the fall, no spiritual power is left in man, by which he is of himself able to turn to God, but that at the same time he possesses the power of resisting the operations of grace. It affirms, that "before man is illuminated, converted, regenerated, and drawn by the Holy Spirit, he can no more operate, co-operate, or even make a beginning toward his conversion or regeneration with his own natural powers, than can a stone, a tree, or a piece of clay." While this "Formula" avoided every expression which could in the least degree countenance synergism, it at the same time gave no place to the doctrine of unconditional predestination.

At length, within the Reformed Church, the tendency against Augustinianism manifested itself in formal open hostility. James Arminius (van Harmesen) became the leader of this movement. Having studied theology under Beza at Geneva, he returned to Holland, his native land, a zealous Calvinist. He had adopted the doctrine of supra-lapsarianism (viz., that the decree to eternal bliss or woe precedes in the order of nature the decree to apostasy) as taught by his master. Among the Calvinists at Delft at that time, some believed that it would be an advantage to the defence of the doctrine of predestination if the infra-lapsarian view (viz., that the decree to create man, and that he should fall, is prior in the order of nature to the decree of election or reprobation) were adopted instead of the supra-lapsarian. Martin Lydius, who was professor at Franeker, called upon Arminius, who was at that time a pastor in Amsterdam, to defend the Calvinistic view (the supra-lapsarian) in opposition to the divines of Delft. In the course of the investigation into which he was then led, he gradually abandoned his old position, and arrived at the con-

clusion that the arguments of the Delft divines were valid, not only against supra-lapsarianism, but also against the doctrine of absolute predestination. He adopted the theory of conditional election,—election on the ground of foreseen faith; that is, he concluded that God's decree regarding man was not to originate faith, but to reward the faith which is originated by the self-determining energy of the human will in the use of the means appointed by God. In the year 1603, he was appointed one of the professors at the University of Leyden, as colleague to Gomarus, who was warmly opposed to his views. In 1608 he presented to the states of Holland a "Declaration of Sentiments," in which he states that he ascribed the commencement, the continuance, and the consummation of all that was good in man to divine grace. He denies, however, that grace is "a certain irresistible force." He complains that he had been blamed for attributing too much to man's free will, and too little to grace, in the conversion and sanctification of man, and seems, in meeting this complaint, to go as far as could be desired in affirming that man can neither conceive, will, nor do any good, nor resist any temptation, without grace. It cannot be disputed, however, that he held such a concurrence of man's own energy with the work of the Holy Spirit as in effect to neutralise the force of what he taught as to man's dependence on grace. The denial that the work of the Spirit is irresistible, is just equivalent to the affirmation that man is a joint or co-operating cause of his own conversion. Calvinists affirm that grace is *certainly* efficacious; that its operation cannot be frustrated by the will of man; that it infallibly produces the result of turning man to God. The depravity of man is such that he is utterly unable to will anything that is good. Hence Calvinists argue that the will must be renewed, *i.e.*, that it must receive a new capacity or tendency, a power of willing what is good, by an influence originating out of itself, under the operation of which it is wholly passive, and that therefore the gracious influence effecting this change must certainly be efficacious, overcoming every obstacle. The denial of the irresistibility of grace is consequently equivalent to a denial of the impotency of the human will; it is equivalent indeed to attributing to man a power, by the exercise of his own free will, to withstand that agency, or to yield to it, and therefore it is attributing to him a power to will what is spiritually good.

After the death of Arminius, which took place in 1609, the party which he had formed was led mainly by Simon Episcopius. They advanced much farther in the direction of Pelagianism, as indeed might have been expected, than Arminius had done. In 1610, they presented a "Remon-

strance" in five articles to the States of Holland. In 1611, a conference was held at the Hague—"Collatio Hagiensis"—for the discussion of these articles, in which were presented the points of dispute between the Arminians and Calvinists. A synod was afterwards convened at Dort, consisting of the most able and learned divines of that age, for the purpose of bringing the long controversy to a close. It was composed of sixty-two members from Holland, viz, six professors, thirty-six preachers, and twenty elders, together with twenty-eight foreign theologians from England, Scotland, the Palatinate, Hesse, Switzerland, Nassau, East Friesland, and Bremen. The deputies appointed by the French Church to attend the Synod were prohibited from doing so by the king. This famous Synod met on 13th November 1618, and continued its sittings till 19th May 1619. The "Remonstrants," as the Arminian party was called, appeared in synod by thirteen deputies, headed by Episcopius. The Synod, after holding in all one hundred and fifty-four sessions, drew up, as the result of their deliberations, ninety-three canons, which were received as a formal and precise statement of the doctrines of grace by the Reformed Churches of the Netherlands, France, the Palatinate, and the greater part of the churches of Switzerland, and by the Puritans of England, and by the Church of Scotland. They were rejected by the English Episcopal Church; and the king (James I.) issued (1620) a royal mandate, forbidding the doctrine of predestination, as presented in these canons, to be taught. The Synod in their decrees gave very distinct and emphatic expression to the old Augustinian doctrine of the unconditional election of grace. The following are the words of the canon bearing on the doctrine:—

"The Synod rejects the errors of those who teach that spiritual gifts are not lost from the will of man in spiritual death, because the will was not corrupted in itself, but is only impeded by the darkness of the intellect, and the inordinate appetites of the flesh, which impediments being removed, the will is able to exert its innate freedom,—that is of itself either to will or to choose whatever good is set before it. The Synod condemns the errors of those who teach that grace and free-will are each partial and concurrent causes at the commencement of conversion; that grace does not precede the efficiency of the will in the order of causality,—that is, that God does not efficiently aid the will of man to conversion before the will itself moves and determines itself."

Affirming the entire and total depravity of human nature, and his consequent inability to will anything spiritually good, they maintained also, as following from this, the doctrine that man was passive in regeneration. It was not meant by this, that man was to be regarded as a stock or a stone operated

upon by a divine power from without, but simply that the work of salvation must *take its beginning* without any co-operation on man's part, inasmuch as there is nothing in him in his unrenewed state from which such co-operation can proceed. God's grace must effect a change in man before he is able to put forth any willing or acting in the direction of what is good. But *after* this *first* forth-putting of divine power, creating in man a new nature, implanting in him a spiritual life, giving him, not a new power of volition, but giving to that power already possessed by him as a rational and responsible being, new capacities, and bringing it under new influences; in other words, renewing his will, he has the power and the disposition to will and to do what is spiritually good. Men are made willing by the *renewal* of their wills, and not in *opposition* to their wills. The divines at Dort strenuously denied that when grace first began to operate on man it found him capable at once, and from the very outset, of co-operating in the divine work. But the depraved tendency being, in regeneration, to a great extent eradicated, and a new and opposite tendency to good being implanted, the will is then set free from the bondage of its former condition, and no longer wills only what is evil, but, having acquired the liberty it lost, it now freely wills what is good. The will is *made* free, not free from the guidance of those general laws by which the operations of the mind are directed, but free from the power of sin,—free from the necessity of choosing only that which is evil.

Although the doctrine of the remonstrants was thus formally and explicitly condemned by the Synod of Dort, yet the party was not suppressed. They continued to propound their views, and to develop them according to their natural tendency into a system closely allied to that of the old Pelagians and semi-Pelagians. These are exhibited in a formal manner in their "Confessio sive Declaratio Sententiæ Pastorum qui in Fœderatæ Belgio Remonstantes vocantur," which was principally drawn up by Episcopius. This "Confessio" propounds a synergistic theory of grace. It teaches that every man to whom the gospel is preached receives grace sufficient "for generating faith, and carrying forward his conversion in its successive stages." It declares that "sufficient grace for faith and conversion is allotted, not only to those who actually believe and are converted, but also to those who do not actually believe, and are not in fact converted." Hence, it affirms that the want of conversion is the result only of the want of human efficacy to co-operate with the divine agency. It teaches that the saved make the grace effectual by an act of their own will, and hence, that salvation is conditioned on the act of the free

will, and is not, as Calvinists affirm, the result of sovereign and irresistible divine agency alone.

Of all the creeds and confessions of the Reformation none is so clear and full in its vindication of the Calvinistic system as regards the doctrine of sin and grace as the "Formula consensus Helvetia." This symbol was drawn up at Zurich (1676) by the Swiss divines, Herdegger of Zurich, Turretine of Geneva, and Gereler of Basle, with the primary design of counteracting the theory of "mediate imputation," i.e. the imputation of the *effects* only of Adam's apostacy, and not of the apostatising act itself, which had been advanced by the Saumur theologians, Placæus, Amyrault, and Daillé. The "formula" affirmed the "immediate" imputation, i.e. the imputation of Adam's guilt without the medium of any corruption, and *also* the "mediate" imputation as resting on the "immediate." The whole confession is emphatically Calvinistic in its statements regarding the fallen state of man and the way of recovery through the efficacious and sovereign grace of God.

The Council of Trent was also compelled to deal with this question. That great council was convened by Pope Paul III., on 13th December 1545, and continued to hold its sessions till 1563, the year of Calvin's death. Its decisions were confirmed by a bull of Pope Pius IV. in 1564, making them for ever binding and authoritative within the Papal Church. Its decisions were of two classes: (1) *Decreta*, containing detailed and positive statements of doctrine; and (2) *Canones*, explaining the meaning of the decreta, and condemning the opposite doctrines of the Reformers. The fathers of this council were evidently resolved to condemn the monergistic theory of regeneration, which had been so clearly set forth and defended by the Reformers; and yet they seem to have been afraid, lest in doing so, they should at the same time condemn Augustine. They were embarrassed by this difficulty. To escape from it they published canons, couched in ambiguous phraseology, so that they might be capable of an interpretation satisfactory to all parties. The Dominicans, as of old, took the monergistic, and the Franciscans the synergistic, side of the controversy, and both could appeal to the same canons in support of their respective views. In the *language* used, the canons seem to be explicitly Augustinian. None of the Reformers, not even Calvin himself, could have objected to them. Yet the authoritative interpretations put upon them by the popish divines is semi-Pelagian. Bellarmine, who is the greatest of the papal theologians, and whose expositions are authoritative, says, "*Homo ante omnem gratiam liberum habet arbitrium non solum ad opera naturalia et moralia sed etiam ad opera pietatis et super-naturalia.*" The fact also, as more particularly referred

to below, that the teachings of Baius and Quesnel, who held the Augustinian view, were peremptorily and explicitly condemned by the Church of Rome, shews that, after all, the Council of Trent really meant to exhibit in their canons the semi-Pelagianism which Bellarmine taught. The fathers of that council held that original holiness possessed by Adam before the fall, did not belong to him *as created*, but was a gift conferred on him *after* his creation; and, therefore, that the loss of it simply put man back into the position he originally occupied as a creature. The loss of this supernatural gift,—this gift conferred on man over and above the gifts of nature,—is, they taught, all that is implied in the corruption of human nature. As a consequence necessarily flowing from such a theory, they decreed, "If any one shall affirm that the free-will of man, moved and existed by God, co-operates nothing by assenting to God, thus exciting and calling so that it disposes and prepares itself for obtaining the grace of justification, but like some inanimate object, does nothing at all, but is merely passive, let him be accursed"; and again, "If any one shall affirm that the free-will of man was lost, and became extinct after the sin of Adam, let him be accursed." All this seems very explicit, but when read in the light of previous discussions, both among the schoolmen and the Reformers, the language appears to be vague and capable of an interpretation either for or against the semi-Pelagian. The Jansenists could give it the Augustinian interpretation, and the Franciscans the Pelagian. The sense really intended to be conveyed was, as we have already stated, Pelagian. The whole system of doctrine taught by the Papal Church required that the salvation of sinners should be represented as not wholly the gift or work of God, but as in some degree brought about by the effort and the merit of man himself. The decrees of the Council of Trent are plainly framed on the idea that in the work of salvation a part is due to the operation of divine grace, and a part to the exercise of the free-will of man.

A few years after the Council of Trent, there sprang up in the Papal Church a reformatory movement in the direction of a revival of Augustinianism. Michael Baius (De Bay) and Hessels, professors at the University of Louvaine, at first led this movement. Pope Pius V. (1567) sought to arrest its progress, and condemned, as heretical, seventy-nine propositions selected from the works of Baius, one of which was in the following terms:—"Liberum arbitrium sine gratia Dei adiutorio non nisi peccandum valet." In 1588 the controversy sprung up afresh by the appearance of a work entitled "*Liberi Arbitrii cum gratiæ donis concordia*," which was published by Lewis Molina, the Jesuit Professor of theology at the Univer-

sity of Evora in Portugal. In this he taught that grace was bestowed on all who only used the powers of free-will which they possessed. The Dominicans and the Jesuits carried on the controversy with great keenness, the Dominicans taking the side of Augustine. Pope Clement VIII. submitted (1597) the question in dispute to the "*Congregatio de auxiliis gratiæ*," which he had summoned for that purpose; but before they could come to any formal conclusion, having spent ten years in endeavouring to reconcile the opposing parties, Paul V. dissolved the sittings of that assembly, and forbade all controversy on the subject.

The Abbot of St Cyran and Cornelius Jansen, bishop of Ypern, gave, in the 17th century, a new impulse to the study of Augustinian doctrine. They sought to vindicate the opinions on grace and free-will which were propounded by that ancient church father, while, at the same time, they endeavoured to conciliate the Jesuits. About the year 1640, after the death of Jansen, his work entitled "*Augustinus*" was published. The whole Papal Church was now agitated by the old controversy. The Popes in vain strove to settle it by condemning in a vague way certain propositions extracted from the "*Augustinus*." For many years the discussion of the points involved in the "*Jansenist controversy*," as it was called, engaged the attention of the leading divines of the Papal church. In 1687 Paschasius Quesnel, a priest of the Oratorium, published an edition of the New Testament in French, with notes. This publication called forth the bitter opposition of the Jesuits. They denounced it as a "*Jansenist*" book, and, at the instance of Cardinal Noailles, archbishop of Paris, the pope, Clement XI., issued a Bull, "*Unigenitus*," against it, condemning, as heretical, one hundred and one sentences selected from it, among which was the following: "*Peccator non est liber nisi ad malum*." This celebrated bull is clearly semi-Pelagian in its doctrine. The French church was divided in opinion on the subject of the binding force of the bull. A part of that church acknowledged its authority, and were therefore called "*Acceptants*," and a part rejected and solemnly protested against it, and were called "*Appellants*." After long-continued strife between these two parties, the "*Appellants*" were at length (1718) formally excommunicated and compelled to yield to the weight of authority against them. The bull "*Unigenitus*" was at length acknowledged by the whole Papal Church as of perpetual authority. It may be regarded as having finally brought the controversy to a close, so far as that church is concerned, and as having established the semi-Pelagian form of doctrine.

The Reformers discussed the doctrines of Christianity only

in their scriptural aspects. They were concerned only to know the teachings of the Bible on the true state and relations of fallen man, and on the method devised by God for his restoration to his favour and image. Their appeal was always "to the law and the testimony." As a result of their investigations they announced it as a scriptural doctrine, that man by nature is helpless in sin, and that if saved it must be only by the exercise of a gracious divine power. This doctrine, with more or less explicitness, is set forth in all the Reformed Confessions. This doctrine of the inability of man to save himself is just, in other words, the doctrine of the bondage of the will. The controversy concerning the freedom of the will may therefore be viewed as simply a controversy on the question whither man can or cannot save himself in whole or in part. If the depravity of man is total and complete, as they abundantly proved from Scripture, then they concluded that as a necessary consequence the will was in a state of bondage with reference to all spiritual good, *i. e.*, that man had no natural power whatever to do God's will, no power to do anything that could, in the way of meritorious cause, contribute to his salvation. The Church of Rome and the followers of Arminius, and, of course, the Socinians, who are consistent and thorough Pelagians, hold an opposite view. They reason from the assumption of the partial depravity only of fallen nature to the freedom of the will toward what is good. With more or less emphasis they assert, that by believing man can do something in the way of meritoriously bringing about his salvation, and they reject the doctrine which is embodied in the confessions of the Reformed Church, and which we regard as eminently Scriptural, that the whole work of salvation, from first to last, from the first and faintest tendencies Godward to the full completion of salvation, is due only to the supernatural and efficacious agency of the Spirit of God.

Luthardt follows the history of the subject down through the eighteenth century, presenting the different aspects of the rationalistic Pelagianism which prevailed during that time of spiritual deadness which fell upon the churches; and through the new era of awakened church-life characteristic of the present century, wherein varied forms of philosophy are seen commingling with and powerfully modifying in different directions the conceptions of dogmatic truth, which have been given expression to during this busy age by theologians of different schools of thought. He has also a lengthened and valuable chapter on the doctrine of the Holy Scriptures on the subject, and closes the whole discussion by a statement of the dogmatic conclusions to which it has led. Into this inviting field we cannot now for the present, however, enter.

ART. VI.—*John Jewel.*

The Works of John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury. Edited for the Parker Society by the Rev. JOHN AYRE, M.A., of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, Minister of St John's Chapel, Hampstead. Cambridge University Press.

Vol. I. 1845, Containing Sermon preached at St Paul's Cross; Correspondence with Dr Cole; Controversy with Dr Harding. Articles on private Mass; Communion under both kinds; Prayers in a strange tongue; the Supremacy; Real presence, being in many places; Elevation; Adoration.

Vol. II. 1847, Containing Articles on the Canopy; Accidents without Subject; Dividing the Sacrament, Figure, Sign, &c.; Plurality of Masses, Adoration of Images; Reading the Scriptures; Consecration under Silence; the Sacrifice; Receiving for Others; Application; Opus Operatum; Lord and God; Remaining under the Accidents; whether a Mouse, &c.; Individuum Vagum; whether the forms be the Sacrament; Hiding and Covering; Ignorance; Expositions of the two Epistles to the Thessalonians; and Sermons.

Vol. III. 1848, Containing *Apologia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, the Apology as translated by Anne Lady Bacon, mother of Lord Bacon. A Defence of the Apology of the Church of England. M. Harding's Flowers of Speech. A view of Untruths. The Defence of the Apology, Parts 1, 2, 3.

Vol. IV. 1850, Containing the Defence of the Apology, Parts 4, 5, 6. The Epistle to Scipio, a gentleman in Venice, in Answer to an Expostulatory Letter of his concerning the Council of Trent. A View of the Seditious Bull. A Treatise on the Holy Scriptures. Letters, and Miscellaneous Pieces, to which is prefixed Biographical Memoir of John Jewel, sometime Bishop of Salisbury.

MOST persons have heard of Paul's Cross in London. A pulpit cross, which was formed of wood covered with lead, and mounted upon stone steps, was reared in the midst of the churchyard of the cathedral; and, although now it has ceased to exist, there it stood during the times of the Plantagenets, and the House of Lancaster, and the House of York, and the Tudors, and the Stuarts, the scene of many a spiritual conflict, whence Romanist or Protestant by turns "wielded at will the fierce democracy." And of those ghostly tournaments, none more memorable than that which took place at the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. It was on the forenoon of the 31st day of March 1560, being the second Sunday before Easter; the daughter of Anne Boleyn had just lately succeeded to her half-sister Mary on the throne of England, and an immense assemblage, amounting to many thousands, had collected at Paul's cross, and stood in the midst of the churchyard, anxious to hear one who had preached there in the November of the preceding year, and very recently also before the court, and on both occasions had made some very startling assertions in relation to the Church of Rome. When that same

personage came forth, a man not aged—for he had not yet seen the light of two score summers—but thin, and slender, and emaciated, he had been an exile on the continent of Europe during four years of the Marian persecution; and continued thought, and intellectual toil, and spiritual watching, had done their work upon him, whilst disease had not been idle; it had fixed on this feeble form as its victim; the man of God halted as he walked. But he was borne up by the hands of the God of Jacob to the height of his great argument. The text on which he preached was in connection with an ordinance which the Church of Rome has transformed into a battleground: “I have received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you” (1 Cor. ii. 23). When waxing warm with the matter of his immortal theme, the preacher threw out the challenge, calmly and maturely, yet courageously couched, which was expressed in these terms:—

“If,” said he, “any learned man of all our adversaries, or, if all the learned men that be alive, be able to bring any one sufficient sentence out of any old catholic doctor, or father, or out of any old general council, or out of the Holy Scriptures of God, or any one example of the primitive church, whereby it may be clearly and plainly proved that there was any private mass in the whole world at that time, for the space of six hundred years after Christ; or, that there was then any communion ministered unto the people under one kind; or, that the people had their common prayers then in a strange tongue that they understood not; or, that the Bishop of Rome was then called an universal bishop, or the head of the universal church; or, that the people was then taught to believe that Christ’s body is really, substantially, corporally, carnally, or naturally, in the sacrament; or, that the body is, or may be, in a thousand places or more at one time; or, that the priest did then hold up the sacrament over his head; or, that the people did then fall down and worship it with godly honour; or, that the sacrament was then, or now ought to be, hanged up under the canopy; or, that in the sacrament, after the words of consecration, there remaineth only the accidents and shews, without the substance of bread and wine; or, that the priest then divided the sacrament in three parts, and afterward received himself all alone; or, that whosoever had said the sacrament is a figure, a pledge, a token, or a remembrance of Christ’s body, had therefore been judged for an heretic; or, that it was lawful then to have thirty, twenty, fifteen, ten, or five masses said in one church in one day; or, that images were then set up in the churches, to the intent the people might worship them; or, that the lay people was then forbidden to read the word of God in their own tongue. If any man alive were able to prove any of these articles by any one clear or plain clause or sentence, either of the Scriptures, or of the old doctors, or of any old general council, or by any example of the primitive church, I promised then that I would give over and subscribe unto him.

“These words,” said the orator, “are the very like I spake here

openly before you all ; and these be the things that some men say I have spoken and cannot justify. But I, for my part, will not only not call in anything that I have then said—being well assured of the truth therein—but also will lay more matter to the same, that, if they that seek occasion have anything to the contrary, they may have the larger scope to reply against me.

“Wherefore, besides all that I have said already,” he continued, “I will say farther, and yet nothing so much as might be said, If any one of all our adversaries be able clearly and plainly to prove, by such authority of the Scriptures, the old doctors, and councils, as I said before, that it was then lawful for the priest to pronounce the words of consecration closely and in silence to himself; or, that the priest had then authority to offer up Christ unto his Father; or, to communicate and receive the sacrament for another as they do; or, to apply the virtue of Christ's death and passion to any man by the means of the mass; or, that it was then thought a sound doctrine to teach the people that the mass, *ex opere operato*, that is, even for that it is said and done, is able to remove any part of our sin; or, that then any Christian man called the sacrament his Lord and God; or, that the people was then taught to believe that the body of Christ remaineth in the sacrament as long as the accidents of the bread remain there without corruption; or, that a mouse, or any other worm or beast, may eat the body of Christ, for so some of our adversaries have said and taught; or, that when Christ said, *Hoc est corpus meum*, this word ‘*Hoc*’ pointeth not the bread, but *individuum vagum*, as some of them say; or, that the accidents, or forms, or shews of bread and wine, be the sacraments of Christ's body and blood, and not rather the very bread and wine itself; or, that the sacrament is a sign or token of the body of Christ that lieth hidden underneath it; or, that ignorance is the mother or cause of true devotion and obedience;—these be the highest mysteries and greatest keys of their religion, and without them their doctrine can never be maintained and stand upright. If any one of all our adversaries be able to avouch any one of all these articles by any such sufficient authority of Scriptures, doctors, or councils, as I have required, as I said before, so say I now again, I am content to yield to him, and to subscribe. But I am well assured that they shall never be able truly to allege one sentence, and because I know it, therefore I speak it, lest ye haply should be deceived.

“All this, notwithstanding,” added the speaker, “ye have heard men in times past allege unto you councils, doctors, antiquities, successions, and long continuance of time, to the contrary. And an easy matter it was so to do, specially before them that lack either leisure or judgment to examine their proofs. On a time, Mithridates, king of Pontus, laid siege to Cyzicum, a town joined in friendship to the city of Rome: which thing the Romans hearing, made out a gentleman of theirs, Lucullus, to raise the siege. After that Lucullus was within the sight of the town, and shewed himself with his company on the side of an hill, thence to give courage to the citizens within that were besieged, Mithridates, to cast them into despair, and to

cause them the rather to yield to him, made it to be noised, and bare them in hand, that all that new company of soldiers was his, sent for purposely by him against the city. All that, notwithstanding, the citizens within kept the walls and yielded not. Lucullus came on, raised the siege, vanquished Mithridates, and slew his men. Even so, good people, is there now a siege laid to your walls: an army of doctors and councils shew themselves upon an hill: the adversary that would have you yield beareth you in hand that they are *their* soldiers and stand on *their* side. But, keep your hold: the doctors and old catholic fathers, in the points that I have spoken of, are yours: ye shall see the siege raised: ye shall see your adversaries discomfited and put to flight.

"The Pelagians were able to allege St Augustine as for themselves; yet, when the matter came to proof, he was against them. Helvidius was able to allege Tertullian as making for himself; but, in trial, he was against him. Eutyches alleged Julius Romanus for himself; yet, indeed, was Julius most against him. The same Eutyches alleged for himself Athanasius and Cyprian; but, in conclusion, they stood both against him. Nestorius alleged the council of Nice; yet was the same council found against him.

"Even so, they that have avauanted themselves of doctors, and councils, and continuance of time in any of these points, when they shall be called to trial, to shew their proofs, they shall open their hands and find nothing. I speak not this of arrogancy,—thou, Lord, knowest it best, that knowest all things;—but, forasmuch as it is God's cause and the truth of God, I should do God great injury if I should conceal it."*

Such was the challenge given at Paul's Cross by John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, one of the noblest spirits that ever dwelt in the clay teneiment of our common humanity, and, who long ere this, had extorted from the popish Dean of his college the homage of intensest admiration: "I would love thee, Jewel, if thou wert not a Zuinglian; thou art a heretic in thy faith; but certainly an angel in thy life."

The challenge flew like a sky rocket over the dark concave of the troubled atmosphere of Europe, and was followed by a succession of squibs, crackers, and hand-grenades, in the shape of letters and petty pamphlets, until a heavy fire, from cannon of no small calibre, opened up from the University of Louvaine, under the form of "An Answer to Master Jewell's Challenge, by Doctor Harding;" when Jewel unmasked his battery, presenting a train of ordnance most thoroughly organised, of long range, unerring sweep, and the most terrible execution, under the simple name of "A Reply unto Master Harding's Answer." Harding returned to the conflict in 1566, and again in 1567, and, in the same year, Jewel once more repelled the attack;

* A Sermon preached by the Bishop of Salisbury at Paul's Cross, March 31. 1560.—"Jewel's Works," vol i., pp. 20-22.

whilst the bishops' "Apology for the Church of England" had, just five years before, burst like a bombshell upon the lingering *sederunts* of the Council of Trent. There the terror-stricken doctors read the work, and thought that the "apology" should be answered; but no answer,—although the task was undertaken by a Spaniard and an Italian,—from that quarter ever came, and the answer of Dr Thomas Harding to the challenge and the apology, with his obstinate assertions and congenial misrepresentations, fell harmless to the ground. The hulk of the papacy was riddled, and the ethereal weapons of our spiritual hero have been hung up in the armoury of the theological literature of England, with those of a host of other worthies, constituting for three centuries the palladium of liberty and religion, glistening and adorned with immortal laurels, and ready to be furbished up and wielded on any similar emergency by whomsoever the Spirit of the Lord shall have clad with zeal as with a military mantle, and whose feet shall have been shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace,—weapons spiritual, and dipped in heaven, and therefore in themselves and their bright associations far more grand and beneficial, more majestic and imposing, than all the spoils of the invincible Armada, or the trophies of the sanguinary Trafalgar.

But again we have fallen on evil days. The ghostly vessel of the papacy has been dragged up again, and manned with what Pope Pius VII. called his "vigorous and experienced rowers,"—the Jesuits; but we look for help to Him who once slept in his little bark on the Lake of Genesaret, and arose and rebuked the tempest, and there was a great calm. May He, the Prince of peace, and yet a Man of war, the one Head of the church, who gave strength to Jewel, and Whittaker, and Cranmer, and Knox, and Melville, and a host of others, martyrs and confessors to the testimony of Jesus, and who is to consume the man of sin "with the spirit of His mouth, and destroy him with the brightness of His coming" (2 Thess. ii. 8), deign a portion of His presence at this time, and enable every ingenuous reader of the Bible to vindicate the truth,—to come forward, not with the unwieldy armour, and brazen helmet, and mailed coat of Saul, but with a smooth stone from the brook, and a simple sling in his hand, like David, who lodged his pebble in the forehead of that lawless one that defied the armies of the living God.

And this aid, we humbly conceive, may be most effectually enjoyed, not so much by encamping in the field of fathers and councils, of popes and extravaganzas, of decretals and apocrypha, —although even on that treacherous ground the papacy has no sure footing,—as by entering at once into the pastures of righteousness, guided by that "sure word of prophecy, where-

unto we do well to take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-star arise in our hearts" (2 Peter i. 19). "To the law and to the testimony, if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them" (Isa. viii. 20). "Now, therefore," says the apostle to the Ephesians, "ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God; and are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone; in whom all the building, fitly framed together, groweth unto an holy temple in the Lord. In whom ye also are builded together for an habitation of God through the Spirit" (Ephes. ii. 19-22).

In these words, taken in connection with the immediate context, the apostle speaks to "the saints that were at Ephesus, and to the faithful in Christ Jesus" (chap. i. 1), he intimates that to them, and all believers like them,—having been "quickened" from their natural state of death in "trespasses and sins" (chap. ii. 1, 5),—Judaism and heathenism are abolished; and by the same principles, that every system which, either in time past or in time to come, "exalteth itself above all that is called God, and that is worshipped" (2 Thess. ii. 4), is null and void; that believers are "no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the saints, and *members* of the household of God;" and that, rightly and relatively understood, there are three notes or marks of the church of God, according as the apostle here unfolds them, namely, antiquity, unity, and catholicity. For example, *antiquity*: believers "are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone." *Unity*: believers are "in Christ, fitly framed together;" "in Christ they are builded together, for an habitation of God through the Spirit." *Catholicity*: the sum total of believers, "all the building, being fitly framed together, groweth unto an holy temple in the Lord."

It is of the true church that we understand the apostle here to speak, comprehending the church of the elect that is written in heaven, the congregation of the faithful, so far as it is capable of being ascertained here on earth, according to the judgment of charity, by the notes or marks laid down in God's word, as unfolded and applied by that Spirit, who is promised to guide believers into all truth (John xvi. 13), and who is the unction from the Holy One by which they know all things (1 John ii. 20). Such is the theme at present before us,—a theme unquestionably grand and arduous. May that Spirit who dwells in the Christian temple,—with a presence and a power more gracious and glorious than the Shekinah of old in

the temple of Jerusalem,—grant us some measure of fitness for that high argument.

1. The antiquity of the church : believers “are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone.” Here is the church’s true antiquity. Its foundation is that of the apostles and prophets, and that not of them personally as men, but as apostles and prophets,—the vehicles of the truths of the Holy Ghost, the inspired promulgators of what “the Spirit of Christ that was in them” did testify (1 Peter i. 11). The apostles and prophets are the foundation of the church, only in so far as they have delivered the truth, which, by the inspiration of the Spirit of Christ, they were commissioned to declare. “The testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy” (Rev. xix. 10). The whole of revealed truth, directly or indirectly, is concerning Him ; and it is only that testimony, or in other words, the whole of revealed truth, as dictated by the Spirit of Christ, and delivered by the apostles and prophets, that, strictly speaking, can be called a foundation. “For other foundation,” says the same apostle, “can no man lay than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ” (1 Cor. iii. 11). “Jesus Christ himself is the chief corner-stone.” He is at once the “foundation,” and the “top-stone” of the building. Hence the Lord Jesus says of himself, “Whosoever shall fall on this stone shall be broken, but upon whomsoever it shall fall it will grind him to powder” (Matt. xxi. 44). He is “the author and the finisher of our faith” (Heb. xii. 2). “Believers are complete in him” (Col. ii. 10). So that the antiquity of the church, in a Scriptural sense, ascends to the most ancient times, to the very beginning,—to Him who is the First and the Last, the Alpha and the Omega, “whose goings forth have been from of old, from everlasting” (Micah v. 2). Our antiquity rests on the Lord Jesus Christ, who is “the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever” (Heb. iii. 18), and the record of that antiquity is attested in the Scripture of truth, “which is given by inspiration of God” (2 Tim. iii. 16) ; and which tells us that, whilst in time the seed of the woman should bruise the head of the serpent (Gen. iii. 15), God hath “chosen a people in Christ before the foundation of the world” (Eph. i. 4).

Now, Cardinal Bellarmine makes antiquity one of the notes or marks of the church, applying it as an evidence of truth to the Church of Rome ; and Cardinal Wiseman speaks with manifest complacency of the great antiquity of the Romish See, as if the continuance of popes, through a long succession of ages, necessarily implied in it something divine.* But antiquity in

* “Lectures on the Principal Doctrines and Practices of the Catholic Church.” By Nicholas Wiseman, D.D. London. 1847. Vol. i. p. 286.

itself is no mark of the church of God, unless that antiquity be based on the Scripture of truth. Now Paganism is more ancient than Judaism: the colossal idolatries which sprang up in Assyria and Egypt, and which have been so wonderfully unfolded in our days, preceded the call of Abraham; and, if bare antiquity is to carry off the palm, then the moderator of the Vatican must yield to the Grand Lama of Thibet, the succession of Roman Pontiffs must quail before the dynasties of Memphis and of Thebes; and Satan himself is still more ancient than the bishop, or even the Church of Rome.

"All antiquity," says the Romish Archbishop, who first after three centuries assumed his titular dignity in the English metropolis, "supports us in the belief, that our blessed Saviour gave to Peter a headship and primacy over His church, and that it was continued through the following ages, in the persons of his successors, the bishops of Rome."* Now this is an assertion, we are thoroughly persuaded, which "all antiquity" does not bear out. That the Bishop of Rome was sometimes asked to interfere as an arbiter in the affairs of other churches, just as other bishops were, not of right, but in friendly intercourse; that he early acquired a large share of worldly respect, as the bishop of the metropolis of the empire; and that he began very soon to encroach on the liberties of other churches, and to increase his external pomp and splendour, we will not deny; but there is no sufficient evidence to warrant the conclusion, either that Christ "gave Peter a headship and supremacy over the church," or that Christ sanctioned the continuance of that "supremacy and headship" in "the persons of the bishops of Rome."

Let it be here distinctly remarked, that in order to understand Christ's address to Peter, we must take that address in connection with Peter's address to Christ. Peter's address to Christ was, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God" (Matt. xvi. 16). And immediately Christ's address in return to Peter is, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church" (ver. 18). The rock was undoubtedly the confession which Peter had just made, namely, That Jesus "was the Christ, the Son of the living God;" it was the truth of Christ's divinity. He is "the stone, the tried stone, the precious corner-stone, the sure foundation" (Isa. xxviii. 16). He is "the Rock of Ages" (Isa. xxvi. 4). But Christ soon after addresses Peter thus, "Get thee behind me, Satan; thou art an offence unto me" (Matt. xvi. 23). Now we cannot conceive that Christ built the true church upon Satan, whatever Papists may believe as to the Church of Rome.

* "Wiseman's Lectures," &c., vol. i. p. 286.

On the other hand, the exposition that has just been given of Christ's address to Peter, and Peter's address to Christ, is the very same that is given by the early fathers of the church. "What is it," says Augustine, on the First Epistle of John, tractate 10th, "when it is said, 'I will build my church upon this rock?' It is upon this faith, upon that which had been spoken, 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God;' 'upon this rock I will build my church.'" Again, upon John, tractate 124th, "Upon this rock, which thou hast confessed, I will build my church: for the rock was Christ, upon which foundation, Peter himself is built." Again, concerning the word of the Lord, Sermon 13th on Matthew, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock, which thou hast confessed, upon this rock, which thou hast acknowledged, saying, Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God, I will build my church; that is, upon me myself, the Son of the living God, I will build my church: upon me, I will build thee; not me upon thee." Cyprian, on the unity of the church, speaks thus: "The other apostles were unquestionably the very thing that Peter was; being possessed of an equal share both of honour and of power; the episcopate is one" (he speaks of the one episcopate under Christ): "a part of which is held by each, so as to make up the whole." Epiphanius in his letter to the Bishop of Jerusalem, thus: "The respective bishops of the churches have churches under them, and no one extended beyond the measure of another." Hilary of Poitiers, in his second book on the Trinity, thus: "This is the one immoveable foundation; this is the one happy rock of faith, which was confessed by the mouth of Peter, Thou art the Son of the living God." Gregory Nyssen, on the advent of our Lord, thus: "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church: that is, on the confession of Peter: because, he had said, Thou art the Son of God: the rock is Christ." Jerome to Evagrius, thus: "The apostle manifestly teaches that bishops are the same as presbyters." Again, on the Epistle to Titus, chapter 1st, he speaks thus: "Some one may think that it is not the judgment of the Scriptures, but merely our own, that a bishop and a presbyter are one and the same, and that the one is a name of age, the other of office: let him read over the words of the apostle to the Philippians. Because they called the same persons bishops, at that time, that they also called presbyters, therefore, the apostle hath spoken indiscriminately of bishops, as if he were speaking of presbyters. So also in Acts, chapter 20th." Ambrose, in his treatise on the Incarnation, speaks thus: "Peter held the primacy of concession, not of honour; the primacy of faith, not of rank." Chrysostom on Matthew, homily 83d, thus: "Christ founded his church on the confession of Peter."

Again, on the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians, homily 3d, thus : " Antichrist will command himself to be worshipped as God, and to be set in the church." Irenæus, book 5th, chapter xxi., thus : " Antichrist, being an apostate and a robber, wishes to be worshipped as God, and whilst he is a servant, wishes to be proclaimed as king, summing up in himself the diabolical apostasy ; and, laying aside idols, indeed, to persuade that he is himself God, but exalting himself the one idol, having in himself the manifold error of other idols, of which the apostle speaks in his Second Epistle to the Thessalonians. The apostle clearly shews his coming. Antichrist will endeavour, in a tyrannical manner, to shew that he is God." Cyril of Jerusalem, thus : " Antichrist will usurp to himself the power of the Roman empire." And Gregory the first, himself a bishop of Rome, far from holding the primacy of Peter, in the sense of a universal bishop, denounces in the 4th, 6th, and 7th books of his Epistles, such a title as arrogant, profane, sacrilegious, anti-Christian, and denominates him that holds it, " the king of pride, Lucifer, one that sets himself above the brethren, who has denied the faith, and is become the forerunner of anti-Christ."*

These are a few passages from the early Christian fathers, whom the Church of Rome so much delighteth to honour ; and a great many others might be easily adduced, strong and express against the headship and primacy of Peter over the church, as well as against that of his supposed successors. Whether the learned cardinal knew those passages, but cast them into the shade, or whether he did not know them, yet made the assertion that " all antiquity supports us in the belief, that our blessed Saviour gave to Peter a headship and primacy over his church, and that it was continued through the following ages, in the persons of his successors, the bishops of Rome," we will not determine ; but this at least is certain : that assertion is not according to fact ; it is the opposite of the truth.

But, besides clashing with the testimony of those ancient fathers, this statement is contradicted by the testimony of the earliest Christian Councils. The sixth canon of the first general Council at Nice runs thus : " Let the ancient usages be held fast ; those in Egypt, and Lybia, and Pentapolis, so that the Bishop of Alexandria shall have the rule of all those places, and then the Bishop of Rome is also to have his usage. And in like manner also in Antioch, and through the other pro-

* We desire here distinctly to state, that in our quotations from the fathers and ancient councils, we have been chiefly indebted to the *Catholicus Consensus Patrum*. Geneva, 1654.

vinces, the respective prerogatives of honour are to be preserved to the churches." There is here no headship or primacy over the entire church ; but the respective bishops of Alexandria, and of Rome, and of Antioch, are each to keep within their own sphere, and to preserve their ancient usages. If the Church of Rome, therefore, did, in process of time, acquire a power over the other churches, it did so in opposition to the ancient usages ; and, it had not acquired that power at the time of the first general Council of Nice, which was in the year of our Lord 325. Again, the third canon of the general Council of Constantinople runs thus : "The Bishop of Constantinople shall have the prerogatives of honour next to the Bishop of Rome, because Constantinople is new Rome." It is plain that this distinction arose, not from any difference in the rank of the bishops, but from a difference in the rank of the cities ; the very wording of the canon shews that the difference did not arise from divine right, but from political expediency. And so Augustine speaks in the one hundredth of his miscellaneous questions, exactly to this purpose : "Because they are ministers of the churches in Rome, therefore they are reckoned more honourable than ministers in other churches, on account of the magnificence of the city of Rome, which seems to be the head of all cities." Again, the twenty-eighth canon of the general Council of Chalcedon runs thus : "The fathers properly conferred the prerogatives of honour on the chair of the older Rome, because that city was the seat of the emperor ; and moved by the same motive, the hundred and fifty most reverend bishops have assigned equal prerogatives of honour to the most sacred chair of new Rome," that is, Constantinople. The Bishop of Rome resisted the decree ; but in vain. The influence of the emperor that had conferred the prerogatives of honour on the one, was equally able to confer similar prerogatives on the other. The origin of the distinction in both cases was worldly ; but there can be no doubt that the Bishop of Constantinople had just as good a right to it as the Bishop of Rome. For, as the elevation of the Bishop of Constantinople to prerogatives of honour equal to those of the Bishop of Rome, was nothing but a worldly badge, so the claim of the Bishop of Rome to a supremacy over the whole church, is nothing but a tyrannical usurpation. Again, the eighty-sixth canon of the general Council that met in Constantinople, in the year of our Lord 692, sometimes called Quinesextum, confirmed the equality of the bishops of Rome and Constantinople, as set forth by the Council of Chalcedon. But as that Council, besides the crime of equalising the pope, condemned fasting on Saturdays, and allowed priests to live in wedlock, its authority is generally denied by the Romish Church. Once

more, the sixth canon of the Council of Carthage, in the fifth century, repudiated the jurisdiction of the Romish See, and runs thus: "There does not exist in the Greek copy, the decree of the Council of Nice, to the effect that the Bishop of Rome, in the capacity of supreme judge, should take cognisance of the causes of all the churches." Such, in fact, was the answer of the Council to the legates of the Bishop of Rome. The universal bishop was then in so many words accused of forging upon an ancient Council a canon which did not exist, in order to extend his own jurisdiction. The labours of Pope Zosimus, and of his successor, Pope Boniface, had been in vain. And now Pope Celestine received a sharp rebuke from the indignant bishops of Africa for his falsehood, and craft, and ambition; that he should learn not to interfere with the government of churches that were as free and independent as his own.* Yet the Council of Trent has the hardihood to maintain that "the Church of Rome is the mother and mistress of all churches," forgetting, no doubt, all the while, that Antioch is unquestionably a more ancient church than that of Rome, and the Church of Jerusalem more ancient than both; whilst we have never heard that the seven churches of Asia received the gospel from Rome; and certain it is, that they were presided over by the beloved disciple, long after Peter had fallen asleep. It will not surely be contended that the inspired apostle John was subject to the primacy of the supposed successor of Peter, and the occupant of that mysterious relic, called Peter's chair, at Rome. Yet, such is the absurdity that is necessarily involved in carrying out the notion of this primacy or headship, as invested in Peter and all called his successors.

But, in order to establish the antiquity of the Church of Rome, Cardinal Bellarmine affirms that, "in all great changes of religion, these six things may be ever shewn, viz., the author of the change, the change itself, the time when, the place where, who opposed it, and who joined it; that none of these can be shewn in the Church of Rome since the apostles' days; and therefore there hath been no change at all made in it, but it remains the same as at first, without any alteration."† Now, this is mere trifling; as if a Sabbath-school scholar could not refute Arianism, although he may not be able to tell who Arius and Athanasius were; or Pelagianism, although he cannot tell who Pelagius and Augustine were; or Arminianism, although he cannot tell who Arminius was, and what were the various acts of the Synod of Dort. No matter who introduced the

* "The Notes of the Church, as laid down by Cardinal Bellarmine, examined and confuted by Archbishop Tenison, Bishop Kidder, Bishop Patrick," &c. London. 1839. Pp. 92, 93.

† "Bellarmine's Notes Examined," p. 89.

change, or who embraced it, or who rejected it, or when promulgated, or where; if we can fix on that change or form of error, and bring it to the test of God's word, that it is enough for its exposure. And every one, even the most simple believer, is able to do this, who, led by the Spirit of God, comes to that "Scripture which, given by inspiration of God, is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works" (2 Tim. iii. 16, 17).

But although not bound to shew all the circumstances connected with the rise of religious declension,—for the enemy very often sows his tares during the night,—there are some errors, the time of whose introduction may be very nearly ascertained.

In the year 593, the doctrine of purgatory began to be introduced, a certain middle state between earth and heaven, situated in the near neighbourhood of hell, destined only for believers in their way to heaven, undergoing the lustration of venial sins, like the pagan shades in Virgil's Elysium. In the same year, the Virgin Mary and saints and saintesses began to be invoked, the rhetorical personifications of the early fathers being changed, by an insidious superstition of our nature, into an actual adoration. In the year 606, the Pope, Boniface III., first received the title of universal bishop from the emperor Phocas, a tyrant who had waded to the imperial throne through the blood of Mauritius his predecessor, and wished to have his own temporal usurpation confirmed by sanctioning, in the person of the bishop of Rome, a usurpation which was spiritual. In the year 709, the Roman pontiff had already arrived at such an elevation of Persian luxury that, far from imitating Christ in washing the feet of his disciples, he instituted the degrading and unseemly ceremony of holding out his right foot, and allowing the powers and potentates that approached his presence, the privilege of kissing his big toe. In the year 790, under the second council of Nice, the worship of images was sanctioned, the second commandment was practically abolished, and the waning idolatry of paganism was re-established, by the introduction of image worship into the Christian church. In the year 965, material metallic bells began to be solemnly baptized in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; but whether they too, by the simple performance of the act, become the subjects of some great spiritual change, we have not been informed. In the year 993, departed believers were first regularly canonised for all Christendom, under John XV.; the calendar began to be filled with the names of legendary saints;

and the old deification of the Roman emperors was curiously transferred to the supporters of the papacy. In the year 1059, the doctrine of transubstantiation, already floating in the church, but changing and unfixed, was first formally introduced and sanctioned by the council of the Lateran, under Nicholas II.; whence the sacrament of the Eucharist, as afterwards detailed by the Council of Trent, was pronounced, under the pain of anathema, to contain "really and substantially the body and blood, along with the soul and divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ." * In the year 1074, the celibacy of the clergy, already occasionally introduced and confirmed by some provincial regulations, was now sanctioned by the papal decree of Hildebrand, Gregory VII., and made imperative on the entire priesthood; whence the restrictive obligations of the church became the source of revolting licentiousness and nameless immoralities. In the year 1199, the practice of indulgences became first distinctly prominent, by which the most heinous offences in relation to the past, and in relation to the future—for a period of years, or a lifetime, or, as in the case of King John of France and his regal successors for all generations—might be committed with the most shameless effrontery, as a common article of sale, through means of a penance, or a pilgrimage, or a payment, whether in the form of money or in the shape of a sound flagellation. In the year 1204, the terrible Inquisition commenced its infernal work, and under the name of Christian church, outstripped the horrors of the early pagan persecutions, with the pretext of making the world catholic, by crushing the bodies, and all that was mortal of men, beneath the grisly juggernaut of the Romish see. In the year 1215, under Innocent III., auricular confession, which was formerly voluntary, was made compulsory by a papal decree, and afterwards confirmed by the Council of Trent, according to which all the faithful of both sexes, arrived at the years of discretion, on pain of being denied absolution—deprived of ingress to the church in life, and Christian burial at death—are bound to confess, at least once a year, into the ear of a priest, all mortal sins, viz., gluttony, anger, lust, sloth, pride, envy, and covetousness, with the special circumstances that attend them.† The torture that was inflicted on the body by the Inquisition, was now inflicted on the soul by auricular confession; and the confessional became what our early reformers usually called it, *carnificina animarum*, the slaughter house, the shambles of the soul. In the year 1222,

* Concil. Trident. Sessio XIII., de eucharistia, Canon I.

† Concil. Trident. Sess. XIV. Canon V., and decree of Innocent III. Harduini Concilia, tom. vii. p. 35, art. xxi. See Reid's Mosheim, p. 469.

the elevation of the host was brought in, under Honorius III., the bread, the memorial of our Saviour's broken body, called by the Papists the bloodless sacrifice of the mass, was carried aloft like a pageant; the same honour that the pagans gave to their images and idols, was given to the host; the wafer was deified, and men were clapped up in the Inquisition if, in the course of the public procession of the host, they did not fall down and worship it. In the year 1470, the rosary of the Virgin Mary was introduced by Allan de la Roche, and afterwards confirmed by Pope Sixtus IV., in which, through means of an enumeration of beads, the use of words or thoughts was discarded, in the exercise of prayer; the worship of the creature was fixed instead of that of the Creator; and ignorance was sealed as the mother of devotion. And in the years 1545-1563 inclusively, with some interruptions, that is, during a period of eighteen years, under the pontificates of Paul III., Julius III., and Pius IV., the Council of Trent ratified the doctrines and commandments of men, that had gradually been obscuring the truth of God; received into the canon of Scripture the books of the Apocrypha, which had uniformly been rejected by the Jews, and which had no sufficient Christian testimony to their inspiration; embodied in their standards a large portion of Pelagianism, that had grown up rank and luxuriant, with the superstitions of the age; and denounced the doctrine of justification by faith in the righteousness of Christ without the deeds of the law; whilst a large multitude of Christendom blushed, was astonished and enraged, that by a nominal council of two hundred and seventy persons—of whom fully one-third were Italians, and all of whom were bound by an oath to maintain the papacy of Rome—the novelties and corruptions that had sprung up piecemeal through the lapse of ages, disturbing the peace of Europe, and deforming the pure gospel of Christ throughout the world, were sanctioned and confirmed as the accredited creed of the Catholic Church.

II. The unity of the Church; believers are "in Christ fitly framed together," "in Christ they are builded together, for an habitation of God, through the Spirit."

It is very plain, that this unity is spiritual; believers are "all fitly framed together in Christ;" they "are builded together in Christ;" and the design is "for an habitation of God through the Spirit;" and if they are in Christ, then they are possessed of faith, by which they apprehend him, and abide in him who is the Truth; they are the subjects of baptism, "not the putting off of the sins of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience toward God" (1 Pet. iii. 21); they are brought nigh to the Father; for they "who were formerly far off, are made nigh by the blood of Christ"

(Eph. ii. 13); and, "there is one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in all" (Eph. iv. 5, 6). Again, believers are fed with the same spiritual meat, "being many, they are one bread, and one body; for, they are all partakers of that one bread" (1 Cor. x. 17); they have one government; for, "one is their Master, even Christ" (Matt. xxiii. 8). He is "the shepherd and bishop of their souls" (1 Pet. ii. 25), and "he has given some to be apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers, for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ, until we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ" (Eph. iv. 11-13); and, if believers are "an habitation of God through the Spirit," then they maintain "the unity of the Spirit," which is "in the bond of peace" (Eph. iv. 3); they preserve the unity of hope, "even as they are called in one hope of their calling" (Eph. iv. 4); they possess the unity of brotherly affection, and holiness of life; for, "the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance" (Gal. v. 22, 23); and they hold fast by the unity of truth; for "the fruit of the Spirit is in all goodness, and righteousness, and truth" (Eph. v. 9).

We humbly conceive that this unity of the church, "in Christ" and "through the Spirit," vital and spiritual, which was so conspicuously manifested on the day of Pentecost, when the people, "continuing daily with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread from house to house, did eat their meal with gladness and singleness of heart, praising God, and having favour with all the people" (Acts ii. 46, 47), was wondrously displayed at the period of the glorious Reformation, as witnessed by the exemplary lives and triumphant deaths, and as still evidenced by the published confessions of the members of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches.

Let us advert for a little to those noble monuments, the standards of a primitive Christianity. All of them agree with one another, in the grand fundamentals of the Christian faith, in the great articles of truth and godliness, viz.: the confession of Augsburg, which was presented in the year 1530 to the emperor, Charles the Fifth, by the Protestant princes and states of Germany; the confession of the four cities, by name Strasburg, Constance, Meiningen, and Linden, otherwise called the confession of Sueveland, which was also presented to the emperor in the same year; the confession of Basle, otherwise called the confession of Mulhausen, which was written about the year 1532; the former confession of Helvetia, which was

written at Basle on behalf of the churches of Helvetia about the year 1536, and presented to the assembly of divines at Wirtemberg; the confession of Saxony, which was written in the year 1551 in behalf of the Saxon churches, and subscribed by the Saxon and Meissen churches and others; the confession of Wirtemberg, which was presented to the Council of Trent in the year 1552 by the ambassadors of the Duke of Wirtemberg and Tecca; the confession of France, which was first presented in the year 1559 to Francis the Second, king of France, on behalf of the Protestants of that kingdom; the confession of England, which was "agreed upon by the archbishops and bishops of both provinces, and the whole clergy, in the convocation holden at London in the year 1562"; the latter confession of Helvetia, which was written by the pastors of Zurich in the year 1566, and subscribed by the Tigurines or Zurichers and their confederates of Berne, Schaffhausen, Sangallia, Rhetia, Mulhausen, and Bienne, as also by the churches of Geneva, Savoy, Poland, Hungary, and Scotland; the confession of Belgium, which was published on behalf of all the churches of Belgium in the year 1566; the confession of Bohemia, sometimes called the confession of the Waldenses, which was published in the year 1573, being a re-publication of four previous and more ancient confessions to the same effect; and, lastly, the confession of Scotland, which was first allowed by the three estates in the year 1560, ratified by the same in the year 1567, subscribed by the king and household in the year 1580, and thereafter by persons of all classes and ranks throughout the realm, in the years 1581 and 1590.

All those confessions, drawn out by free and independent churches, by nations separate and distinct, amidst the liberty of their own modes of expression and respective peculiarities, present a firm and unbroken phalanx of scriptural truth, a delightful band of generous and large-hearted unity, which, evolving from the exercise of their private judgments, sanctified and subdued by the Word and Spirit of God, casts a strong and withering contrast on the constrained decisions of the members of the Council of Trent, bound implicitly to their lord the Pope, and subservient to his instructions,—impiously styled the decrees of the Holy Ghost,—which were stately transmitted from Rome by a courier to the council, under the shape of despatches in a cloak-bag.

But the Church of Rome maintains that there can be no unity in the church unless we hold a visible head. "For the unity of the church," says the Trent catechism, "a visible head is required; and he is visible who possesses the Roman see, being the legitimate successor of Peter, the prince of the

apostles.”* And Bellarmine’s definition of the church is to the same effect; namely, that “it is an assembly of men, &c., bound together under the government of lawful pastors, and especially of one, the Roman pontiff, Christ’s vicar on earth.”

Now let it be here remarked, that this definition of the church is evidently introduced to support the papacy; and it has been proved by another Roman Catholic himself,—we mean the celebrated Launoy,—that from the days of the apostles until the Council of Trent, the uniform definition of the church was simply, “the society of the faithful,” without any reference to bishop, or pope, or visible head.

But proceeding upon the popish definition as it now stands, we maintain that the Church of Rome is not possessed of unity, for its members are inconsistent with one another; popes with popes, councils with councils, councils with popes, popes with councils, and popes laying claim to such a title, inconsistent with themselves.

In the first instance, the members of the Church of Rome are inconsistent with one another. The Franciscans hold the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary; the Dominicans hold, or did at least profess to hold, that she was born in sin; one party holds in good works the merit of congruity; another, the merit of condignity;—this portion holds that Christ’s body in the sacrament is torn and ground with the teeth; that portion denies it;—one section places infallibility in the pope; another fixes it, or was wont to fix it, in a council.

Again, Pope Boniface the Eighth proclaims himself “sole governor in spirituals and temporal”; but Pope Gregory I. acknowledges “the emperor for his lord, superior to all men”: Pope Sixtus V. orders his Latin vulgate to be “followed without addition, diminution, or alteration”; Pope Clement VIII. publishes the same Latin vulgate, with two thousand corrections: Pope Clement XIV., in 1773, suppresses the order of the Jesuits, at the same time giving it as “his will and pleasure that these his letters should for ever, and to all eternity, be valid”; but, in 1814, by Pope Pius VII., the same order of the Jesuits is restored.

Again, the Council of Laodicea forbids “the faithful to call on the name of angels”; but the Council of Trent affirms that angels “are to be called upon or invoked”: the third Council of Constantinople brings before us Pope Agatho acknowledging the emperor Pogonatus as “his lord, and that his see and subjects owed the emperor obedience”; but the fifth Council of Lateran brings the Pope before us, styled “King of kings,

* Catechism. Concil. Trident., p. 79. Paris, 1831.

† Bellarmine’s Notes Examined, p. 187. Note.

monarch of the earth," and as having "all power above all powers of heaven and earth": the Council of Constance decrees a council to be superior to the Pope; but the fifth Council of Lateran, being confirmed by Leo X., decrees the Pope to be superior to a council. The present Council, whatever it may be called, has therefore precedents as ambiguous as an oracle of Delphi.

Once more, Pope Gelasius affirms that "the sacrament of the Lord's Supper ought to be received in both kinds"; but the Council of Trent pronounces a curse on any one who shall affirm, "that under one species or kind a whole Christ is not contained": Pope Innocent III. affirms that "the Pope on earth holds the place, not of a mere man, but of God"; while the Pope's doctors re-echo, "the Pope may dispense above the law, and make of injustice, justice": "he is true God, and true man";* but the Council of Basle "deposed Pope Eugenius, and on doing so, affirmed that the Catholic Church had often corrected and judged Popes when they erred from the faith, or were scandalous to the church."†

Where, then, amidst this chaos of contradictions, this "confusion worse confounded," where shall we find the resting-place of infallibility, the centre of unity? Not certainly within the pale of the Romish Church; for there we find members contradicting members; popes contradicting popes; councils, councils; popes, councils; and councils, popes; and the popes, in laying claim to the visible Headship of the church, are equally contradictory to themselves. If a subordinate faith in the primacy of the pope, as the vicar of Christ upon earth, be an essential element in the creed of the Christian Church, so that no sinner can come to Christ but through the medium of the papacy, then the conduct and consistency of this visible Head must uniformly and necessarily be such as to maintain unbroken the link of that sacred connection. Yet, three rival popes laid claim to the primacy at the same time; so that men found it hard to tell,—if the question be yet determined,—which was the right visible head; and not a few of the popes have been so unsound in the faith, such monsters of iniquity, that it would be impiety against God to believe that they were the only channels, or in any sense the vehicles, through which a human soul could have intercourse with heaven. Pope Marcellinus was a wizard; he sacrificed to idols: Pope John XII. was an adulterer; he received his death-blow in the very act: Pope Liberius was an Arian; he denied the divinity of Christ: Pope Leo X. was a

* Decret. Gregor. ix. tit. 7.

† Concil. Basil. Sessio XII. See Dr James Stuart's *Protestant Layman*, pp. 77, 80. Belfast, 1829.

scoffer; he jeered at the gospel as a fable: Pope John XXII. was an infidel; he denied the immortality of the soul. And what shall we say more? For time would fail us to tell how poets, and philosophers, and ecclesiastics, within the pale of the Romish Church herself, and in the very hearing of the Romish pontiff,—led by the pure light of God's truth, flashing with its vivid glare upon such abominable enormities,—were constrained to come to the conclusion that the predicted anti-christ was revealed, and that "the abomination of desolation was set up within the holy place." And if, amidst the massy evidence bearing down upon "the man of sin," from the history of the past, any additional illustration were needed from the transient occurrence of the present age, it does stand forth as no slight or trivial incident, that along with the dust and whirl of profane and frivolous literature, the grotesque genealogy of the very seat of that mysterious occupant, as if by a kindred origin, uniting the claims of popery and Mahomedanism under a kindred doom, should have been thrown forth to the gaze, the jibe, and the jeer of the curious yet thoughtless world, by the accredited testimony of two such men as Denon and Champollion,—by no means unskilled to settle the precise signatures of antiquity,—with its cufic characters and arabesque decorations, its oriental air and Saracenic wonderment, with the very tongue and talisman, with the very sign and symbol of the false prophet, who, with the beast, is to be cast into the lake of fire. (Rev. xix. 20.)

III. The catholicity of the church; the sum total of believers, "all the building being fitly framed together groweth unto an holy temple in the Lord."

The creed of Pope Pius IV. maintains "the holy, catholic, and apostolic Roman Church to be the mother and mistress of all churches"; and inculcates "a true obedience to the Roman pontiff, the successor of St Peter, prince of the apostles, and vicar of Jesus Christ"; and it affirms that "out of this true catholic faith no one can be saved."

Now, we here observe, that the catholic church may be understood as referring to the whole or universal churches of Christ throughout the world; but the Church of Rome comprehends but an inconsiderable part of those churches. Or the catholic church may be understood as referring to the catholicon, or general remedy of the gospel, which is for all nations; but the Church of Rome restricts the Word of God from the use of the common people, and she is "drunken with the blood of the saints" (Rev. xvii. 6). Or the catholic church may be understood as referring to the comprehensive, communicative, and liberal disposition of all the churches of Christ throughout the world holding fellowship with one

another ; but the Church of Rome is sectarian, exclusive, and uncharitable : she arrogates to herself the title, not of sister, but of "mother and mistress of all churches" ; and by the very claim of catholic, as designed to intimate superiority over all the rest, she acts contrary to the advice of Peter, in his first catholic epistle, by usurping "lordship over God's heritage," and in this respect, not certainly being "an ensample to the flock" (1 Peter v. 3). It is difficult to conceive anything more anti-catholic than such an imperious and tyrannical proceeding. An intolerable despotism grasps the reins of all the kingdoms of the earth, and extends its dominion over all the interests of men. The nominee of a college of cardinals at Rome,—he may be a Caraffa, a Medici, or a Borgia,—becomes the spiritual Czar of the church, the mitred autocrat of the habitable world. The natural rights of man rise up against the tyranny : the Word of God denounces the impiety.

The powers of a frail human creature, even when raised to the highest height, are so weak,—and not a few of the bishops of Rome have been worse than weak,—that a mere man is not capable of exercising the functions requisite for the Head of a population throughout the whole world of upwards of nine hundred millions of human beings. It is in Christ alone that "all the building fitly framed together groweth unto an holy temple in the Lord." He alone is "Head over all things to the church" (Ephes. i. 22). "Out of his fulness we all receive, and grace for grace" (John i. 16). His wisdom directs all the members of His mystical body, whether in time past, present, or to come ; in the most distant parts of his dominions, whether throughout the realms of space or the ages of eternity ; His righteousness alone sustains, and establishes, and builds up the soul that is weary, the spirit that would fail before Him. And His Spirit, working where, and when, and how He pleases, generates faith in the inner man, enables the follower of Christ, as a living stone, to rest on the rock of ages, knits that member, with other living stones, in the bonds of a mysterious, gracious communion ; binds all believers together, whether under the patriarchal, or the Mosaic, or the Christian dispensation ; whether now in heaven, or still on earth, or yet unborn ; preserving all the while their symmetry, and size, and order ; hewing every stone, and forming every individual believer, as a larger or a lesser shrine, polished after the similitude of a palace, until the whole mystical temple shall have been complete ; Peter, James, and John, who seemed to be pillars, with the other apostles, constituting the twelve foundations of the heavenly Jerusalem, themselves but living stones in the edifice, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief corner-stone, at once the foundation and the top-stone of the building ; and the Holy

Ghost animating the whole combined and compacted church with a living light and an everlasting renovation.

This is what no prelate or pope can do; and, therefore, by the very necessity of the case, we put away from us the arrogated authority of the Roman pontiff, as obscuring the glory of Christ, who is the prophet, priest, and king of his people; and as detracting from his honour who is a Saviour, and the dispenser of a free, full, immediate, direct, and everlasting salvation, without the cloudy institute of ceremonies and shadows, priests or potentates; and we turn with perfect confidence and liberty to him who is "the apostle and high-priest of our profession" (Heb. iii. 1); "the shepherd and the bishop of our souls" (1 Peter ii. 25).

There is, no doubt, a certain authority or power to rule vested in the hands of the office-bearers of Christ's house over the church catholic; there are the "governors" and the "governed." True; but then this government is not autocratic or absolute, much less vested in the hands of one man, and that man irresponsible. Christ is the alone head of his church, whether visible or invisible; and he hath appointed no one his vicar on earth. "He is the head of all principality and power" (Col. ii. 10), and whilst he has given office-bearers to his church, he hath given also the rule by which they are to walk: their power is ministerial, and subordinate to that of Christ; not absolute and arbitrary. The rulers in God's house have a *dogmatic* power; they are warranted to declare authoritatively the will of God as revealed in his Word. The rulers have also a *diatactic* power; they are warranted to lay down canons or rules of order in regard to the worship of God, and the government and discipline of his church, but only in so far as founded on the word of God and agreeable thereto. And the rulers, once more, have a *diacritic* power; they are warranted to pronounce censures, or to withdraw them, in the exercise of discipline; but all this only in subordination to Christ, the supreme lawgiver and governor of his church, as speaking in his written word.

"The foundation of the apostles and prophets" (Ephes. ii. 20), on which the church is built, must ever be referred to as the final standard of appeal by all the members of the church, to determine at once what the church is, and what are the terms and the essence of its catholicity. "Other foundation can no man lay than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ" (1 Cor. iii. 11). And whatever doctrine is not built upon that foundation, it is to be rejected, even though it should come to us with the name of catholic, and be held by overwhelming millions; for the catholicity of a church is to be judged, not by the number of them that adhere to it, but by the standard of

catholicity. Truth is a commodity, the intrinsic value of which is to be ascertained, not by number, but by weight; not by the multiplicity of adherents, but by the validity of evidence. Noah and his wife, with six other souls, within the wooden walls of the ark, were but a small congregation; but they once constituted the catholic church. Lot and his two daughters, with Abraham and his family, were but few in number; yet they, too, once constituted the catholic church. Christ and his apostles, with such as before his crucifixion received him, were small and inconsiderable in mere numerical aggregate; yet they likewise once constituted the catholic church. It is not, therefore, the mere force of numbers that constitutes a church catholic, but the doctrine of the apostles and prophets as held by that church. Wherever Christ's truth is, there is the catholic church. Wherever Christ's truth is not, and yet the term catholic is assumed, there is antichrist. It is plain that mere universality or catholicity cannot of itself constitute the true church; for, as paganism is more ancient, so it is more catholic or general than even that corruption of Christianity which is held by the members of the Church of Rome.

And it is equally plain, that as the term Christian has been often assumed by those that had no title to it, so also may the term catholic. The early Arians, for example, called themselves catholics, and their opponents heretics. The ancient Donatists called themselves catholics, and their opponents heretics. And, in like manner, the modern Trentists, the members of the Romish Church, the thick and thin supporters of the Council of Trent, call themselves catholics, and all the rest of Christendom they brand with the name of heretics. But in all these cases, we hold the claim and the charge to be equally unwarrantable.

But "the church is catholic," says Augustine, "because it is diffused throughout the whole world."* And taking the word even in that local or geographical sense, the Church of Rome is very defective in its right to such an appellation. If we look to the east, the Coptic Church, the ancient church of Egypt, under the patriarchs of Alexandria, and claiming "the chair of St Mark," rejects the supremacy of the Church of Rome. Again, the Abyssinian Church, which traces its rise to apostolic days, and was cherished by the piety of Athanasius, the patriarch of Alexandria, imitating, under its abuna, or chief ecclesiastic, the doctrine and discipline of the Coptic Church, rejects the supremacy of the Church of Rome. Again, the Nestorian or ancient Chaldean Church, which is totally free from the worship of images, saints, and relics, and amidst

* Augustin. Epist., 170. See Pearson on Creeds, Article ix.

the picturesque mountains of Kurdistan, and the lovely valley of Uramiah, presents, in various aspects, it has been said,* one of the purest churches in the world, from which, in earliest days, issued forth zealous heralds of the cross into Persia, and Arabia, and Tartary, and India, and China, rejects the supremacy of the Church of Rome. Again, the Syrian Church, under the patriarch of Antioch, which claims Peter the apostle as its first bishop, and where, there can be no doubt, Peter *did* once preside,—however dubious and legendary may be his future labours and martyrdom in the old metropolis of Italy,—rejects the supremacy of the Church of Rome. Again, the Armenian Church, with its antique associations, and spiritual triumphs over the religion of Zoroaster, embracing a population of upwards of a million and a half, which, moving from the base of Mount Ararat, south of the range of the Caucasus, and west of the Caspian Sea, extends into Palestine and Turkey in Europe, with its two patriarchs, the one of Echmiadzin and Ardaghar, and the other of Cis, each holding the title of Catholicos, as if in cruel mockery of the Romish bishop, and with the *titular* patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem, rejects the supremacy of the Church of Rome. And, once more, the Greek Church, which calls itself the Catholic and Apostolical Oriental Church, not in accordance with, but in opposition to, the Romish bishop, embracing the nation, and those that now speak or formerly spoke the language of Greece, comprehending the *patriarchates* of Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria, having a Slavonic population of upwards of fifty-four millions,† besides a large mass of other nations of various tongues, whilst honoured to battle repeatedly with the Roman lust of domination, rejects the supremacy of the Church of Rome.

And if we look to the west independently of the Russian empire,—which professes the religion of the Greek or Eastern Church,—we shall find that the Church of Rome, in periods even prior to the Reformation, has no just claim to the title of catholic or universal. Along the banks of the Rhone, following it up to its source, and then seizing on the springs of the Rhine, and pursuing it down to the German Ocean, thence retracing our steps, passing over the Jura, and entering into the Savoy, then crossing the Alps and coming into Piedmont amidst the picturesque valleys on either side of the Cottian range, and thence penetrating into the heart of Bohemia; in Toulouse, and Lyons, and Vienne, and Cologne, and Prague,

* "Lectures on Foreign Churches," pp. 131, 132. Edinburgh, 1845.

† Computed by Szaflarik in 1842. "Lectures on Religious History of Slavonic Nations," by Count V. Krasinski. Appendix. Edinburgh. 1869 (1849).

and hundreds of sequestered villages and mountain homesteads, coeval with the earliest dawn of Christianity in Europe, we find, anterior to popish aggression, a race of men remarkable for the purity of their faith, and the sanctity of their lives, who always rejected the invocation of saints, and the doctrine of purgatory, and who, addicted to the study of an early version of the Scriptures into the vernacular tongue, invariably received only two sacraments, viz., baptism and the Lord's Supper, distinctly held the efficacy of the intercession of only one mediator, Jesus Christ, and that all that are justified by faith in him obtain eternal life. The Waldenses and Albigenses have uniformly opposed the supremacy of the Church of Rome. Standing forth as beacons amidst the valleys and mountain-fastnesses of the west, oppressed, persecuted, and, in many cases, partially exterminated by the Romish Church, their creed, styled *The Noble Lesson*, remains the record of their primitive faith; and their history, embalmed in the memory of every generous heart, rests on the head of the Roman Pontiff the spell of a silent and consuming execration.

And in like manner other witnesses, like so many funeral piles, amidst the gloom of the dark ages, stood out with their testimony against what the Church of Rome now calls catholic. Claudius of Turin, in the 9th century, who held Christ to be the only true Head of the church, the equality of all the other apostles with Peter, the sinfulness of image-worship, and the inefficiency of human merits as a ground of acceptance before God; Robert Grosse-tête, bishop of Lincoln, in the 13th century, who admonished the Pope, held him as antichrist, and braved his excommunication; John Wycliffe, rector of Lutterworth, in the 14th century, who fought and conquered, standing forth as the champion of the truth; and John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, in the 15th century, who sealed those truths, as martyrs, with their blood; all these, and many others of less prominence, might easily be mentioned, were but the pioneers of the glorious Reformation, and had respectively a class of numerous and devoted followers: they opposed the supremacy of the Church of Rome.

By the intercourse of the Waldensian Churches, by the visit of Jerome of Prague to England, and by the return of the domestics of good Queen Anne to Bohemia,—after the death of the Queen and her consort Richard II.,—bringing Wycliffe's writings and principles with them, the kingdom of Bohemia was leavened, under the preaching of John Huss, with the same truths that Peter Waldo taught in Lyons, and John Wycliffe inculcated from his chair in Oxford. The Bohemian Church, from an early period, had enjoyed the liberty of conducting her religious service, and reading the

sacred Scriptures, in the vernacular tongue; and the martyrdom of Huss was the signal of the commencement of a war of terrific and unconquerable valour, under Ziska of the Chalice, and the Little Procop, which, though waged by the small country of Bohemia, with the assistance of a few Poles, against the entire forces of Germany and Hungary, for fifteen years rested not, until the religious liberties of the Bohemians were confirmed by the ratification of the *Compactata*.* That is, the Emperor Sigismund swore to maintain to them the full liberty of a preached gospel in the vernacular tongue, the holy communion in both kinds; that the clergy should not be possessed of estates as a worldly corporation, and that priests as well as laymen should be amenable to the civil laws of the country. In thus stipulating for, and obtaining of, such demands, the Bohemians opposed the supremacy of the Church of Rome.

But when we come nearer home, we have unquestionable evidence† that, long anterior to the appearance of any missionaries from the See of Rome, a pure and primitive Christianity, embodied in distinct and independent churches, had taken root in the British Isles. It is the testimony of Tertullian, who lived in the second century, that the British Islands had already been subdued by Christ; and Origen, who died in the middle of the third century, and Chrysostom, who died about the beginning of the fifth century, confirm the fact.‡ Now it is a truth of which there can be no doubt, that it was not until the year 596, that Gregory I. sent Austin the monk to bring the British churches into connection with the Romish See. Those churches, in their doctrine and discipline, were then thoroughly distinct from the Church of Rome, as it now is, and at the same time thoroughly independent of the jurisdiction of the Church of Rome, as it then was. The ancient British churches had little resemblance to the early churches of Gaul. It is a curious fact, that the most ancient manuscripts possessed in Ireland,—for example the Book of Armagh,—are written in Greek characters. The ancient Latin version of the Old Testament used by the early Irish Christians differed considerably from that of Jerome, and resembled that of the Greek Septuagint; and the manuscript of the Four Gospels in Latin, still preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, exhibits no small variations from that of Jerome, the version that is the ground-work of the present Latin Vulgate of the Church of Rome. Accordingly, we find

* Krasinski's Lectures, pp. 118–120.

† Archbishop Usher, Dr John Jamieson, Dr Smith of Campbellton, Mr Soames.

‡ “Primitive Christianity of Ireland.” A Letter to Thomas Moore, Esq., by Henry J. Monck Mason, LL.D. Dublin. 1836. Pp. 11, 12, 21.

that so early as the middle of the second century, Irenæus was bishop of Lyons in Gaul; he was the disciple of Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna; Polycarp was the disciple of Ignatius, bishop of Antioch; and Ignatius was the disciple of the Apostle John. There can be little doubt that such were the links in the diffusion of Christianity throughout the British isles. Certain it is, that the adherents of primitive Christianity in Ireland uniformly trace up their religion, not to the Apostle Peter, but to the Apostle John. "We hold," say they, "no frivolous legends, but the usage of our country, according as it was given by Polycarp, the disciple of St John."* And their usages were these: they invoked no creature, and held it to be impiety to pray to any other beside the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; they make not one single reference to the invocation of the Virgin Mary, or any other saint whatever; they held no particular days, as Wednesdays and Fridays, to be devoted to fastings; they held the necessity of evangelical repentance, but no such thing as that of sacramental penance, a temporal punishment after the remission of guilt; they practised no auricular confession; they held the lawfulness of all ecclesiastics to marry; they had the Lord's Supper administered in both kinds; they read the Scriptures in the vernacular tongue; they practised the tonsure in a different manner, and observed Easter at a different time, from those of Rome; and, to sum up all, they held the great doctrine of justification by faith in the righteousness of Christ, without the deeds of the law.† Such were the tenets of the primitive churches in Ireland, from the very earliest times down to the close of the sixth century.

And such also were the tenets of the kindred churches in North Britain during the same period, and extending down to a comparatively recent date. King Donald I. and his queen having been baptised in the year of our Lord 203, and the Druids having been finally expelled in 277, under King Cratlinth, the ancient Culdees,—or servants of God, as the word signifies,—settling under Columba, in the island of Iona, in the middle of the sixth century, and holding the very same doctrines and practices as the early Christians of Ireland, are found extending over the whole of Scotland,—at Abernethy, at Lochleven, at Dunkeld, at St Andrews, at Brechin, at Dunblane, at Muthil, at Monymusk, at Portmoak, Scone, Kirkcaldy, and Culross,—and waging a spiritual war with the successive emissaries of the popes, down to the beginning of the 14th century; whilst they have left behind them, in

* Monck Mason on *Primitive Christianity in Ireland*, p. 17.

† *Ibid.* pp. 79-110.

existence to the present day, in connection with more than one of those places, the charters of their ancient seats and privileges. The ancient Scottish churches present to us the mournful aspect of a pure and peaceful Presbytery gradually borne down and crushed under the iron hoof of the bishop of Rome. The fiery martyrdoms of James Resby, a Wycliffite, and Paul Crawler, a Hussite, who were led to the stake for maintaining doctrines that had been held by the Culdees, may be regarded as the dying embers of this form of ancient Christianity in Scotland; and immediately the Lollards of Kyle, Carrick, and Cunningham, sprung up, seized the signal, and waved it on, until the period of the Reformation.*

In South Britain, the same old Christianity held by the Irish and the Scots, and tracing its genealogy to a period not less early, was introduced, spread, and maintained, independently of the See of Rome. The ancient Britons had sent their bishops to the Council of Arles in France, in the year 314, and to the Council of Sardica in Thrace, in the year 347, and to the Council of Rimini in Italy, in the year 359. The ancient Christianity of Britain had been propagated in every county from London to Edinburgh, with scarcely an exception. The churches of Britain were in every sense independent, when Austin came. The haughty monk refused to rise before the British bishops and clergy; the Britons rejected his rule, and the supremacy of the pope; the monk vowed vengeance; the Anglo-Saxon Prince Edilfred, was stirred up to the fight against the Britons; upwards of two thousand of the British Christians fell, and only fifty of the bishops and people escaped. An admirable answer, which still exists in the Welsh language, was drawn up and sent to the Romish ecclesiastic. It is styled "The Answer of the Abbot of Bangor, to Austin the monk, seeking subjection to the Church of Rome."† Nor were the Bishops left alone, the people were stirred up to withstand the wrongs of their country:—

"Woe to that priest though Briton born,
That will not weed his spiritual corn,
Nor preach his charge among;
Woe to that shepherd, still I say,
That will not watch the souls—nor pray—
That to his fold belong:

* Dr Jamieson's *Historical Account of the Ancient Culdees*, pp. 321-22.

† The claim of independent jurisdiction contained in this document, reflects the highest honour on the ancient British Church. We have perused it with intensest interest, as it is given in Welsh and Latin in "*Wilkin's Concilia Magnæ Britanniae*." Volumen primum. Londini, 1737, pp. 26, 27. Also notes, pp. 24, 26. The name of the Abbot of Bangor at the time was Dionoth, in the year of our Lord 603. Monck Mason, who has turned our attention to the subject, in his *Primitive Christianity of Ireland* (pp. 42, 43), gives an English translation of this noble "Answer."

Woe be to him that will not keep
From Romish wolves his helpless sheep,
With staff and standard strong."

So sang Taliesin, the ancient bard of the Britons, amidst the majestic mountains and invincible fastnesses of Wales, his native land, breathing the liberal air of civil freedom and primitive Christianity, and scorning with a virtuous indignation, at once the temporal tyranny and spiritual despotism of Rome; and that, too, long before the blight of the papacy had fastened upon the vitals of the British isles. But the aggrandising spirit of the Man of Sin still advanced, and Milner has fixed the year 716 as the period when the Irish and the British churches were brought under the Romish sway.

Here, then, whether we look to the East, we have the Coptic Church, the Abyssinian Church, the Nestorian or Chaldean Church, the Syrian Church, the Armenian Church, and the Greek Church, all rejecting the supremacy of the See of Rome; or whether we look to the West, we have, long anterior to the Reformation, the Waldensian Church, the Albigensian Church, the Bohemian Church, the Irish Church, the Scottish Church, the British Church, all rejecting the supremacy of the See of Rome; and if we are to understand by the term catholic, the whole or universal churches of Christ throughout the world, the Church of Rome has no proper title to such an appellation. Even where the gospel of Christ has been spread, she decidedly fails as to universality, in point of place. And, at the period of the Reformation, when the Spirit of God moved among the nations, and stirred up all Christendom, as if by one general impulse, to hail the pure light of the everlasting gospel, had not the Romish Church introduced the diabolical Inquisition into the house of God, and ravaged two of the loveliest countries of Europe, striving to make good its claim to universality, by spoiling them of their inhabitants, by persecutions, dungeons, tortures, silent watery graves, and smoking funeral piles, we have every reason to believe that those two nations, along with others, would have been born at once, and throwing off the yoke of Rome, brooding upon their immortal spirits like an infernal nightmare, Italy and Spain, awakening now to a sense of their former degradation, would have stood forth even then, glistening in the beauties of holiness, and invested with the liberty wherewith Christ makes his people free.

But, even as the matter stands, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Holland, the Hanse towns, the Grisons, the protesting States of Germany, Prussia, Switzerland, England, and Scotland, at that grand era, stood aloof from the See of Rome, and scorned

to communicate with the Council of Trent, falsely called general, where French, Italian, and Spanish parties squabbled for the pre-eminence, where some of the most important sederunts were composed of not more than forty bishops, and where every one that had a vote was under a solemn oath to defend the papacy, the supremacy of the Romish See.* And there can be no doubt that that council, ostensibly called to settle the affairs of the universal church, by making him the sole interpreter of its decrees, confirmed and riveted the impious domination of the Roman pontiff.† Whereas, had it been what it professed to be, a free and general council, we have every reason to believe that the Romish dogmas which are now styled catholic would have been found to be heresy, and the doctrines of the Protestant churches would have been declared to be the catholic faith of Christendom.

Besides, there can be no doubt, according to the testimony of Merle d' Aubigné, that many noble spirits who never came to the stake held fast the principles of primitive Christianity called to light by the Reformation; but, by reason of fear, and natural affection, and false prudence, and a thousand other influences to which the weak spirit of man is obnoxious, pined away in secrecy and solitude in the cells and monasteries of Europe, under the dark pall of a nominal submission to the Papal See.

And now, many have "run to and fro, and knowledge is increased" (Dan. xii. 4). And, even taking that lowest meaning of the word catholic—extent in point of numbers, or generality in point of place—there can be little doubt that, compared with all the other professing churches of Christ throughout the world, the Church of Rome, if not in a minority, has at least nothing to boast. But it is not our object to enter into the curious jugglery of statistics—the test of truth by the comparative multitude of votes—under whatever pressure, or counted out by whatever tellers, the flexible or compulsory devotees of a name not of a conviction, the nondescript religionists of whatever sect, *ex opere operato*; or to analyse the scientific or conjectural enumeration of civilised and barbaric communities, to discriminate between the ignorant and careless, and the enlightened and exact; or to balance the periodic or occasional

* Jewel's Letter to Seignor Scipio. See also Bugener's History of the Council of Trent, where the words of the oath are given. Edinburgh, 1853. p. 64.

† Ranké's History of the Popes, vol. i. p. 266. London, 1847. The Bull of Pope Pius IV. confirming the Council of Trent, after prohibiting "any commentaries, glosses, annotations, scholia, or any sort of interpretation whatever on its decrees," simply refers those who want "any interpretation or decision" to "the Apostolic See, the mistress of all the faithful."—*Cyranos et decreta Concilii Tridentini*. Lipsia, 1842.

census of political or polemic partizans. The decision of the question at issue, even with the most scrupulous application of the poll, is not to be found in that direction. On all hands, and by all particularly that name the name of Jesus, the lamentable fact is acknowledged: The world lying in wickedness outnumbers the church. The truth rests not on the magnitude of numbers; but "on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief cornerstone." That truth, "the testimony of Jesus" (Rev. xix. 10), "the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world" (Rev. xiii. 8), has been proclaimed by our Protestant missionaries from Denmark, Holland, Germany, England, and Scotland, not to speak of the great American Republic; in Africa, and India, and China, and Burmah, and Australia, and the scattered islands of the Atlantic and the Pacific Ocean. The Church of Rome, too, has tracked their steps; and the same lust of domination that prostrated the primitive churches of Great Britain and Ireland, that harassed and deteriorated the Syrian churches on the Malabar coast of Hindostan, that Romanised Italy and Spain by the curse of the Inquisition, and that is striving at this day to pervert the ancient Chaldean church in the mountains of Kurdistan, has seized upon the fair Island of Tahiti, and is struggling, and has already struggled, to eradicate and destroy the tree of peace which our British missionaries planted by their labours, and watered with their tears, whilst they watched it with their prayers.

Has seized upon the Island of Tahiti, did we say? It has seized upon the most fertile provinces, it has parcelled out the separate counties, it has established a new hierarchy in the very island in which we live; and, as if eager to regain its former power and splendour, its primitive oppression and tyranny, on the very scene of its most humiliating overthrow, it has fixed upon the country of Great Britain as the arena of a grand and gorgeous usurpation.

"Watchman, What of the night? Watchman, What of the night?" "The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but spiritual; and mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds" (2 Cor. x. 4). There is need of "the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God" (Ephes. vi. 17), the most ancient weapon in the armoury of the church. There is need of brotherly forbearance and co-operation, "the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace" (Ephes. iv. 3); and there is need of that broad and generous catholicity, which, founded on the writings of the apostles and prophets, comprehends all ranks and classes of the community, goes forth with the gospel to men of all peoples, and nations, and kindreds, and tongues, embraces the world in its grasp, and extends even to our

enemies. Babylon is foredoomed of God not to be reformed but to be destroyed. May the Lord's people that are in her "come out of her, that, being not partakers of her sins, they receive not of her plagues" (Rev. xviii. 4). And may "we also be builded together for an habitation of God through the Spirit." Then shall we hear the voice, "Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen; and is become the habitation of devils, and the hold of every foul spirit, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird" (Rev. xviii. 2). "Rejoice over her, thou heaven, and ye holy apostles and prophets, for God hath avenged you on her" (Rev. xviii. 20).

And for the furtherance of this prophetic word, among other means, what, in its place, more suitable than the publication of the collected works of John Jewel, Bishop of Sarum? Sent forth under the auspices of the Parker Society, revised and edited with learning and accuracy by the Rev. John Ayre, these volumes may justly be regarded as a noble vindication of the Protestantism of England, an imperishable legacy to the church and to the world.

Can we more appropriately sum up those remarks on the first and the greatest Protestant bishop of Salisbury, than by the encomium of the greatest poet of his age?

Reginæ geminæ pari labore,
Verum non animo pari, Ivelle,
Fecerunt, pietas ut esset orbi
Illustris tua. Sæviendo ferro
Et igne altera id egit, ut niteret
Virtus temporibus probata duris;
Ut aurum solet ignibus recoctum.
Justo te altera prosequens honore
Produxit patriæ in theatrum; et oris
Tot dotes, animique adhuc latentes
Ostendit populo: Sed eruditus
Et plenis pietatis, entheoque
Fervora ingenii libris, nepotum
Famam in secula dum tuam propagas,
Illiusque odio, istiusque amore
Majorem ipse tibi celebritatem
Famæ in tempora cuucta comparasti. *

J

* Georg. Buchanani Scoti poemata.

ART. VII.—*Dr Merle D'Aubigne on the Council and Infallibility.**

The Council and Infallibility: An Address delivered at Geneva, 10th December 1869, by M. MERLE D'AUBIGNE, D.D. Paris: Michel Levy, 1870.

GENTLEMEN,—I have long hesitated to speak in present circumstances, feeling myself checked at once by the grave character of the occasion, and by the infirmities of age. I belong to the past generation. I am between seventy and eighty years of age, rather nearer eighty than seventy. I ought to give way to the men of the present. Each epoch has its own workmen. Why burden myself with an address in this great Hall of the Reformation, and before such a formidable audience as that now before me? I am not even sure of the result. Still, gentlemen, I shall try to do what I can at a time so critical. I remember that our strength comes from above. I venture, then, to address you, casting myself with confidence on that God in whom we live, and move, and have our being; and, at the same time, trusting that you will treat with indulgence the weakness of an old fellow-countrymen. And as it is one of the traits of old age to be fond of relating the adventures of youth, and may be forgiven in an old man, I might tell you, in order to fix my date, my precise epoch, that, in 1813, when Geneva, wholly left to her own resources, was placed between Napoleon I. on the one side, and the Austrians on the other, the white-haired fellow-citizen who now addresses you took arms one morning, on the 30th of December, along with other friends now almost all gone, and was posted as a sentinel, with musket on shoulder, at the Hotel de Ville, when there defiled before us the army, which we hailed on its march to recover for the old republic her ancient and precious liberty. We were young then, and our hearts leaped with joy.

Gentlemen, there is a grand solemnity in Rome just now. Although we may be opposed to what is going on there, yet the spirit which animates us is not that of hatred or conten-

* It is with no ordinary satisfaction that we favour our readers with a translation of this elaborate and admirable address, which we do with the cordial permission of the venerable author. To those who, like ourselves, have enjoyed the society, as well as been charmed with the writings, of the Historian of the Reformation, the touching allusion made in the introduction to his advanced age will be read with a saddening interest. But the treatise itself bears no traces of decreasing vigour or freshness; and no man is more justly entitled to pronounce a judgment on the present crisis than one who has so thoroughly mastered the history of the Church of Rome. We make no apology for transferring the whole pamphlet to our pages, and presenting it for the first time to English readers.—*Ed. B. and F. E. Review.*

tion. We regard the Catholics, not as enemies, but as friends. I am aware of all that separates us from them; but there is,—let us not forget it,—a basis of Christianity which is common to both of us; and I trust that in many cases, if we removed some briars and thorns, we should find under them the rock on which our faith is built. We believe there are among the laity, and even among the clergy of Roman Catholicism, some pious souls, who attach more importance to the pith than to the outer bark of religion; and let us remember that, as confronted with infidelity and materialism, we have common sorrows. In politics and in religion we must carefully distinguish men from their doctrines. Let us stand firm to the truths that we have acknowledged; let us reject the theories that we think bad; but let us love the men, and particularly those who differ from us in opinion. The gospel says, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." Surely the Catholic is our neighbour.

With these reservations, we may now be permitted to speak with freedom. The Pope having invited us to profit by the council, in order to place ourselves under his sceptre, we must explain the motives of our refusal. And since he has not consented to hear us in the Vatican,* we must reply here.

I grant, gentlemen, that in point of stately array, we cannot vie with Rome. Whilst we in Geneva are gathered in this unpretending hall, but spacious and beautiful in its simplicity, they in Rome are assembled in the Basilica of St Peter; in that temple so splendid, so dazzling, but built, alas! at the cost of so many souls deceived by lying indulgences (so the times of the Reformation tell us) in that temple, which one of the famous old Italian masters even thought savoured too much of paganism. The éclat of the assembly is heightened, I am glad to say, by the amiable and intellectual character of the pontiff who presides over it. There will be magnificences there fitted to seduce those who love shows, and especially those fallen Protestants, before whom Rome will display all her charms, "to entice their steps to the pomp of her car," there will be there the "splendours and affectations of a court." Such are the expressions of Calvin, "superfluity and too great curiosity in dress." But as one of our oldest poets has said,

"The immortal spirit they have lost?
Their pride and majesty are dust."

Surely these ornaments do not become the followers of Him whose palace was a stable, and who says, "Behold they which are gorgeously apparelled and live delicately, are in kings' courts." Yes, in kings' houses, and not in the church of Jesus Christ.

* See the Pope's letter to Dr Manning, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Westminster.

But if the assembly of the vatican has some brilliancy, still it wants the true sublimity to which it is aspiring. It is not an Œcumenical Council, as it professes; it does not include representatives from all Christendom. It is only a part of the whole. There are in the Christian world the Eastern, the Romish, and the Evangelical Churches.

The first, the Eastern Church, is that of the countries in which Christianity took its rise, whose origin is related in the Acts of the Apostles, the church of antiquity; and also that of a vast modern empire in the north of Europe and Asia. We must take that into account. During the first nine centuries it was within its pale that the earliest Œcumenical Councils were held. Not one was held in the west. If the bishop of Rome had been Pope then, he would certainly have convoked these councils near himself, in Italy, in Rome; but there is nothing of the kind. Where was the first Œcumenical Council held? At Nicæa. The second? At Constantinople. The third? At Ephesus. The fourth? At Chalcedon. The fifth and sixth? At Constantinople. The seventh? At Nicæa. And even the eighth, in 869, when Romish influence began to make itself felt, was still held at Constantinople. Thus, till after the middle of the ninth century, we hear of no Œcumenical Council at Rome, nor in all the west. And these eastern councils were assembled by the emperor; not one was convoked nor presided over by the Bishop of Rome or his representatives. The emperor was the head of them. In the old pictures of the Council of Nice preserved in the monasteries, the holy dove is placed over the head of Constantine, and not over that of the bishops. It was not more than two-and-a-half centuries after the council of 869, only in 1123, that the Latin Church held its first council.

Then an important event happened. At this time the Eastern and Western churches were separated; and why? The papacy being modelled at Rome, demanded that the churches of Jerusalem, Antioch, Ephesus, Alexandria, and other Greek churches, till then independent and more ancient than those of Rome, should stoop to the new chief, who was engaged in conquering the rest. The Eastern churches justly refused to do so. Thus the papacy, which it is pretended is essential to the unity of the church, was, on the contrary, the cause of its division.

Now, gentlemen, the Eastern church, this important section of Christendom, is not represented at Rome. The patriarchs and bishops of the Greek church invited to be present at the Council, replied to the Pope with great nobleness and candour. The first of these, the Patriarch of Constantinople says, "We do not wish to put forward endless questions and controversies of words, which often lead to bitterness and division. In

the present day, in the midst of the numerous dangers, the varied afflictions which surround the church of Christ, each of us has need of evangelical charity and mutual sympathy."

The Patriarch of Alexandria writes: "We cannot accept this invitation, *firstly*, Because it abolishes the equality and individual independence which exist among the holy churches of God, by declaring that Rome possesses a sovereign dominion over bishops and churches which are on an equality with hers and that govern themselves. *Secondly*, Because the Pope leads us to understand that salvation is found exclusively in Rome, that it is there alone divine grace operates efficaciously, there is the real centre of ecclesiastical truth; whilst the grace of God, by the divine energy of the church of Christ, is not confined to Rome or any other fixed place, but has worked, and continues to work, throughout the habitable world,—has shed, and still sheds, its radiance to the ends of the earth."

These are excellent words, gentlemen, and we hope the Council may profit by them.

If the Greek churches are those of antiquity, the Latin or Roman is that of the middle ages. The Papacy, unsuccessful in subduing the East, consoled herself by conquering the West. Inflamed by the remembrance of the conquests of pagan Rome, she burned to re-enact them in the spiritual world. "What Marius and Cæsar could not accomplish by an effusion of blood," said an Archbishop of Palermo to Gregory VII., "thou hast done by a word. Rome owes more to thee, O Hildebrand! than to her Scipios." These words reveal to us the origin of the Papacy. The Romish church, we must confess, rendered some services in this barbarous age; but she also perpetrated grave errors towards individuals, nations, and kings. She kept a feeble light burning in her sanctuary, but she shewed great ignorance both of the wants of nations, and even of the requirements of Christianity. She has built herself, shall we say, a house with arched windows, lace-like decorations, bell-shaped ecclesiastical sculptures, which still charm, and doubtless deservedly, the lovers of art; but is it for such things as these that the gospel has been given to us? The power of the Papacy in the middle ages was often tyrannical. She manufactured a corslet made according to the measure of the period, and which fitted tolerably to the figure of that epoch. But man having grown, the corslet has become too tight; and Rome, in spite of all her efforts, will not succeed in putting it on him. The order of the Jesuits, which rules at Rome and elsewhere, is still powerful, even formidable. We must be on our guard. But as a general proposition, the middle age having passed away, the influence of the Papacy has passed with it. I met lately a Frenchman, I asked him to what

Department he belonged? La Drôme, he answered. As there are many members of the Reformed Church in La Drôme, and in old times were still more, I added: Are you a Protestant? No. A Catholic? No. Of what religion are you then? Of the religion of nineteen-twentieths of the French people. And what is it? I said. "When a man dies, all is dead." "Philosophy as fatal to good taste as to virtue," said J. J. Rousseau. That is the religion of quadrupeds, and we are men.

I think there was some exaggeration in the reply of this Frenchman. Roman Catholicism has its aspects, its pomps, its absolutions, for instance, which please men. Still we find some truth in this speech, not only as to France, but with regard to the Latin races in general. A great and unexceptionable testimony supports it—the complaints, the groanings, the perpetual lamentations of the Pope. Every one may read them in his bulls and his syllabus.

If the Greek Church is that of antiquity, and the Romish that of the middle ages, what is the Church of modern times and of the future? The one which is at once ancient and modern: the evangelical church, which inscribes on its portals, *Truth, charity, liberty*. The Romish Church boasts of its numbers, and regards the Protestant Church as much inferior to it. Numbers are not in our eyes very important; but on this point, Rome labours under a mistake. The present council does not represent Christendom, not even a majority of it, but only a minority. The Greek and Protestant Churches combined, reckon at this moment, 15,795,000 souls more than the Roman Catholic Church.* Whilst the population of Catholic countries increases slowly, that of Protestant countries, Great Britain, the United States, and many others, increases rapidly. Active England, in particular, carries, by means of her emigrants, Protestantism over the whole world, and Australia alone is a new reformed continent. Even putting aside the Greek Church, we can shew, by calculations, that early in the next century, about 1910, the membership of the two other Churches will be equal. In 1915 and onwards, the majority will be decisively and increasingly on the Protestant side. That is a powerful vitality for a church, which, according to some Romanists, is dying! We do not

* From careful calculations, the following are the numbers of members belonging to the three principal churches of Christendom:—

Romish Church	.	.	170,314,000
Protestant Churches	.	.	104,541,000
Greek, Russian, Armenian, &c.	.	.	81,568,000

(Hobart Seymour, "Comparative number of the Churches of Christendom.") It results, besides, from the calculations of Mr Seymour, that the Protestant population doubles in thirty-five years, whilst the Roman Catholic only doubles in ninety years.

pretend at the present hour to outrival the illustrious city of the consuls, the emperors, and the popes; and yet we ask, if the Address which came from London following the Swiss correspondence, and to which our Conference responds, if these 180,000 names, English, French, German, Italian, Arabic, and others, have not convoked another Œcumenical Council? The Romish Council is held only at Rome, in one particular spot of the earth. But on our side, there are at this moment conferences or prayer meetings on this subject (we can prove it) in England, Scotland, Ireland, Switzerland, France, Holland, Sweden, Norway, Germany, Belgium, Russia, Austria, Spain, Italy; yes, gentlemen, even Italy, in its principal cities, Turkey in Europe, Asia, the evangelical churches and missions of Africa, Hindostan, China, Australia, the isles of the Pacific, the West Indies, and North and South America. The word œcumenical means, according to Greek etymology, *habitable*. May we not say, in some measure, that all these prayer meetings resemble a Synod of the habitable globe. Rome, agreeably to its principles of absolute monarchy, concentrates everything into a single place. The gospel, conformably to its principles of spontaneity, of liberty, and of life, sheds its strength over the whole world. Throughout these countries one voice is now rising, a voice of adoration, of thanksgiving, of prayer. It asks God to dispel the darkness, and to diffuse everywhere the knowledge of that Jesus who has said, "I am the light of the world." Oh! most simple, humble, but beautiful council.*

But if the meeting which is being held at Rome is in itself less solemn, less great, than it pretends to be, we confess, it is for the Romish Church a capital assembly. Why? What will it do?

The object which, according to the general opinion will principally occupy it, is a decree destined to establish the personal and absolute infallibility of the pope. Whether this decree becomes law or not, these two solutions will have weight, and the subject should be examined. Whence comes this strange doctrine, of which there is no mention in the Scriptures? The Romish Church says that St Peter was invested with this infallibility. St Peter never was Bishop of Rome, it was the disciples of St Paul, it was St Paul himself

* See "The Œcumenical Council at Rome, and Origin of the proposal to unite in Prayer with reference to the Assembly of December 1869." London: Hodder & Stoughton. In one of the meetings held in London on the 17th December, a traveller just arrived from India rose and said, that from station to station on his homeward route, and even in Egypt, he had met Christians who were preparing to unite in prayer in response to the appeal. Since then, we have heard from letters, that these prayer meetings had been numerous and lively.

who founded and directed the Roman Church ; the Epistle of Paul to the Romans and the Acts of the Apostles prove it. To take Peter as a type of an infallible man is to make a strange choice. What ! the model of infallibility ; Peter, whose faith and zeal, doubtless, we venerate, but who drew from the Saviour this severe rebuke : "Get thee behind me Satan, thou art an offence unto me, for thou savourest not the things that be of God" ?* Peter, who in the court of the high-priest thrice denied the Saviour ?† Peter, of whom St Paul said : "But when Peter was come to Antioch, I withstood him to the face, because he was to be blamed",‡ Certainly, neither our Lord, nor Paul, nor Peter himself, would ratify that infallibility.

But the Ultramontanes, Perrone and others, bring forward and quote a passage, which, according to them, demonstrates the infallibility of St Peter and the popes. These are the words that Jesus addresses to this disciple, when announcing to him his fall, he says, "Simon Peter, behold, Satan hath desired to have you, that he may sift you as wheat ; but I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not ; and when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren."§ Is it not evident, then, that these words are addressed personally and solely to St Peter, that they relate to his denial and his conversion, and that Jesus exhorts him to profit by the grace which will be shewn to him to strengthen those Christians who might waver like himself ? Christ would still address these very words to every faithful one, who, having once fallen, should have afterwards been restored. He would say to him : Strengthen thy brethren, without proposing by that, however, to make a pope and his successors infallible to the end of the world. The most learned Catholic doctors, not Ultramontanes, do not attribute any other meaning to this passage. We refer their colleagues to them.|| Whence comes then, we repeat it, whence comes this inconceivable notion ? Where must we find its origin ? What has been the principal ground of the absolute supremacy and infallibility attributed to the bishops of Rome ? A fiction, gentlemen, a fraud ; not even a clever fraud, but unfortunately not an unsuccessful one. We do not find in all history, a second example of a deception which has so completely succeeded.

The spirit of power so natural to the heart of man, doubtless insinuated itself early into the heart of the Roman bishops. The political authority which attached to Rome and

* Matt. xvi. 22, 23.

† Gal. ii. 11-14.

‡ See, especially, the work of Bishop Maret, of Sura, on the Council.

† Matt. xxvi. 69-74.

‡ Luke xxii. 31, 32.

to its ruler, naturally made them think, as we have said, that ecclesiastical authority belonged to them also. The most illustrious bishop of Christendom combatted these domineering tendencies. Listen to Cyprien. "No one of us," he says, "can constitute himself bishop of bishops,—*episcopum episcoporum*—or pretend to put a restraint on his colleagues by tyrannical threats, of the necessity of deferring to his will. Every bishop may, by virtue of his liberty and his power, follow his own judgment, but he cannot be judged by another, nor another by him. All of us must abide the judgment of Jesus Christ, our Lord, who alone has the power of establishing us in the government of his Church, and of judging our actions." Thus speaks the great bishop of the third century. We invite those of the Vatican Council to remember it. Perhaps they will reply, "We have changed all that." And by what authority?

Firmilien, bishop of Cæsarea, says at the same period. "They of Rome do not observe in everything *what has been transmitted from the beginning*, and it is in vain that they wish to clothe themselves with apostolic authority."

They began early to *change all that*. From the fifth century, they set about inventing divers fictions to elevate the Roman bishops. Sometimes it is the fable of the conversion and baptism of Constantine, which constitutes Pope Sylvester a worker of miracles. Sometimes it is that of a pretended council held at Rome, where it would have been forbidden to judge a pope. At other times it is the invention of a *Liber pontificalis*, pontifical book, filled with fables, and numberless other cheats. Still these were insufficient. Between 830 and 850, an ecclesiastic, who assumed the name of Isidore Mercator, probably Benedict the deacon, undertook—it has been said, at Rome, but rather at Rheims, or in that province—not exactly to create a system, but to support, by false documents which he put forth as authentic, the boldest claims and the most fabulous legends of Rome. To this end he composed letters and decretals, which he ascribed to the most ancient Roman bishops. The forger, deacon Benedict, or another churchman equally cunning and ignorant, set himself to the work. He made use of various writings published during the first eight centuries, taking a piece here and another there, not only without giving the author, but also without thinking of suppressing what could mark the time when these things had been written, making the strangest oversights, blunders, and forgeries. He begins with Clement, one of the successors of the apostles, who lived at the close of the first century, and who seems rather to indicate, in the only authentic letter we possess of his, that the government of the Roman Church

then was Presbyterian, so that, far from being papal, it was not even episcopal.

The impostor gives us five letters by Clement. The first is addressed to James, the brother of our Lord. Now, James died in the year 62, more than thirty years before the date when Clement is supposed to have written to him. Besides, Clement is said to have written this epistle by the direction of St Peter, before his death. Now, at the time of Peter's death, in the fourteenth year of Nero, in the year 68, James had been dead six years. In this letter, dated 93, are to be found quotations from the Bible, according to Jerome's translation, which appeared in the year 372. Some passages from Cyril of Alexandria, written in 435; the rules of Benedict, given in 494, besides other quotations of the sixth and seventh centuries; the whole, I repeat in a letter of the first century!

After Clement, the forger comes next to Anacletus, who is supposed to have been pastor at Rome, from the year 103 to 112; and he fabricates three letters to which he gives the name of that minister. That which is addressed to the bishops of Italy, includes a passage from a letter of the emperor Constantine, of the year 314; a canon of the Council of Nicea, of the year 325; a fragment of Jerome's commentary, written in 390, of a writing of Augustine of 395; a passage from the Council of Orleans, dating 552, and other similar anachronisms. There are phrases ascribed to the second century, which were written at the end of the eighth.

Moreover, the fictitious Isidore plays a scurvy trick on these bishops; for he makes them write—these men who belonged nearly to the age of Augustus—in the barbarous Latin of the ninth century. Several of them quote, as in the case of Clement, from Jerome's version of the Scriptures, composed long after their time. When these prelates speak of political matters of their day, they employ expressions which apply to the empire of the Franks, and not to the Romans. And to give a specimen of the historical knowledge of the impostor, he makes the Roman bishop Victor, who lived at the close of the second century, write to Bishop Theophilus of Alexandria, who lived in the beginning of the fifth century. It is a letter which could not have been received by the person to whom it was addressed, till two centuries after it was written.

And what say these supposed letters? In the first line of the first epistle (that of Clement) we read: *Simon Petrus fundamentum ecclesiæ definitus*, &c., "Simon Peter formed the foundation of the church." "The priests," say they, "are the apples of God's eye; they are subject to no tribunal; and God has made them judges over all. The Church of Rome is the

head, the cope-stone of all the churches, *caput, apex omnium ecclesiarum*. She constitutes and consecrates all the bishops; she is sole judge in the last resort; and no council can be formed without her authority." "The Church of Rome," says Anicetus, "is the hinge of all the churches; and as it is the hinge that makes the door turn, so the Lord wills that all the churches should be governed, should turn at the commandment of Rome. The impostor, who is not deeply versed in the languages, adds, that "Peter has been called *Cephas*, that is to say, *head, Cephas, id est caput*, in order to be the chief of the apostolate." Everybody knows that Cephas does not mean *head*. He even attempts to found the temporal power by means of a decree of Melchiades, bishop at Rome from 311 to 314, and makes him say: "Constantine has abandoned the imperial see which belonged to the Roman sovereign, and has given it up to Peter and his successors." Here we have the temporal power established from 312, and now we have a protest against its existence in 1870.

The theocratic system of the papacy appeared, therefore, for the first time, in all its plentitude, in the forged decretals. That clumsy imposture lasted eight centuries before it was unmasked. The ignorance of these times, the absence of all criticism, and the spirit of these dark ages, which blew in that direction, secured its success. The result of this combination exceeded the thought of its originator; it wrought a complete transformation of the church. Roman Catholics themselves recognise that there followed upon it what is called a reform—a new discipline. This new discipline, they say, was certainly good; adopted by St Nicolas the Great in 865, by the eighth Œcumenical Council in 870, confirmed by the Council of Trent in 1564, it has become for nine centuries common law in the Catholic church. They have the honesty to add, "But the ancient discipline was good likewise, as during the eight preceding centuries the church knew nothing better." Nicolas I., who was chosen pope in 858, shortly after the fabrication of these notorious falsehoods, proposed, in fact, to realise in his own person the ideal papacy of these forged decretals. He quoted from them; he rested upon them his hierarchical claims; he made use of them in the affair of Rothade, bishop of Goissons; he called them "decretals so numerous and so weighty—*tot et tanta decretalia*—against which no one could raise opposition." These miserable papers became thenceforth an authority in the church. Nicolas was the first veritable pope; and it was at this time, too, that the East separated from the West. He was the first crowned pontiff, and this placed him in the rank of kings.

The two centuries following were times of darkness. When

the papacy grew in strength, a powerful party, supporting itself on the false decretals, which had then become old, and which, through a deep night, had made their way very quietly, strove to form all Christendom, peoples and kings, into a sacerdotal monarchy, having the pope as its head. This was the work to which Hildebrand, Gregory VII., consecrated his pontificate. These decretals had affirmed that "the Romish Church had, by a singular privilege, the power of opening and shutting the gates of the heavenly kingdom to whomsoever she pleased."* "Must not he," says Hildebrand, "upon whose will depends the salvation or condemnation of men, be the judge of all the earth?" The pope was judge of the earth, and infallible judge. Infallibility necessarily linked itself with sovereignty in the judgment of Gregory VII. Every one must believe what he affirms.

This doctrine was at one time maintained, and at another time disclaimed, by popes and doctors. Bellarmine, Baronius, Pole, Lainez, Cajetan, Pallavicini, supported it in the 16th century; and the Jesuit Perron, the most celebrated Roman theologian of our epoch, in his great theological work says: "The Roman pontiff, when defining officially (*ex cathedra*) points of faith and manners, is infallible; and his dogmatic decrees, *even before they have obtained the consent of the church*, are unalterable." Such is the doctrine taught at Rome, in the Roman college.† But we hasten to remark that this dogma has been, and still continues to be, impugned, not by us only, but by eminent doctors and bishops of Catholicism, so that, so far from presenting ourselves to you in the light of narrow controvertists, we are in harmony on this point with all that is most intelligent and Christian among Catholics. It is needless to say that we differ from these men in many other respects.

And who, then, discovered the fraud of which the popes took such good advantage, to establish their supremacy and infallibility? The celebrated Hincmar seems to have strongly suspected it; but finding it useful to him in some respects he said nothing about it. Hardly do we find, after him, more than one or two authors who expressed any doubt on the subject. Calvin, whose sagacity was so penetrating and so sure, unveiled the imposture, and his powerful pen pointed to the source from which it came. In his "Institution," he says: "There is almost no man, possessed of the least understanding or information, who might not see that these epistles are

* "Singulari privilegis aperire et claudere jandas regni celestis, quibus voluerit."—*Blondel's Pseudo-Isidorus*, p. 457.

† Perron, *Prælectiones Theologicae*, tom. poster. p. 1020. Paris, 1842.

generally so silly and ridiculous, that it is easy to judge, at first sight, from what shop they proceeded." The Protestant divines of Magdeburg, at a later period, demonstrated the trick with great learning and good sense. Immediately, however, the Jesuits, and the Spaniard Torrès in particular, came forward, and asserted with all their might the authenticity of the writings of the pretended Isodore. The French Protestant theologian, Blondel, exposed and definitively proved the imposture.

In our day no one would venture to deny the fact; it is universally acknowledged. To do justice to the Roman Catholic divines of more recent times, they also have admitted the fraud. Pope Pius VI. in 1789 concurred in this avowal; and, lately, the Jesuits of Paris have granted it. "A lie," they say, "is still an evil, even when those who avail themselves of it aim at what is good." "Never," they add, "can we yield to it; *never was falsehood so audacious, so important, so persevering; and, let us add, for ages so triumphant.*" "Yes, the imposture," they proceed, "has gained its end: it has changed the discipline, as it designed, but it has not arrested the general declension. God never blesses imposture. The false decretals have produced nothing but evil." We are quite of this opinion; and this is the first time, perhaps, that we find ourselves agreeing with these gentlemen. We may observe, however, and equity requires it, that the evil which they point at is "*to have furnished weapons to the enemies of the papacy.*" Doubtless the counterfeit decretals furnish a weighty argument to Protestants—an invincible weapon against the system which they introduced. But ought it not to prove the same to all serious Catholics?

Be that as it may, the imposture has been acknowledged. The mould has been broken up, but the image has been cast. It has subsisted, and it subsists; it is paraded to this day. The Papacy, such as it has been, such as it exists, is the work of a fraud, a *pious* fraud. It is owing to other causes, doubtless, but this is the main one. All fraud is impious, and in no case pious. It is a crime, indeed, to support the truth by a lie; but what shall be said when the doctrine which is sustained by a lie, is not the truth, but is itself a lie?

The system of Infallibility having been gradually constructed, we now see the work completed at Rome. The Council must proceed to crown the edifice. They are not agreed, it is true. Dissent, disunion, are the first things that strike us in this assemblage of the pretended church of unity. Some say that it is not the Pope alone, but the Church and the Pope who are infallible. The difference may be of importance to them, it is of no importance for us. We acknowledge nothing as infallible

but the Word of God. All fallible infallibilities must be rejected. At all events, if the Pope, whom they call the vicerent of God, is not infallible, no other person either is or can be such.

Now, has the Pope been, or is he still, infallible? Such is the great question which remains to be solved.

In the first place, let us look at the facts as these have been brought out by ancient manuscripts discovered in our day in an old monastery in the East, and which are at once most authentic and most important. There lived at Rome, at the end of the second and beginning of the third century, a slave named Callistus, a clever genius, enterprising but devoid of morality; "a man" says Hippolytus, "ingenious in evil and an adept at deception." He belonged to a Christian called Carphorus, who, at this time, had confided to him the management of a bank. Callistus embezzled considerable sums; this crime, we know, is not new. The faithless steward having been discovered, was transported to Sardinia. He was recalled to Rome through the influence of Marcia, the mistress of the Emperor Commodus. Zephyrinus, bishop of that city, a man of little energy, took Callistus as his coadjutor, who succeeded him in 219. The Unitarians were then exerting themselves in the Church, and particularly at Rome. Callistus, from the time of Zephyrinus, had protected one of that sect, named Noetus, and one day, having a dispute with Hippolytus, that pious, wise and orthodox bishop of the port of Rome, near Ostia, who maintained the deity of the Son of God, the old slave said to him, "Thou art a Ditheist; you have two Gods." Callistus, having become bishop of Rome, thus expressed the Unitarian doctrine. "The man whom we see is the Son, the Spirit which dwells in the Son is the Father." Hippolytus adds, "sometimes he falls into the heresy of Sabellius, and at another time he does not scruple to throw himself into that of Theodotus." These were the two leaders of Unitarianism in the third century; and Theodotus was of the lowest type. The behaviour of the pontiff was not better than his doctrine. He received as bishops the most disreputable characters, and when charged with this, he replied, "Were there not unclean beasts in the ark?" He sanctioned certain *liaisons*, of which it is better not to speak. Indeed, Hippolytus calls him *the corrupter of his times, both in doctrine and in morals*. His followers were called Callistians. Such a man deserved to be deprived of the smallest curacy in the meanest village. And he, forsooth, must be the Holy Father, the Father of the faithful. Shall we not rather say of him, that he was a juggler,

"And worthy, in truth, of the priesthood of Baal."

And yet this miserable man, a heretic, a ringleader of heretics, must have been infallible!

If still ignorant of these facts at Rome, is the Council not aware that, in the great Arian controversy, Liberius, bishop of Rome, having at first proposed orthodoxy, and been deprived of his episcopal see by the Arians, but wishing to regain it, actually submitted to heterodox formulas, the semi-Arian confession of Sirmisch, approved of the condemnation of Athanasius, induced the other Italian bishops to sign the Arian confession of Remini, and was pronounced a heretic at Rome itself? Don't they know that Hilary, the pious bishop of Poitiers, filled with grief, exclaimed: "Anathema to thee, O Liberius! A second time, Anathema; and a third time, thou prevaricator!" *Anathema tibi, Liberi.* The Pope Liberius, was he then infallible?

Does not the Council know that, in the great Pelagian controversy, the pontifical throne being then occupied by Zosimus, a man of no depth of mind, and little Christian knowledge, Celestius, an ingenious advocate, who had embraced the ideas of Pelagius, and had more learning than Zosimus, arrived at Rome, and induced him to depart from the faith, and made him put white for black, and black for white? Do they not know that Zosimus, not in a passing way, but in two epistles, well conned, and official, addressed to the bishops of North Africa, declared himself for the views of Pelagius, which overturned all Christianity to its foundation? that, speaking of Pelagius and his followers, he wrote: "I cannot restrain my tears, when I think that men so complete in the faith should be charged with heresy; they condemn what ought to be condemned, they approve what ought to be approved?" The African bishops protested in the Council of Carthage against the decisions of Zosimus. The Roman bishop then changed his mind, and condemned those whose cause he had supported by his writings and by his tears,—Pelagius, Celestius, and their tenets. Was Zosimus then infallible?

Does not the Council know the scandal which Honorius, bishop of Rome in the seventh century, gave to the whole church by his errors? There were certain doctors, as there are still, who acknowledge only one nature in Christ; it was not, as with some in our day, the human nature; it was, on the contrary, the divine nature only (the Monophysites); and there were others, who, like them, admitted in Christ only one will (the Monothelites). Honorius, bishop of Rome, having declared in the famous letters, for this latter opinion, the Œcumenical Council of 680 pronounced his condemnation in these words, "We anathematise thee, Honorius, who hast been Pope of

ancient Rome.* And one of his successors, Leo II., bishop of Rome in 682, says, "We anathematise thee, Honorius, who didst attempt to overthrow the apostolic church by profane treachery." The following popes pronounced from that time against that Pope the same anathemas, at the time of their enthronisation. Condemned by the Councils, and condemned by the Popes, was Honorius infallible? If he was so, then Leo II. and his successors were not so. It is evident, the Infallibles say at Rome sometimes, Yes, and at other times, No; and we may exclaim with the poet:

"Oh! Oh! of the two, which is truth, which is fiction?
This talk, in the first place, is sheer contradiction."

Let us proceed to another Pope, and to scenes still more extraordinary. It is well known that Formosus, bishop of Porto, having been banished by Pope John VIII., who belonged to another party, was reposed in his see by Martin II., who was opposed to John VIII.; that thereafter, in the year 891, the good opinion entertained of Formosus and of his capacity, led to his nomination as bishop of Rome. Now, is the Council ignorant of the fact that this Pope, having been replaced five years afterwards by Stephen VII., who was of the opposite party, the new pontiff, full of rage, ordered the body of Formosus to be dug out of the grave, made it be dressed up in the pontifical robes, and having placed it on the papal throne, held upon him a judicial trial? "Bishop of Porto," said he, "how came you to allow yourself to assume the universal see of Rome?" The corpse, naturally, made no reply; but a deacon whom the new Pope had assigned him as advocate, defended him very poorly. Accordingly, Pope Stephen ordered the body of Formosus to be stripped of its vestments, caused his three fingers, with which he had pronounced the benediction, to be cut off, and threw the body into the Tiber. The Popes Romanus, Theodore II., and John IX., re-established the memory of Formosus; but Sergius III. who succeeded, erased him once more from the ranks of the pontiffs. Thus, Formosus was not infallible for Stephen—Stephen was not infallible in the eyes of Romanus, Theodore, or John—Theodore, John, and Romanus were not infallible in the judgment of Sergius. Truly, in the matter of infallibility, one is quite at a loss upon whose head to place it:

The more that my mind reflects on its history,
The less can I solve the incredible mystery.

To finish the list of fallible popes, I must omit a great many

* The name of Pope was then given to the bishops generally.

of them. Pope Vigilius defends and condemns Monophysism time about. Gregory the Great, solemnly declares that whoever would be called *universal bishop*, is the precursor of Antichrist; while Gregory VII. asserts this title as the prerogative of the Roman bishop. Pope Pascal II., declared a heretic by a council, himself admits the propriety of this condemnation; that is to say, his non-infallibility acknowledges that he ought to be stripped of the pontificate and resign the mitre—*et metram deposuit*. He is the same pope who condemned the famous Peter Lombard, and who again pronounced him orthodox. John XXII. and Nicolas IV. contradict themselves, the one holding that our Lord and his apostles possessed property, and the other denying it. For a long time Christendom had two popes, one at Rome, the other at Avignon, each with his council and a certain number of adherents: Where was infallibility? Urban VIII., in 1633, condemned Galileo, and sent him to prison; and yet, since that time, there have been popes who believed and said with Galileo, "The earth revolves and we along with it." Clement XIV., in 1773, denounced the order of the Jesuits as scandalous—and evidently opposed to good morals; and in 1814, Pius VII. restored them, saying he would be guilty in God's sight if he refused their help, the help which Pope Ganganeli had declared scandalous and immoral. If the present pope was to proclaim papal infallibility, several other popes having rejected it, the first effect of his decree would be to prove that all these pontiffs have not been infallible.

"Frightful chaos of error and disorder!"

Once more only, two examples, gentlemen, of a peculiar character. In 1546, the Council of Trent having prohibited the printing of the Scriptures, though in the most correct manner possible, Sixtus V., who had some taste for learning, undertook, in 1590, to give the most correct edition possible. He wished to revise the proofs, and correct them with his own hand; *Nostra nosipie manu correximus*. He then published it, placing at the head of it the bull, *Eternus ille*; in which, sure of his infallibility, he declares, that in no future edition should the least particle be altered, *etiam minimam aliquam particula mutata, addita vel detracta*. In short, he pronounced the major excommunication against those who should make any change, and even invoked the secular arm, *auxilio brachii secularis*, to protect his cherished edition. Now, this edition, "the most correct possible," was found full of faults; a book was published on the subject. Bellarmine says (*in Vita*), That there were a great many alterations without good foundation, *permulta perperam mutata*. Gregory XIV.,

successor to Sixtus V., to save the honour of this pontiff, promptly suppressed all the copies of the papal edition. And Clement VIII., aided by Bellarmine, substituted a new edition of it, attempting, in spite of the difference of the two, to make it appear the same with the first. This was a sad fall, and a cruel affront for the infallible interpreter of Scripture!

Take another example. The reigning pope was desirous to confer the golden rose on the most virtuous of crowned heads. It was no doubt a difficult case to decide. But the pope is infallible. He did not hesitate therefore, and he sent the golden rose to. I pause. I shall name nobody. A great people, justly indignant, have disagreed with the pope; and loud and dread has been that people's protest.

And has not this same pontiff, so convinced of his infallibility, contradicted his predecessors? does he not contradict himself by the convocation of the Council which should proclaim it, and that on one of the most important questions of the present time? The councils have always reckoned among their members the representatives of the monarchs of Europe. Constantine was at Nicæ, and Sigismund at Constance. Pius IX., thus faithful to his traditions, condemned in 1864, in his syllabus, the proposition so common in our day, that "the State ought to be separated from the Church, and the Church from the State." *Status et ecclesia et ecclesia a statu debet separari*. And now, even before the Council was convoked, the pope does what he condemned. At Rome, at this very moment, in that assembly which they regard as so important, the Church is separated by the pope from the State. Neither "the most faithful" king, nor "the most Catholic," nor "the most Christian" king, the eldest son of the church, are invited to be present. The Council has inaugurated the principle of separation. The kings and the people will not likely forget the lesson.

But, they tell us, you don't comprehend the matter. We do not say that the popes are never deceived; infallibility belongs to them only, when they teach the Church universal *ex cathedra*. Unquestionably, we must distinguish in the case of popes, as in that of others, between words spoken in the course of conversation, and declarations made at leisure and after reflection. But surely, the Arian declaration of Liberius, the Pelagian epistle of Zosimus, were premeditated and official acts. If, without compromising themselves, they could pass those acts, the same would have been allowable to all popes—to Pius IX., for example—like them, to send letters, or to profess himself before a council, an Arian or a Pelagian.

Gentlemen, learned and wise men in the Roman Church

have not recourse to such subterfuges. On the contrary, what they say is to the following effect :—

Maret, bishop of Sura, a member of the present Council, thus expresses himself in his last work about Honorius. "The council, which opened at Constantinople in 680, says, 'We deem it our duty to expel from the Church, and anathematise Honorius, late pope; because we have found, in his letter to Sergius, that, in the whole tenour of his opinions, he follows and confirms the impious dogmas of that person.' At the close of the fifteenth session, his writings were thrown into the fire, *et combusta sunt.*"

"The condemnation of Honorius was renewed by the seventh and eighth general councils, and the popes condemned him expressly and by name, along with all the other heretics.

"These certainly," continues the learned doctor, "are very embarrassing facts for the theory of the absolute sovereignty of the Roman pontiff, as well as for that of his absolute infallibility, necessarily connected with the former. The consequences of these facts impress themselves on the mind with formidable authority. A pope whose doctrine and person are condemned by three general councils, as well as by his successors, clearly possessed neither absolute sovereignty nor absolute infallibility."

We could hardly, gentlemen, express ourselves with more force than this learned and venerable bishop.

And are there not other kinds of fallibilities at Rome?

If, like the fathers of Trent in the sixteenth century, those of Rome in the nineteenth, condemn the doctrines of evangelical religion which are opposed to them, propping themselves upon their infallibility, we, for our part, will reply by resting upon the rock, which is Christ, and by opposing to their darts, the shield of faith and the Word of God.

Some perhaps, will give up this papal infallibility, and will say, as many have done at different times, that infallibility resides in general councils. No, not more there than with the popes, for these councils contradict each other. One council decides that the pope has a certain knowledge of questions of right and of fact; another declares that the popes may be mistaken. "I fly from the assembly of bishops," says Gregory Nazienzen; "I have never seen one which ended well."

Will they tell us, then, that it is the union of councils and popes which constitutes infallibility? But councils have contradicted each other; popes have contradicted councils; councils, acknowledged by popes, have contradicted popes. There have been frequent strifes between pope and council. The Council of Constance condemned John XXIII.; the Council of Basle contended with Eugene IV. Popes condemn popes;

councils condemn them all; so that Rome may well say with Corneille, "My mind in wild disorder opposes itself."

And let us suppose the most perfect agreement, what happens? The pope alone is not infallible, says one party; the councils alone are not infallible, says another. What will you make, then, of popes and councils? By combining two fallible parties, we cannot make one infallible. Zero *plus* zero, is still only zero.

We have spoken of the infallibility of the popes as to matters of faith; we have said nothing yet as to matters of morals, as this is a mixed assembly, and there may be things not proper to speak about. Besides, Catholics in general acknowledge the peccability and sins of the popes, maintaining that these do not affect their infallibility. We cannot well understand how men devoid of morality can be the organs of the Deity; it is a great mistake to separate faith and life. Monsters of impurity, avaricious wretches, poisoners, have occupied the papal see. A learned bishop (Maret of the General Council) expresses himself with holy indignation in reference to the frightful enormities of the tenth century. This epoch deserves to be designated under the title of the *Pornocracy*; that is to say, the government of prostitutes, for Theodora, Marozia, and other ladies of rank at that time, placed on the pontifical throne their paramours and their sons, who were no better than themselves. Who knows not about that Borgia, Alexander VI., who was pope only a short time before the Reformation, and who ended a life of profligacy and intrigue by drinking, through mistake, a cup of poison which his son, Cesar, had prepared for the cardinals? That men who would be rejected by the loosest society, who deserved to be given up to public vengeance, should be the representatives of Jesus Christ!—blasphemy! But, I repeat, we do not enter upon this subject; we have enough to say about the infallibility, the debates which it has occasioned, and which it will yet occasion; debates so keen, so violent even, that the celebrated bishop of Orleans, in a letter to the *Univers*, exclaims, "You perpetuate, you eternise among us the frightful misunderstandings which devour us." *Frightful* and *devouring*; what expressions to come from a church which derives its glory from its unity and infallibility!

What, then, ought the fathers of the council to do? Their chief has given us an advice to re-unite ourselves to him; let them permit us to give them ours in return. There are some among them, we trust, who heartily desire to honour "the great mystery of godliness, God manifest in the flesh"; but are they ready, for the glory of Christ, to abandon human fallibilities, traditions opposed to the Word of God, the pomps by which

they are surrounded? Can they follow the example of Him who humbled himself from the highest glory to become a servant? The essential point at all times, and more especially in our times, for the ministers of the Lord to aim at, is to be true "pastors of the flock of God, feeding it," says St Peter, "not by constraint, not as lords over it, but willingly, and as examples to the flock." This is not the time to please ourselves. "The present hour," says one of the most distinguished among them, "is it not already pregnant with numerous and fearful perils?"

It is difficult, gentlemen, to say what is the first thing the Council ought to do. Allow me, however, to tell you an anecdote which may help to put us on the right track; let me tell you what I witnessed at Rome, the seat of this present Council. It appears to me (I may be wrong perhaps) that we should, in a conference like this, alleviate a little the seriousness of philosophical or theological subjects by a sprinkling of facts. What I am about to relate concerns a Roman Catholic theologian, who was during his lifetime one of the most eminent of our age.

I was at Rome in October 1843. Gregory XVI., predecessor of Pius IX., who occupied the papal throne, was from his installation decidedly opposed to these modern times; he had even interdicted railways. But he had done more; and thousands of persons had been thrown into prison. Shortly after, he published a famous Brief against Bible societies and the reading of the Bible. This was not very necessary at Rome; if you searched through all the booksellers' shops, you could not find a single copy of the Holy Scriptures in Italian. The epistle of Paul to the Romans is not to be found at Rome. Certainly it is a long time since Bossuet could say, that Rome was prouder of a letter of St Paul's than of all her triumphs. The Romans do not read in their mother tongue the epistle which St Paul addressed to their ancestors. It is read by thousands, by millions, in the Swiss valleys on the banks of the Elbe and of the Rhine, upon those of the Thames, in the highlands and lowlands of Scotland, on the rivers of the Atlantic and of the Ohio, and in a thousand other places; but it is not read, strange to say, upon the banks of the Tiber, to which St Paul sent it. Gregory XVI., at the same time, in a postscript, at the same time condemned the "History of the Reformation of the sixteenth century." Although I regarded this condemnation as an honour, I did not, however, beg the favour of kissing the Pope's slipper, and made few visits during my stay. I contented myself with a view of the seven mountains and their ruins. Still I could not satisfy myself by leaving Rome without seeing a genuine Ultramontane. A celebrated

French ecclesiastic, the Abbé Gerbet, was then at the court of Gregory XVI., and was more lately at that of Pius IX. He had at first followed the liberal party, at the head of which was M. de Montalembert; then, Rome having condemned these opinions, he had adhered to the Pope, and had harmonised his old and new opinions by maintaining a strange idea, that to submit one's-self to an absolute master is the best means of attaining liberty. We are informed that the prime mover of the Syllabus,—a document, in fact, ready long before its publication,—M. Gerbet, afterwards left Rome to occupy the see of Montpellier, where he died. A letter of introduction from a friend procured me access to him. Gerbet was at that time studying the pretended monuments of St Peter and St Paul, and other memorials of primitive times, at Rome. Of these he spoke to me enthusiastically. I told him I knew of other remains of the apostles much finer, much more edifying, and above all, more authentic than those of which he spoke "What are these?" cried he. He seemed to expect that I was about to present him with some archæological treasure. "Their letters," I replied; "the Epistles of Paul, of Peter, the Gospels of Matthew and John. While the old walls they inhabited can barely satisfy curiosity, their divine writings give light, salvation, and peace to the soul." "We have these besides," he said. "Yes, in Latin, in the booksellers' shops; but are they in the hands of the Christian people?" Our conversation lasted a good while; you can easily imagine its tenour; and I need not add, that our interview was quite courteous. On rising to take my leave, "Sir," said he, "may I venture to ask where you come from?" "From Geneva," I replied. "Geneva!" he exclaimed, drawing himself a step back. It struck me that at Rome they have still some recollections of Geneva. The Abbé soon recovered himself; and as he kindly accompanied me to the door, I said, "I am a Protestant, sir." "So I could perceive," he replied. I left Rome next morning.

Gentlemen, the gates of Rome are still closed against the gospel. Does not this indicate the language which we are called upon to address to the Council?

Patriarchs, bishops, and doctors, shall we say, begin, if you would have a solid work, at the right place. The Council of Trent laid it down, in the first place, as a duty to embrace tradition and the Holy Scriptures with equal respect. Boldly place the Scriptures above all human traditions. Devoutly place the Word of God, which alone is infallible, in your midst. Speak, write, and guide yourselves by it. The Catholic Christians of Port-Royal, in the reign of Louis XIV., wrote these beautiful and touching words: "To interdict Christians the reading of Scripture, especially of the Gospels, is to shut out

from the light the children of light, and to place them under a kind of excommunication." The Pope launched against them the bull *Unigenitus*, and named that fine declaration "false, captious, and impious." Bishops of the nineteenth century! retract that denunciation. Restore to Christians that Word which God in his goodness has given to them, in order that they, as the apostle has said, "through patience and comfort of the Scriptures, may have hope." Never shall we sever ourselves from the apostles of Jesus Christ. We possess them; and we shall guard them. Paul, Peter, John, Matthew, still discharge their function in the flock of Christ, and must discharge it to the end. They still preach unto us the remission of sins. They still demand conversion in the name of their Master. They give witness to the death and resurrection of the Saviour. They issue instructions to ministers and missionaries. Nobody has a right to take their place. Tertullian, called the Boesuet of Africa, in the second century, said of these men of God, "When their authentic letters are read, they make their voice to be heard, *sonantes vocem*. They make us see their faces, *representantes faciem*. John, Peter, and Paul, did not live very far from the second and third century; they are not far from ourselves. Any one, even the humblest of us, may pass hours with them in his chamber" (Tertul., *De Proscriptione*, 31, 36). What was spoken at Carthage, we now repeat at Geneva. Fathers of the Council, do not cast these great doctors into the background, and do not dismiss them from the church by ascribing authority to modern masters. We wish to have nothing to do with your decretals, your canons, your encyclicals; we would adhere to the divine Scriptures. Why give us a pale fictitious substitute for St Peter, when we have St Peter himself? The apostles who were always with Jesus from the beginning, knew perfectly well his acts, his words, his doctrines. The Spirit of God, the Creator Spirit, who animated the first Christian society, shewed his presence and power in these men of God whom he had chosen to spread the knowledge of his name. God, willing that the apostolic teaching should descend in its purity to future generations, has not allowed error to creep into their writings. He speaks there himself with a power all-divine. "Holy men of God have spoken," says St Peter, "as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." "All Scripture," says St Paul, "is given by inspiration of God." And saith Jesus himself to the Father, "Thy word is truth." Give up, then, your fallible infallibilities, and render to the Word of God the honour due to it. Put not the divine lamp under a bushel, but on the candlestick, that it may give light to all in the house, that is to say, in the world.

And now, bishops and doctors, permit us to put another

question. When a king dies or disappears, and there is none to take his place, a regent is named. You have done the same; you have named a vice-god to reign in the place of Jesus Christ. And who told you, pray, that Jesus Christ is dead? "Fear not," says he, "I am he that liveth, and was dead, and behold I am alive for evermore." The father is the head of the family, since without him it cannot exist. So Christ is Head of that family, of which an apostle tells us, that it is named of him in heaven and earth; that family which without him cannot exist. He created it, nourishes and preserves it; and there is no need for nominating a tutor for it. "I am king," says he; and Scripture proclaims him "the Head of the church, which is his body." True, he has no minister of war, no guards, no zouaves, in his pay. And yet he reigns. Your head is only in the Vatican; ours, in virtue of his divinity, is in every place where he is called upon. He sits in this assembly, as he is present in all similar assemblies which are held throughout the world, nearly up to the walls of the pontifical city.

And if he reigns he acts. I should like to know what head has acted on the earth, and still acts, with more power. In the early ages he wrought transformations on humanity, the like of which have never been beheld. He conquered an insensate but powerful paganism; he triumphed over the mightiest states of the Roman empire; for three centuries there was a terrific struggle, and torrents of blood flowed from the border of Asia to the banks of the Rhone. But Jesus Christ conquered. Jean de Muller, the Swiss historian, says, "The advent of the Saviour divides history into two parts." Yes, since his appearance, humanity has assumed a new life. And when the middle ages had almost everywhere quenched the light and life, this divine Head relighted and revived them, at Wittemberg, at Geneva, through nearly all Christendom. Jesus Christ is a conqueror, not a conqueror that takes, but a conqueror that gives. He is a benefactor and a deliverer. Holy victim! he saves souls, because he bore at Golgotha the sins of the world. Mighty monarch! he saves people; the freest, the purest, the most prosperous, are those that have received most purely his gospel. Compare Switzerland and England to the people of the south; compare North and South America. A powerful voice has often repeated, even in a French cathedral: "This divine Head spreads abroad by his missionaries the gospel and civilisation among pagan nations; he has gone forth conquering and to conquer."

Such is the glorious head we are bound to honour and adore; and beside him there is none else. But what do I

see in the distance? A magnificent temple, with splendid columns and immense dome, supported by immense pillars, ten other cupolas forming as many temples, marbles, statues, frescoes, mosaics, bronze, and gold. Am I at Babylon, that city of wonders? Am I at Rome? Upon a throne is the figure of an old man, clothed with ornaments, cinctures, arm-lets, stole, tunic, dalmatic. That is the Pope. . . . A cardinal approaches, and invests him with the pallium, another with the mitre, another with the ring; and then follows a lowly obeisance. Each approaches the pontiff in his turn, the highest dignitary kisses his hand; the next most reverend, after a low bow, kisses his right knee; the rest, after a genuflection, kiss his right foot. Is this a vision or a reality? Is the figure which they kiss an idol? Jesus Christ—where is he? Oh, cries a prophet, "*Kiss ye the Son*; lest he be angry and ye perish from the way."

In fine, doctors and bishops, there is a third question we would put to you. What distinguishes our head from yours, is that he is not simply the head of what is outward; he reigns in the soul. "They looked to him and were enlightened." We are told that in the terrible battles and bloody fights in the beginning of this century, when body and spirit were ready to fail, the soldiers had only to turn their eyes on their valiant General, and instantly the combatants regained their waning strength and courage. This is still more true in the spiritual battle. The Christian has only to turn the look of faith and prayer towards his Divine leader, to regain instant peace, and attain the victory. The God who "strengthens with all might inwardly," takes possession of the fainting soul. It is God, says Paul, who stablishes and strengthens us.

Bishop Maret, one of our most distinguished adversaries, says that "the Bible is not sufficient; we must have an interpreter." The objection shews what they think at Rome; that the Bible only presents us with formulas of doctrine, which we must admit. The Gospel is quite another thing. It speaks to the conscience, to the heart, to the will. It tells us, God loves you; God gives you a Saviour. The Gospel employs no constraint; it will have only free worshippers. It appeals to proof, and the experience of the man gives him an irrefragable conviction of the reality of the adoption which Christ, on God's part conveys, and the glorious hopes which he unfolds. When a man is fainting with hunger, let food be given him to eat, and he feels himself strengthened, and needs no expert to teach him that he has taken true nourishment. It is the same here. He that has believed the fact of God's love, is sure that he has found true nourishment. The objections of such as have never realised that experience, do not shake his faith; he says, I was

hungry, and thou gavest me meat; I was thirsty and thou gavest me drink! We place great value on the external evidence of Christianity; but we believe its internal proof to be absolutely necessary. Christ, his apostles and our reformers, all demanded it. Rousseau, who said, "The gospel speaks to my heart that the death of Jesus was the death of a God," has said elsewhere that "the proofs of Christianity require such a long course of literary research, that it is impossible for an unlettered man to attempt it." And how happens it then that so many unlettered men are good Christians? Ah! it is because they have found from experience that the gospel is of God. For that purpose, they need neither popes nor priests; God is sufficient. Go to the country, or to the poor districts of the city, and ask the meanest believer, and they will reply, "I know whom I have believed." They will do more, they will shew it by their works; for can that be true faith which does not work?

Ye guides of consciences! abandon your endless practices and prescriptions; place the Saviour before them all, and you will see what glorious results will follow. Let me cite one example. The Count Frederick de Stolberg, at the beginning of this century, was one of the most amiable and enlightened men in Germany. Surrounded by rationalists, not comprehending the all-sufficiency of God's Word, he sought another prop to lean upon, and became a Catholic, still retaining his former piety. About 1826, he took ill, and on the approach of death, betook himself to the rites of the Roman Church. But all was without effect. The doctrine of purgatory threw him into a paroxysm of alarm. He conceived he was already there, stretched on the sharp edge of a razor, and uttered the most doleful exclamations. In a moment of respite, he said, "Read me the word of God." One of his sons read him the third chapter of St John's Gospel, down to the sixteenth verse, "God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life." That passage wrought upon the inner life of the dying man, it revived the divine life nearly extinct; it discovered to him a God full of mercy. "That is enough," cried Stolberg; "that word satisfies me. God has so loved me as to give me his Son. I have now not a single fear; he loves me, and will love me for ever." Stolberg survived some days longer; he spent them in the peace-inspired by the words of Christ; he died a Christian, an evangelical Christian. The pope and his officials could do nothing for this man in the misery of his latter days. Christ visited him, and gave him the hope that maketh not ashamed. With all boldness and freedom, then, we declare to the Council and before all, that Christ is

the only head of the Church, the sole source of our life and peace, and that the Holy Scripture is the only source of our faith.

I have done, gentlemen. A solemn assembly met two days ago at Rome. Its object is great; it aims, in regard to the majority of its members, to give battle to the gospel, and to modern civilisation, to vanquish truth and liberty. Rome has had recourse, for that purpose, to the remedy which she anciently employed in times of danger to the republic; she then proclaimed a dictator, and she is going to proclaim another in the person of an infallible pope. At this moment, when absolutism is passing away over the whole earth, she seeks to gather it up and concentrate it into her own focus. What is to come of this? Ah! who can tell what new destinies this inconceivable piece of presumption is preparing for catholicity?

"You know the intoxication of absolute power." Already does this intoxication display itself. We must, say they, establish this power, this absolute infallibility, without discussion, by proclamation! This, gentlemen, will be the grotesque introduction into the domain of religion, of the worst of all political tricks. We have heard of *coups d'état*; they are preparing a *coup d'église*. Ah! come rather, pious Catholics, come modest and devout priests and doctors, to the true head, to whom all power has been given. And thou, good Pius IX., come down from these heights, where thou thinkest thyself almost God; leave thy dreams, and become a humble sincere minister of the King, who was meek and lowly in heart.

You invite us to take advantage of the council to come to the papacy; conscience urges us to invite you to come to the gospel. Catholics, our friends and fellow-travellers, our heart's desire is, that you may be enlightened and saved. Discard your indulgences and amulets, and receive Christ and a free and complete pardon. Free your religion of the pagan element, the worship of creatures, and the Jewish element, rites and legal works, which have crept into and defiled it. Once more, become simple and living Christians, such as those were of old, to whom St Paul wrote.

Ministers of the Roman Church, beware! Christianity has difficulties enough, peculiar to itself; it demands conversion to God, and this is what it is not easy for man to yield. Do not add difficulties of your own making; do not make heavy burdens and lay them on men's shoulders. Instead of bristling up against the age we live in as enemies, come up to it as friends, and bring to it the greatest of blessings. Tear up the syllabus; resume the gospel. Instead of launching the thunders

of the Vatican, stretch out your hand to your brethren. Speak to them in the sweet words of Jesus, "Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest."

But, gentlemen, and dear fellow-citizens, shall we not also labour in this good work? It must be confessed, that if the Church of Rome has its sorrows, we have ours also. If the Roman Catholics add to the word of God, with us as well as with them there are some who have diminished, and thus annulled its powers. Such are the two errors equally denounced in the last lines of Scripture. Let us awaken; to give light, we must not be extinct torches. Every Christian is called upon, not only to believe in Christ, but to fight for him.

"Where are the battles you have won?"

A famous historian, not of our communion (Michelet), has these remarkable words: "Europe will be saved by Geneva." What! Europe saved by this poor little city? This expression is applied to our ancestors, and of them it holds true. I believe that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it was the city of Calvin, and all connected with it, by the same faith and the same fidelity, that saved Europe, often at the price of their blood, in the low countries, in France and elsewhere. They saved it from the darkness of Roman absolutism, and from the despotism which then threatened to overwhelm it. But if Europe was saved once by this means, will it be so once more? Let us not cherish illusory prospects; what is to save society in our day, is the combination of the living forces of evangelical Christendom. We therefore invoke to this work, at this solemn moment, all who in every place love the gospel and liberty. But, my dear friends, let us remember that "nobleness has its obligations;" let us record all we owe to the gospel. Let us take a part, a noble part, in the generous efforts to spread abroad the light of Jesus Christ. The arsenal from which our national ancestors drew their armour, still stands open. These arms are an enlightened conscience, which calls on us to work while it is to day. These are the treasures of the Divine word. And these arms shall we not grasp? Some hesitate; some feel their weakness, and need encouragement.

"And count you God who fight for you, as nothing?"

Advance then, thou invisible and mighty one! Thou hast of old overturned the idols of Greece and Rome; and after the darkness of the middle ages, restored light to slumbering Christendom. Now then, diffuse throughout the world that divine light. Son of man, Son of God, strengthen the weak; raise up those about to fall! oppose an unsurmountable obstacle to everything injurious to souls,—to materialism, to infidelity, to

all the errors of the age. March in the forefront, and grant us grace to follow thy footsteps. May each of us, conscious of his own responsibility, labour with thee for the good of all; and thus, by universal efforts, may truth, life, morality, peace and liberty, triumph among the nations!

ART. VIII.—*The Silence of Women in the Churches.*

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THE true sphere of women we hold to be indicated in the Scriptures; and their place, both in the state and in the church, will ultimately be determined by the principles disclosed in those scriptures. For he who created man male and female, instituted the laws of their relationship, and indicated those laws in his revelation to us for our guidance. If, therefore, we can attain unto a just apprehension of these laws in some, or in all, of their bearings, we can determine so far forth the will of God respecting the relation of the sexes in those particulars.

We propose, therefore, to examine the Scriptures—which we hold to be our only infallible rule of faith and practice in such matters—respecting the growing practice in the churches of our land of inviting women to take an active part in the public worship of God, and even of allowing them, in some instances, to become ministers of the gospel of Jesus Christ. We shall assume the inspiration and the textual correctness of the passages to which appeal will be made in this discussion, while we search, with all thoroughness and candour, after their exact teaching respecting the silence of women in the churches.

I. A positive limitation of some sort is put by the Scriptures upon women.

In the curse pronounced upon Eve for the first transgression, it is said: "And thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee" (Gen. iii. 16). The law of the whole animal kingdom—namely, that the males surpass the females in strength; the former being constituted thereby the natural protectors of the latter—is expressly affirmed of the human race. Sadly has the history of mankind, in all lands and centuries, proved the physical superiority of man to woman. For the woman has never been able, on an extended scale, to rule over the man, and to subject him to such bondage and wrongs as he, in most lands and ages, has inflicted upon her.

* *Bibliotheca Sacra*, April 1870.

Also, under the law as given by the hand of Moses, a restriction was placed upon the wife, which did not hold in regard to the husband. That restriction was extended even into matters of religion; and it found expression in such language as this: "Every vow, and every binding oath to afflict the soul, her husband may establish it, or her husband may make it void" (Num. xxx. 13). Here, in the gravest of all matters, the husband was armed with authority to confirm or revoke a religious vow and oath of his wife. In the new and final dispensation, it is still further declared, that "the head of every man is Christ; and the head of the woman is the man; and the head of Christ is God" 1 (Cor. xi. 3.) "For the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the church. . . . Therefore, as the church is subject unto Christ, so let the wives be to their own husbands in everything" (Eph. v. 23, 24).

To these general statements of the relation of the woman to the man, there are certain specific prohibitions added: "Let your women keep silence in the churches; for it is not permitted unto them to speak; . . . for it is a shame for a woman to speak in the church" 1 (Cor. xiv. 34, 35). "Let the woman learn in silence, with all subjection. But I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence" 1 (Tim. ii. 11, 12).

It would seem, from these general and specific declarations of Scripture, that a limitation of some sort has been placed by the Creator upon the sphere of woman; and that her sphere, in consequence, if co-ordinate, is not co-extensive, with man's. Her sphere seems to have limitations which his has not.

It is worthy of notice, also, that this limitation is distinctly applied to woman in contradistinction from man. In every passage which we have quoted, as in others also, which we might have quoted, the contrast is expressly made between the male and the female, the husband and the wife, the men and the women; thereby proving that the relative position of the sexes was in the mind of the inspired penman at the time.

In correcting abuses in the church at Corinth, Paul, in the fourteenth chapter of the first Epistle, tells the Corinthians who may take part in their worship; also, how and when they may take part in it. He allowed the "prophets" to speak in the assembly, in turn, "by two, or at the most by three." He allowed those who had the gift of tongues to speak in the same order, provided there were present an interpreter; but, if there were present no interpreter to make known their utterances to the assembly, the speaker in an unknown tongue was prohibited from taking any active part in the worship. Then Paul, in contrast with these, forbids, without qualification,

the women to speak in the assembly. Of course, then, those who were allowed to speak in order, "by two, or at the most by three," were men; in contrast with whom the women are commanded to "keep silence in the churches." The contrast in the other passage (1 Tim. ii. 8-12), is still more pointed: "I will, therefore, that men [*ἄνδρες*, excluding expressly the women] pray everywhere. . . . In like manner, also, that women [*γυναῖκες*, excluding men] adorn themselves in modest apparel. . . . Let the woman [*γυνή*, without the article, hence woman generically] learn in silence, with all subjection. But I suffer not a woman to teach, . . . but to be in silence." Men are to take part in the prayers and instruction of the congregation, "as distinguished from the women, who are to join in the worship in silence, and in modesty of dress and behaviour." The contrast could not have been made stronger than it is here found to be. The limitation already pointed out is therefore expressly applied to women, without regard to age, or learning, or position,—as women, in contradistinction from men.

II. This limitation of whatever nature and extent it may hereafter be found to be, is not founded, as some other apostolic directions are, either on some present exigency, or social custom, or changing propriety; but it is founded on something as permanent as the relation of the sexes, and the fact of the first transgression.

On one occasion (1 Cor. vii. 1-10, 26-28), Paul advises against marriage: but, in doing so, he is careful of two things: First, not to give a positive command against marrying, saying: "It is good for a man to remain unmarried; . . . Yet, if their desires do not allow them to remain contented in this state, let them marry":* Secondly, he is careful to limit his advice against marriage to the distress then present, or nigh at hand, saying, "I think, then, it is best, by reason of the trials which are nigh at hand, for all to be unmarried; [so that I would say to each]: If thou art bound to a wife, seek not separation; but if thou art free, seek not marriage; yet if thou wilt marry, thou mayest do so without sin."* Should any one quote Paul's advice against marriage in order to support some socialistic theory, it could be conclusively replied, that Paul limited his advice to the distress then nigh at hand, and that, even then, he did not prohibit, but expressly allowed, marriage to those who desired it.

Now, if Paul had in like manner founded his positive command, that women should keep silence in the churches, upon either existing customs, or some present exigency, or some

* Conybeare and Howson's Translation.

other transient foundation, we could rightly argue, that, with a change in the reason of the command, the command itself is abolished; but, even then, the change in the reason of the command must be so great as wholly to destroy the force of the command. But we look in vain for any such transient reasons in the passages under consideration. On the contrary, the reasons given, the foundations laid, are as extensive, both in space and in time, as the existence of the human family, and as permanent as the law of the sexes. Addressing a church made disorderly through the Grecian fondness for speaking, which affected the women, as well as the men, Paul secures order by commanding the men to speak in turn for the edification of the church, and by prohibiting positively, expressly, repeatedly, and unqualifiedly, the women from speaking at all. He does not confine the prohibition to a particular church or country, present custom, or other temporary thing. The command, like the reason of it, is universal: "As in all churches of the saints, let your women keep silence in the churches, . . . as also saith the law."* Silence in the churches is a part of woman's obedience or subjection, announced in the curse uttered at the gate of Eden by God upon woman. This reason, to which Paul refers, is as permanent and extensive as the race itself. Customs change, nations rise and fall; but so long as man is made male and female, the reason of the prohibition exists unimpaired, and of course the prohibition itself abides in full force.

Again, Paul, writing to a minister of the new and better covenant, instructs him how he ought to behave himself "in the house of God, which is the church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth." In his directions to this pastor, he gives, as the reason why women should not be allowed to speak or teach in the churches: "For Adam was first formed, then Eve. And Adam was not deceived; but the woman, being deceived, was in the transgression" (1 Tim. ii. 13, 14). The priority of Adam in the creation, and the fact that Eve was deceived, and was first in the transgression, are reasons, however explained, which no times, or dispensations, or anything else, can change. Manifestly, they are permanent and universal. They have nothing to do with usages, or customs, or times.

Let those who would remove this limitation of silence from women grapple with the reasons given for it by the inspired apostle. To avoid them, and to talk—however learnedly and truly—about changes in the customs of the age and the countries in which Paul lived and laboured, is as relevant as

* 1 Cor. xiv. 33, 34, correctly punctuated.

to talk about the changes of the moon, and not a whit more so. It avails nothing to discant upon changes in something, upon which something nothing whatever has been founded. The prohibition of the apostle is not built upon the sand of custom, shifted hither and thither by the waves of time; but on the rock of man's creation and fall, which nothing can change or destroy. It is, then, not only idle, but silly in the extreme, to say that the sand has shifted since Paul founded his prohibition upon the rock.

III. The parts of public worship respecting which silence is enjoined upon women.

Is it not a little remarkable that the words usually translated in the New Testament "to preach" (*κηρύσσω*, "primarily, to officiate as a herald, to teach publicly, to preach," used sixty-one times, translated "to preach" fifty-four times; *εὐαγγελίζω*, "to bring good news, to announce glad tidings," used fifty-five times, translated "to preach" forty-eight times; and *καταγγέλλω*, "to bring word down to any one, to announce, to set forth," used seventeen times, translated "to preach" ten times),—is it not strange, if preaching alone be prohibited, that neither of these words, which are used by the sacred writers, in almost every instance, to describe the act of preaching, are used in either passage where silence is enjoined upon women? Instead of these, words far more general and comprehensive are employed, including preaching as the genus includes its species.

In the passage in 1st Timothy, Paul uses a word which is never translated "to preach," but whose true signification is given in the authorised version, "to teach"; namely, *διδάσκω*, "to teach, to instruct," used ninety-seven times, and in every instance translated "to teach"; while in 1st Corinthians Paul makes the prohibition as sweeping as it is possible to make it, by employing a word (*λαλῶ*, "to talk, chatter, babble"), which includes all kinds of speaking. It is translated "to preach" only six times out of two hundred and ninety-four times in which it is employed in the New Testament. Twice, in this passage, he uses the widest, most comprehensive of all terms, in enjoining silence upon women. It is certain, then, if anything can be made certain by the use of words, that teaching and speaking by women in the churches are expressly forbidden. But these include preaching, as the greater includes the less, the genus the species; therefore preaching is also forbidden to women.*

* Should it be said that *λαλῶ*, in 1 Cor. xiv. 34, 35, retains somewhat of its original signification, and that Paul, therefore, meant to forbid only all babbling and bawling, while seemly discourse was allowed to the women in

They are not even permitted to ask questions in the churches; but, if they will learn anything, let them ask their husbands at home;* "for it is a shame for women to speak [*γὰρ αἰσ*, which includes all speaking, even the asking of questions] in the church."

Is prophesying forbidden to women, the same as all other speaking? Let us appeal to the Scriptures for the answer. "To prophesy is to act as prophet, to foretell future events, to predict; but often including, also, from the Hebrew, the idea of exhorting, reproof, threatening, or, indeed, the whole utterance of the prophets, while acting under divine influence, as ambassadors of God and interpreters of his mind and will." "Specifically, it is used of the prophetic gift or *charisma*, imparted by the Holy Spirit to the primitive Christians."†

This definition, be it observed, involves the idea of inspiration—a supernatural influence upon the mind of the prophet. But, as the words of Joel—"And it shall come to pass afterward, that I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy. . . . And also upon the servants and upon the handmaids, in those days, will I

the churches; then we reply: (1) *The usage of the word in the New Testament is conclusive on the point.* It is found two hundred and ninety-four times; four times it is translated by the verb "to utter;" six times, "to preach;" twelve times, "to tell;" twelve times, "to talk;" fourteen times, "to say;" and two hundred and forty-six times, "to speak." Two hundred and eighty-four times, apart from the passage in question, it refers to *persons speaking*; three times (Rev. x. 3, 4), to intelligible thunders, which John is forbidden to write; three times (Rev. xii. 5, 11, 15), to the beast and his image, which blasphemed God: once, to the Law, and once to the blood of Christ, which speaketh better things than the blood of Abel. Of the two hundred and ninety-two times in which the word is used, apart from the passage in question, only once can it be rendered "babble," without violence; and even there it is extremely doubtful. Paul says: "When I was a child, I spake (babbled) as a child." (2) *The context is equally against such a meaning.* In 1 Cor. xiv. it is used several times of the gift of tongues which "no man understandeth" (ver. 2): but this speaking was not *babbling* or anything of the kind; for Paul says (ver. 5), "I would that ye all spake with tongues;" and (ver. 13), "Let him that speaketh in a tongue, pray that he may interpret;" and again (ver. 18), "I thank my God, I speak with tongues (babble?) more than ye all." (3) Neither Robinson in his *New Test. Lexicon* nor any translation or commentary, that we have seen, gives such a meaning to the word in this passage. (4) Granting, however, that it might have this signification here, the command which must be held and treated as a command of the Lord, "Let your women *keep silence* in the churches," covers seemingly speech as fully as it does babbling.

* What if they have no husbands; or if their husbands are unable or unwilling to answer them? As the seclusive customs of those days have given place to better ones, if they cannot consult qualified and willing husbands to their satisfaction, it is perfectly proper for them now to ask their pastor, or the deacons of their church, or any Christian who is competent to instruct them. Only it must be done in private, and not in the public assembly. Besides, commentaries are now so common and cheap, that no pious woman need live long in doubt respecting either a point of doctrine or of practice.

† "Robinson's Lexicon." See also Hackett on Acts ii. 17.

pour out my Spirit"—are popularly quoted as foretelling a time when all, male and female, should participate alike in the worship of God in the churches, it becomes necessary to examine carefully the scriptural idea of prophesying. For if the definition already quoted be found to be correct, then only those who have a supernatural influence of the Holy Ghost resting upon them can claim to prophesy at all.

The word translated "to prophesy" in the New Testament (*προφητεῖω*, found twenty-eight times, and translated in every instance to "prophesy") is used in the following connections: once, of the rejected false prophets, who claimed to have prophesied in the name of Christ (Matt. vii. 22); three times, by the soldiers who mocked Jesus (Matt. xxvi. 68; Mark xiv. 65; Luke xxii. 64); five times, of the Old Testament prophets (Matt. xi. 13; xv. 7; Mark vii. 6; 1 Pet. i. 10; Jude 14); once, of Zacharias (Luke i. 67); once, of Caiaphas the high-priest (John xi. 51); once, of the Apostle John (Rev. x. 11); once, of the two witnesses mentioned by John (Rev. xi. 3); ten times, of the *charisma*, or supernatural gift, as is proved by its close connection with the gift of tongues, which is admitted by all to have been a supernatural gift (Acts xix. 6; 1 Cor. xiii. 9; xiv. 1, 3, 4, 5 twice, 24, 31, 39). Twenty-three, then, out of the twenty-eight times, clearly assert or imply a supernatural or miraculous gift of the Holy Spirit. Of the five remaining times, one refers to the virgin daughters of Philip (Acts xxi. 9), but in such connection as most naturally to imply a supernatural gift. For "a certain prophet named Agabus" is immediately introduced as predicting what should befall Paul at Jerusalem, which he could not have done without such supernatural gift. Two occur in Peter's quotation from Joel (Acts ii. 17, 18), which quotation he made to vindicate the apostles from the charge of drunkenness, and to account for the gift of tongues, which gift was then first bestowed on the church. Here Joel's prediction is expressly declared to have been fulfilled in the bestowment of a supernatural gift, which continued for many years with the church, and which was imparted to women as well as men. Only two passages now remain in which prophesying is joined with praying: "Every man praying or prophesying, having his head covered, dishonoureth his head; but every woman that prayeth or prophesieth with her head uncovered dishonoureth her head" (1 Cor. xi. 4, 5). Now, there is nothing here, or in the context, to indicate that the prophesying referred to was exceptional in its nature. The fact that the word is joined with praying furnishes no evidence against its being used in its ordinary sense. For the apostle may have used both terms to cover all parts of the service—what in the primitive churches

was inspired, and what was uninspired—in order to shew that the law of propriety applies alike to both kinds. Prophecy is never used in the New Testament for preaching, or for mere speaking in meeting, unless it be so used in the two instances last quoted: but the *usus loquendi* of the word is conclusive against an exceptional meaning in these verses.

The same conclusion is reached when we take the noun *προφήτης*, which is found one hundred and forty-nine times in the New Testament, and is translated in every instance, "prophet." It is used ninety-two times of the Old Testament prophets; seventeen, of Christ; eight, of John the Baptist; once, of Balaam; nine, of "a prophet," used indefinitely; five, of an order of ministries in the primitive churches, being found in the catalogue of "apostles, teachers, miracles, gifts of healing," &c.; seven, in the Apocalypse, of both Old and New Testament prophets; once, of the revelator's "two witnesses"; once, of a Grecian poet; while four times it is joined with the gift of tongues, in such manner as to imply a miraculous gift. In the remaining four passages the presumption is certainly overwhelming, that reference is had to a special miraculous gift.

Thus it is shewn that in no one passage in the New Testament can either the verb *προφητεύω*, or the noun *προφήτης*, be proved to refer to or to include ordinary preaching or speaking; but, in almost every instance, both the noun and the verb expressly involve the idea of a supernatural influence or miraculous gift. Of the passages which are less determinate in the use of these words, all but the one that refers to the Grecian poet harmonise perfectly with the idea of such supernatural power. Our translators so understood the words; hence, they never translated *προφήτης*, "a teacher, or a preacher, or an apostle;" but always "a prophet;" and *προφητεύω*, "to teach, or preach, or speak;" but always "to prophesy." There is perfect uniformity in the use of these words both among the writers of the New Testament and also among the translators of the authorised version. The definition, therefore, with which we started is found to be correct. To prophecy involves the idea of a supernatural gift, a divine influence qualifying for the work.

Now God poured out his Spirit upon all flesh, so that men and women did prophecy in the primitive churches. And the question arises: Were those women who were endued with the supernatural gift of prophecy commanded to be in silence in the churches? This question is answered by Paul, in 1 Cor. xiv. The whole chapter is taken up in discussing the order of worship in the churches for the purpose of correcting certain abuses. The gift of prophecy is contrasted with the gift of

tongues, and its superiority to the latter gift shewn. Believers were to desire especially to prophesy, in order that they might edify the church. They were told in what order to exercise the gift in their meetings: "Let the prophets speak, two or three," that is, in turn, one after the other; while those who had the gift of tongues were ordered to keep silence, unless an interpreter were present to explain what they should say. Then, in the midst of these injunctions respecting the use of the supernatural gifts of prophecy and of tongues, Paul says: "As in all churches of the saints, let your women keep silence in the churches; for it is not permitted unto them to speak; . . . for it is a shame for women to speak in the churches." This is unequivocal and conclusive. In a discussion respecting prophecy and the gift of tongues, Paul forbids women to speak at all in the churches. Of course, then, he forbids them to prophesy and to speak with the gift of tongues in the assembly. If a woman had a divine *afflatus*, an inspiration of the Holy Ghost, qualifying her to prophesy or to speak with tongues, she was ordered to be silent in the churches; for "the spirits of the prophets are subject unto the prophets." Prophesying, then, as well as preaching and speaking, is expressly forbidden to women in the churches.

Are women forbidden to lead the assembly in the service of prayer? Prayer, in its nature, is different from speaking, preaching, or prophesying. "It is an address to God"; and in the offering of it there is no assumption of superiority over men. Hence, so far as the law of subordination or subjection is concerned, there would seem to be no impropriety in women's leading the assembly in this part of the service. Still, the passage in 1st Timothy seems to have prayer under discussion, as the one in 1st Corinthians has prophesying and the speaking with tongues. The passage opens thus: "I exhort, therefore, that, first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks be made for all men [*ὅτις πάντων ἀνθρώπων*] . . . I will, therefore, that men [*ἡμεῖς ἄνδρες*, excluding women] pray everywhere [*ἐν παντί τόπῳ*] . . . In like manner, also [that is, I will], that women [*γυναῖκες*, excluding men] adorn themselves in modest apparel," etc. Then he adds: "Let the woman [*γυνή*, "a woman"; English idiom, 'the woman']"—Ellicott] learn in silence, with all subjection. But I suffer not a woman to teach, . . . but to be in silence" (1 Tim. ii. 1, 8, 9, 11, 12).

Is silence here enjoined upon women respecting public prayer? The answer to this depends upon the answer which we give to the following question, namely: Did Paul, in his argument, advance from prayer, first to the becoming dress and deportment of the women, and then to their silence;

both forgetting the distinction he had made between males and females in the matter of prayer, and forbidding something of which he had not been speaking at all? Or did he retain the subject-matter in mind, namely, prayer, when he said: "Let the woman learn in silence," and then proceed from this injunction to another, when he added: "But I suffer not a woman to teach, . . . but to be in silence?" That the latter supposition is the true one, seems clear from the logical character of the apostle's mind, and from his use of the particle *δέ*, translated "but." Prayer "for all men" (*ὕπὲρ πάντων ἀνθρώπων*, for all, male and female) is required of men (*τοὺς ἀνδρας*, only males) everywhere (*ἐν παντί τόπῳ*); while women (*γυναῖκας*), in contrast, are required to adorn themselves becomingly, and to be in silence. Now, as nothing had been said about preaching, or prophesying, or speaking with or without the gift of tongues, or teaching, it seems logically conclusive that the silence enjoined in this passage upon women respected public prayer. Paul puts this, however, beyond question, by following the injunction of silence with the adversative particle *δέ*, which denotes "that the word or clause with which it stands is to be distinguished from something preceding. It thus marks a transition to something else."* "*Δέ* connects, while it contrasts, *i.e.* adds another particular different from what precedes. . . . Nor does it ever serve as a mere copula or particle of transition."† Had Paul meant precisely the same thing in the sentence introduced by *δέ* that he did in the sentence preceding it, he would have used some other particle, for example, *γάρ*, "for"; and the sentence would have read: "Let the woman learn in silence, with all subjection; *for* I suffer not a woman to teach," &c. But the *δέ* shews that there is something in the second sentence to be distinguished from something in the first. So our translators understood it, and so, grammatically, it must be understood. Now, what is that something in the first sentence from which the teaching of the second is to be distinguished as "something else?" Was it preaching, speaking, prophesying, as distinguished from teaching? Not one word had been said in the context about any or all of these. Paul had been speaking only of prayer, to be offered by males everywhere; and to prayer he must have referred when he laid silence upon women in the churches, and from which *δέ* marks a transition to "another particular, different from what precedes."

Conybeare and Howson, indeed, translate the passage as

* "Robinson's Lexicon."

† Thayer's "Winer's N. T. Gram." 442, 453.

follows: "Likewise, also, that the women *should come* in seemly apparel, adorned," etc.; and add, in a note, that "after γυναῖκας we must supply προσέχουσθαι [as Chrysostom does], or something equivalent." It may be objected to προσέχουσθαι, first, that it subverts the accurate use of the particle δι in the twelfth verse; secondly, that it introduces into the sentence an unnecessary infinitive; thirdly, that it reduces the infinitive, κοσμεῖν, to a participle. These far outweigh the reasons for supplying it; for γυναῖκας can be made the subject of κοσμεῖν, without violation of grammatical rules. Conybeare and Howson supply προσέχουσθαι ("should come"), and Oosterzee suggests προσευχόμενας (praying); but neither of these is necessary. The former leaves the particle δι (ver. 12) in full force, while the latter weakens the force of δι by so much as it implies that the praying may be done in public. It is best to supply nothing.

It appears, then, that the several parts of public worship respecting which silence has been laid upon women are preaching, teaching, prophesying, speaking, and praying. If there be doubt respecting any one of these, that doubt touches only the service of prayer.

IV. The kind of meetings in which silence is enjoined upon women.

What is the meaning, in the passages under consideration, of the word translated "church?" In determining its signification, we are to make use of neither conjecture nor arbitrary rules; for the context and the usage of the word in the New Testament are our final and conclusive appeal. To this narrow point has the discussion been now reduced.

The word ἐκκλησία, "church," is found one hundred and fifteen times in the New Testament. Once, of a popular or other assembly legally called; twice of a tumultuous assembly of the people, or mob; twice, "in the Jewish sense, of a congregation or assembly of the people on solemn occasions, or for worship"; eighteen times of the church universal, the spiritual church of God; and ninety-two times, of assemblies of Christians worshipping together, of local or particular churches.

Sometimes the idea conveyed by the word is more radical than at other times, i.e. it refers to the calling together, or to the assembled body of believers, to their meetings, and not so much to an organised body distinguished from some other like body and from the surrounding unbelievers. Sometimes the assemblies of Christians, which are called churches, were small organic bodies, meeting in private houses, and designated by the names of those with whom they met; while once the Christian assembly or congregation is called a synagogue.

The question of silence turns, however, on the precise meaning of *ἡσυχία*, in 1 Cor. xiv. 33-35. Does it here mean the congregation assembled for worship? Or does it refer to the congregation in its organic business assemblies, or meetings? The context must determine what meetings are here meant, and in what assemblies silence is enjoined.

This passage does not occur in connection with any directions, warnings, or commands touching the business or duties of a church in its organic capacity and relations. The two preceding chapters are given to the discussion of spiritual gifts, and the succeeding to the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead, which had been called in question; while this whole fourteenth chapter is devoted to "directions for the exercise of the gift of prophecy and the gift of tongues," in order to correct certain abuses in their public worship. Paul gives the order in which these gifts may be exercised: "If there be any who speak in tongues, let not more than two, or at the most three, speak [in the same assembly]; and let them speak in turn; and let the same interpreter explain the words of all." "Of those that have the gift of prophecy, let two or three speak [in each assembly], and let the rest judge." They are exhorted to desire especially the gift of prophecy; for this gift builds up the church; it edifies; while the gift of tongues, unless some one interpret, builds up or edifies the speaker alone. "Therefore, let him who speaks in a tongue pray that he may be able to interpret what he utters." "But if there be no interpreter, let him who speaks in tongues keep silence in the congregation, and speak in private to himself and God alone." "For God is not the author of confusion, but of peace."*

Now, these directions refer, not to the order of business, but to the order of worship in the assembly—to an order of worship in nature dissimilar to our preaching service, but very similar to our prayer and conference meetings; at which not one, and he a minister set apart to the work by the laying on of hands, but many, can properly take part. Certainly a meeting in which two or three having the gift of prophecy, and two or three having the gift of tongues, are permitted to speak, besides the interpretation of the tongues, the singing, and the praying, is—apart from its supernatural gifts—a modern prayer and conference meeting. Our social meetings are, indeed, the true successors of the devotional meetings of the primitive churches. It is in such meetings that silence is enjoined upon women; not conditionally, as upon the gift of tongues; but unconditionally, upon all the women of the Corinthian church, "as in all the churches of the saints."

* Conybeare and Howson's translation.

The primitive Christians met together at first every day for worship, for the breaking of bread, and for prayers. Their meetings were not as formal as they afterwards became. Some churches, however, abused their liberty, calling out from the apostle the directions already cited, which furnish us the clearest proof that Paul referred to other than business meetings, when he said: "As in all churches of the saints, let your women keep silence in the churches." He does not mean those meetings held on the Lord's day in the Temple, or in a large upper room, or in a private house; but those which assembled, sometimes in one place and sometimes in another, on week days, as well as on the Lord's day, not for business only, but also for Christian worship. It is impossible to make this passage cover only the business meetings of the churches. No such limitation can be put upon *ἐκκλησία*; while the context extends the word to every meeting of believers for worship where both sexes are present.

As the other passage (1 Tim. ii. 11, 12) enjoin silence upon women in the service of prayer, and in that of teaching, it naturally refers to the ordinary worshipping assemblies of the saints. But this is put beyond dispute by Paul's own words; for he afterwards says to Timothy: "These things write I unto thee, that thou mayest know how thou oughtest to behave thyself in the house of God" (1 Tim. iii. 14, 15).

We conclude, therefore, that the kind of meetings in which women are commanded to keep silence is every sort of religious meetings where both sexes are present.

V. No conclusive objection can be raised against this command and practice of silence for woman in the churches.

As we have already shewn, the prediction that in the last days daughters and maid-servants should prophesy, refers to miraculous gifts, and had its fulfilment on the day of Pentecost, in the virgin daughters of Philip, and in other female prophets. We have no evidence that the prediction referred either to an ordinary gift of speech or to a permanent institution in the church of Christ. On the contrary, we have the strongest proof that it referred to a miraculous gift, which gift was itself laid by the apostle under the injunction of silence in the churches. Certainly there is nothing here that makes against the view which has been presented.

Much unnecessary difficulty has been experienced by some respecting the "woman praying or prophesying with her head uncovered" (1 Cor. xi. 13). Paul, for the time, seems to allow the practice while he condemns the manner of its performance; but afterwards he forbids the practice itself. This does not indicate either a vacillating or contradictory course in Paul; for, in the one and earlier passage, he may have allowed an

existing custom to pass unrebuked, while he called attention to the indecency of its performance; and, having rebuked the indecency, he may, later and in another part of the same letter, have forbidden the custom itself. This course would be rhetorical, and in accordance with Paul's rule for the winning of men. "For," as Calvin says, "the apostle by condemning the one does not commend the other." Surely no man can seriously venture to place the mere and brief statement of a practice in equal authority with an explicit and repeated command, which command, by its letter and its spirit, for ever destroys the rightful existence of that practice, both respecting prophesying and praying in the churches.

It is said, "Let it be noted that these directions were given to Greek churches." "How far were the Corinthian and Ephesian women entitled to represent the women of the present day?"* In reply, let it be noted that the most approved punctuation of the passage in 1st Corinthians shews that these directions, if given, were not limited to Greek churches; for it reads: "as in all churches of the saints, let your woman keep silence in the churches." Even Dr Clarke says, "This was a Jewish ordinance." The directions were as widely extended as the churches of the saints. Now the question, how far the women, not of Corinth and of Ephesus alone, but of all the primitive churches, were entitled to represent the women of the present day, depends wholly on the answer given to a previous question, namely: Of what are they called to be representatives? Of customs? Paul has not thus used them. Of the relation of women to men as such? Then they may stand as our representatives, and what was laid upon them in obedience to this relation, falls with equal force upon women of the present day. The question is not, How far? but, In what respect? and Paul is careful to answer this conclusively. Mr Torrey again says: "The reasons for the injunction have ceased, and of consequence it is not now binding. *Ratione cessante, cessat lex*" (p. 167). All very true of the reasons which he so modestly assumes to put into the mouth of Paul; but not in one particular true of the reasons which Paul himself gives for the command; to which reasons Mr Torrey does not even condescend to allude throughout his whole article. On the same improved principles of interpretation, there is neither doctrine, precept, prohibition, nor rite of any sort, that could be saved to the church. If his only canon of interpretation, namely, "The letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life," has the latitude here given it—putting

* Rev. C. W. Torrey, *Congregational Quarterly*, vol. ix. 164.

reasons into the mouth of an inspired apostle for the sake of plucking them out again ; while utterly ignoring the reasons which the same apostle in the same passages expressly gives—then the whole letter of God's word disappears for ever before the new spirit which is seeking to give life.

But, "the voice of women adds interest to the social meetings of the church." It may be so ; but, are those churches which allow women to speak and pray in their meetings distinguished above those which do not allow the practice, for stability, strength, and the growth of every Christian grace ? Besides, shall a clear prohibition be set aside in order to promote interest in our meetings ? Where would such a principle lead ? "Women do good and save immortal souls by their speaking and praying in public." We do not deny it ; for their silence is not an essential part of the gospel plan. Hence God blesses those whose lives and hearts are otherwise right. But we do not hesitate to say that they could do as much, yea more good, and save more souls, too, if they would bring their labours for Christ within the limits which he himself has imposed upon them.

"There are cases," it is said, "in which the continuance of a church or of a social meeting depends upon the violation of this injunction of silence ; shall the church or meeting die, or the injunction be violated ?" Calvin long ago answered : "This (rule) we must understand as referring to ordinary service, or where there is a church in a regularly constituted state ; for a necessity may occur of such a nature as to require that a woman should speak in public ; but Paul has merely in view what is becoming in a duly regulated assembly." These practical difficulties do not annul the prohibition as the law ordained for the churches, any more than the difficulties which sometimes attend the public confession of Christ make void the believer's obligation publicly to profess him.

"The world has outgrown such narrow views, and is emancipating the churches from their thralldom." Is not man still born male and female ? Was not Eve deceived and first in the transgression ? "But, what of that ?" it may be said. Solemnly do we urge you to reflect before you despise God's revealed law respecting the relation of the sexes. The honour belongs to the Bible of elevating woman to the companionship of man which she now enjoys, notwithstanding the restrictions which it lays upon her. It enjoins, moreover, every right attempt to redress the remaining wrongs done her. But that redress must agree with the law of her relationship, otherwise those wrongs will be increased many-fold by the attempt. "But, it is a question of rights, not of relationship." True, but human rights arise from human relations, and rest on those relations

as their only and sure foundation. And has not Paul, in the passages enforcing silence upon women, given the relation of man to woman in the law of their creation? As a matter of fact, are women equal to men in strength and fitness for all positions and pursuits in life? Have not some who defied the law of their womanhood, at last yielded to it, and obeyed Paul, when he said: "I will, therefore, that the younger women marry, bear children, guide the house, give none occasion to the adversary to speak reproachfully"? (1 Tim. v. 14). Under the influence of the blessed gospel, the world will outgrow all wrongs, and come into closer harmony with God's law, both natural and revealed.

"Will not this reasoning apply to singing and to teaching in the Sunday School?" Singing has, like speaking, peculiar words to express it; but we look in vain for them in these prohibitions. To make the argument apply, then, to singing, is to go beyond what is written. The same is true of teaching in Sunday Schools. Such teaching is not in the assemblies which Paul had in view, or in assemblies so like them as to fall under the same principle and the same condemnation. The argument cannot thus be bent until it breaks.

"As for women, they have been queens, and generals, and sailors, and soldiers, and doctors, and priests, and class-leaders, and we see not why they may not become preachers in the Methodist Episcopal church."* Did the editor never read 1 Cor. xiv. 33-38 and 1 Tim. ii. 11-15? We would commend these passages to his careful, honest, and prayerful examination; and if then he can see no reason why woman should not preach in any church subject to the will and law of Christ Jesus, we will leave him to the strange logic of his attempted reasoning.†

None of these objections has much weight; and surely no one or all of them, or any others that can be found, can assume

* *Zion's Herald*, July 1st, 1869.

† It is worthy of special note, that the interpretation of these passages formerly held is most emphatically confirmed by the ablest expositors who have written since the apostle's commands have been openly set at naught by some churches. See, for example, Broomfield, Hodge, Barnes, Olshausen, Conybeare and Howson, Stanley, Ellicott, Kling, and Oosterzee in Lange's Commentaries. See also the translations of Noyes, Sawyer.

On the other side of the question we find Dr Adam Clarke; but he is guilty of changing the fact that women *did* prophesy in public into the permission that "some women *might* prophesy" in the assembly; also of making prophesying equivalent to teaching; also of turning speaking (1 Cor. xiv. 34, 35) into "asking questions, and what we call dictating, in the assemblies"; and of saying: "All that the apostle opposes here is their questioning, finding fault, (tc., in the Christian church.

Surely, in our interpretation of the New Testament, we are utterly at sea, with neither chart nor compass to guide us, if its writers made such a loose

to stand for one moment against a positive, explicit, repeated, and universal command of God. Who, sitting with the Almighty, shall abrogate this law for the churches of Christ? Just here the argument impinges with such force that those who advocate the speaking of women in the churches, seek to avoid its force by weakening or by destroying the inspiration of the commands of silence. On this attempt consider :

VI. It is no trifling matter to ignore or set at nought the teachings of Scripture respecting the silence of women in the churches.

Paul did not so regard it ; for he adds to his injunction this solemn caution ! “ Was it from you that the word of God was first sent forth ? Or are you the only church that it has reached ? Nay, if any think that he has the gift of prophecy, or that he is a spiritual man, let him acknowledge the words which I write for commands of the Lord Jesus. But if any man refuse this acknowledgment, let him refuse it at his own peril.” * These, be it remembered, are the words of warning with which the inspired apostle closes his directions for the order of worship which enjoin silence upon women. Hence they have primary and special reference to these directions. Paul does not rank the matter among the things indifferent, of which he says : “ Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind.” But, instead : “ If any man refuse to acknowledge these injunctions of silence for commands of the Lord Jesus, let him refuse it at his own peril.” If *ἀγνοῖται* be the true reading (Stanley), the meaning is startling : “ He is ignored by God ; God is ignorant of him.” If *ἀγνοίται*, the received reading be the true one (and Tischendorf countenances no other), then it means : “ Let him be ignorant ” — “ a contemptuous expression of indifference as to the opinion of such an one, however great his pretensions.” Do not all who, for popularity or policy, or any other reason, seek to parry Paul’s prohibition by calling him a bachelor, and by saying, that were he alive now he would write differently on this subject, incur the apostle’s censure ? Such attempts strike at the root of inspiration. They undermine the whole Bible ; and sad indeed will be the harvest gathered from this evil sowing. Where learn they that Paul was a bachelor ? In what single instance does he rest a command, or prohibition, or anything else, on so strange a foundation ! Where does he enjoin silence upon women in the churches by reason of present custom or present distress ? It is perilous to speak and write as many do on this subject. If

use of words as Dr Clarke here implies. Nothing they taught could be made certain.

* 1 Cor. xiv. 36-38. Conybeare and Howson’s translation.

Paul was inspired, as he claimed to be in one of these passages, and as we must hold him to have been in them all, then the reasons he renders for the silence of women in the churches are as true as they are permanent, and are worthy of all acceptance as commands of the Lord Jesus. If he was not inspired when he uttered them, let some one shew it, and end the controversy and unloose the tongues of women in the public assembly at the same stroke. But pause, first, and tell us why every doctrine Paul taught, every precept he gave, every command he uttered, every word he said, cannot also be set aside, as null and void, on precisely the same grounds? Why, on this theory, may not the atonement of the Son of God have been a mere mode of thought suited only to the times in which it was announced? regeneration, a requirement for the times? the church and its rites, an institution for the times? heaven and hell, mere figments of the imagination, engendered by the times, and for the times? the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, a revelation from God for the times? And why, as the times have changed, may not the reasons for all these have ceased, and they themselves, of consequence, be no longer binding? Away with such arguments! It is neither befitting a scholar, nor a pious man, nor an interpreter of Scripture, nor a teacher or preacher of the oracles of God, thus to trifle with the reasons given by an inspired apostle as the ground of an inspired prohibition. Only three honourable ways are open to a man: Either let him shew that the reasons given by Paul for the command of silence do no longer exist,—in other words, that the history of man's creation and fall is a myth; or, failing in this, let him, like a true man and Christian, conform to the prohibition as now in full force; or, what God forbid that any should do, let him deny the inspiration of Paul, spurn the prohibition and the reasons for it alike, and be guided solely by reason and experience. But even then he would run against that great law which, in the whole animal creation, subordinates, in strength, and generally in beauty, the female to the male. He would reject the word of God, only to be held and bound by the law of God in creation. He cannot give to woman man's voice, so that it shall be easy and pleasant for her to speak in public. Neither can he render it proper, or even possible, for women to appear in public at all times and in all conditions. Silence in the assemblies is imposed upon woman during much of her life by the law of her being, if she discharged her appointed functions as a wife and mother. Paul only makes universal a law which nature makes partial. But this third alternative no true Christian will ever take. He, from his relation to God and to his word, is shut up either to

the first or to the second alternative. If he cannot prove Paul's reasons for the command of silence to have been temporary in their nature, and to have already passed away, he is bound by his fealty to God to conform to the letter and spirit of the prohibition, "as the commands of the Lord Jesus," as the law of all his churches. To refuse to acknowledge them as such, is to incur the solemn censure of the Master.

IX. GERMAN LITERATURE.

Theologische Studien und Kritiken. Jahrgang, 1870. Drittes Heft.

This Number contains three articles. 1. A Critical survey of the Writings of John Wessel (A.D. 1420-1489), by Professor Doedes of Utrecht. Wessel was one of the most distinguished of the "Reformers before the Reformation." The heroes of the Reformation, Luther, Melancthon, Zuingle, and Ecclumpadius, spoke of him with the highest veneration. Luther said of him, "If I had read Wessel before I began, my opponents would have imagined that Luther had derived everything from Wessel—so entirely do we two agree in spirit." In Ullmann's well-known history, "*Reformatoren vor der Reformation*," there is a lengthened account of the life and labours of Wessel. This article by Dr Doedes enters more fully into a review of the works of Wessel, and of the controversies in which he was engaged, and brings fully to view the doctrines which he propounded and defended. He had facilities for prosecuting such an inquiry from having discovered a work written by an opponent of Wessel's, entitled "*De Indulgentiis*," which appears to have been published about the beginning of the 16th century, and also certain very rare editions of several of Wessel's writings. The whole article is extremely interesting, as throwing much light on the influences then at work in preparing the way for the Reformation. 2. The second article is a lengthened and minute topographical inquiry, by Vaihinger, into the route of the Journey of the Children of Israel through the Wilderness, as described in Numbers xxxiii. 1-49. 3. The Doctrine of Election, as taught respectively by Zuingle and Calvin, is set forth in an instructive paper by Kreyher of Breslau. He shews that essentially they were at one on the doctrine, and hence that there is no foundation for the opinion that the dogma of absolute predestination in the Reformed Church was due to the influence of Calvin alone; at the same time, while agreed on all essential points, he shews that there were certain important differences between them. Calvin did not estimate Zuingle as a theologian very highly. He called in question several of his views on this doctrine. In a letter to Bullinger, he says, "*Genus*

doctrinæ Zuinglii et Calvini nil hebet simile. Zuinglii enim libellus (de Providentia) ut familiariter inter nos loquamar, tam duris paradoxis refertus est ut longissime ab ea quam adhibui moderatione distet." Zuingle reached his conclusions by following a *speculative* mode of reasoning, while Calvin followed the *empirical* method. The former reasoned from his conceptions of God, and thus constructed his doctrine of providence and predestination; the latter reasoned *a posteriori*, from the teachings of Scripture. This fundamental difference pervades their systems. Zuingle's reasoning led him to conclude that there were the chosen of God even among the heathen, and he placed such men as Socrates and Cato among the saints. Against arguments leading to such a conclusion, Calvin strongly protested. "In Zuingle's whole theology," says the writer of this article, "there is a certain speculative rationalistic element to be found. If the modern theologians of Zurich, however, wish to make him, on this account, the representative of their distinctive theology, and if others accuse him of Pantheism, they therein do him great injustice. Zeller has rightly observed that there are two propositions, the union of which constitutes Pantheism, viz., (1.) 'The world is nothing else than the manifestation of God;' (2.) 'God is nothing else than the essence of the world,' and that Zuingle only adopted the former of these. He would have rejected the other with indignation. This is manifest from the way in which he contended against the doctrine of the eternity of the world, as well as from the clear way in which he taught the doctrine of the personality of God. With Calvin, on the contrary, the purely religious element predominated. His theology flowed forth from the inner experiences of his believing mind. The doctrine of the absolute ruin of human nature held a first rank in it, and therefore it is everywhere pervaded by the idea of the all-embracing sovereignty of God."

Then follows a paper on Sargon and Shalmaneser, by Dr Schrader of Giessen. He controverts the opinion propounded by Dr Riehm in an article in this journal at the close of last year, in which he affirms that these were but two names of the same Assyrian prince, and on the contrary, argues that they were two different princes, the one succeeding the other on the throne.

The works reviewed in this number are—"The History of the Old Testament in the Christian Church" (Geschichte des A. T. in der Christlichen Kirche), by Professor Diestel of Jena, and "A Handbook of the Biblical Theology of the New Testament," by Dr Weiss. The former is reviewed by Dr Riehm, one of the editors of the *Studien*, and the latter by Kähler.

Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie. Jahrgang, 1870. Drittes Heft. Gotha, Perthes. London: Williams & Norgate.

The first essay in this number of the journal of *Historical Theology* is on the question, "What did Luther gain from Melancthon?" The object of it is apparent from the opening sentences. The writer says, "According to an old proverb, marriages are made in heaven.

The union between Luther and Melancthon was a spiritual marriage, made in heaven. The words (Gen. xii. 1, 2) with which Reuchlin dismissed his nephew, when he sent him to Wittenberg, have been richly fulfilled. The Lord of the church not only made Melancthon 'a great nation,' but also a 'blessing' to Martin Luther, the Reformer of the church." The points illustrated by the writer are these: 1. Luther's melancholic choleric disposition demanded a gentle modifying restraint; his genuine, strong, manly character needed for its right manifestation a soul of a predominantly female nature. This the Lord gave him in Philip Melancthon. 2. Luther was indebted to Melancthon for his knowledge of the ancient classics. Shortly after the latter entered on his office at Wittenberg, Luther wrote to Spalatin—"Philip has a crowded audience; he is training all the theologians especially, the greatest with the least—even Luther also—to be Greek scholars." 3. Melancthon is the true founder of the science of evangelico-biblical interpretation. He made Luther the *παραρρητής* of Scripture exposition, a *ἐξηγητής*. Melancthon's great service was in uniting the *ἐκκλησία* with the *προφητεία*. 4. Luther gained much from Melancthon, pre-eminently the "Magister Germaniæ," in the matter of the Christian education of the youth. 5. In the department of church government and church politics, Melancthon also contributed greatly to influence Luther's opinions and conduct. On all these points the writer adduces important and interesting historical illustrations, all tending to shew how truly these two great men were the complements of each other in the work which at that time devolved upon them.

The second contribution to this number consists of fifty letters which have recently been found, principally among the state archives of the libraries of Zurich and of St Gall, written by Franciscus Dryander, the Spaniard. They are edited in the original Latin by Boehmer of Halle. Dryander (*oak-man*) was the name usually assumed, in accordance with the custom of those times, by the Spanish Protestant Enzinas or Encinas. He also sometimes bore the names, Duchesne, Van Eyck, Eichman, all of which have the same meaning, "oak-man." After completing his education under Melancthon at Wittenberg, he went to the Netherlands, and openly embraced the cause of the Reformation. He published a Spanish version of the New Testament (1543) which he dedicated to Charles V. He was imprisoned the same year, but, escaping, he fled to Germany, and thence to England, bearing with him letters of commendation from Melancthon to Edward VI. and Cranmer. He resided some time at Oxford, and then returned to the Continent, where he took an active part in furthering the Reformation. Of the letters here published by Boehmer, thirty-four are addressed to Bullinger, the great Swiss Reformer, and the rest to other noted personages of that time, such as Myconius, Bucer, &c. They are of considerable historical value, and throw light on the character and actions of the men who exerted so prominent an influence in moulding the opinions of the age, and in giving a direction to the movements of the church.

The third article consists of Documents illustrative of the mournful confessional controversy between the Lutheran and the Reformed

branches of the church, which raged in the Palatinate in the second half of the 16th century.

The last article is a sermon preached in 1570 at Basil, by Erzberger, having a bearing on the controversy about the Helvetic Confession on the subject of the Eucharist, particularly animadverting on the conduct of Salzer, the successor of Myconius, in using his influence to promulgate the Lutheran doctrine within the Swiss Church.

Zeitschrift für die gesammte lutherische Theologie und Kirche. Jahrgang 1870. Zweites Quartalheft. Leipzig: Dörfling & Franke. London: Williams & Norgate.

This Number contains (1.) An exegetical discussion of Job xxviii. 27 and Proverbs viii. 22-31, as illustrative of the first traces of the doctrine of the Logos in the Old Testament. (2.) Justin Martyr's doctrine of the Eucharist. The subject is specially treated as shewing that the Popish idea of the sacrifice of the mass derives no countenance from the writings of that eminent church father who died the death of a martyr, having been beheaded at Rome under Marcus Aurelius, in A.D. 166. (3.) The History of the Lutheran formula for the dispensation of the Lord's Supper. The writer challenges the accuracy of an article by Dr E. Stähelin on this ordinance ("Abendmahlsfeier") in Herzog's *Encyclopädie*, and shews wherein he has erred in his account of the Lutheran mode of celebrating it. (4.) An Historical Dissertation on Usury, with an exposition of the Doctrine of Scripture on the subject, by Döhler of Walcottsburg in North America. The department of Critico-Bibliographical notices of the most recent works in Theological Literature occupies about two-thirds of this number. One cannot but acknowledge the ability with which many of these notices are written, yet they frequently reveal a strong Lutheran bias.

Moderne Zweifel am christlichen Glauben für ernstlich Suchende erörtert. Von Dr T. CHRISTLIEB, Professor der Theologie in Bonn. Zweite erweiterte Auflage. Bonn: Verlag A. Marcus. London: Williams & Norgate. 1870. Pp. 628.

This admirable work deals with the whole question of the conflict between modern unbelief and the Christian faith. It is thoroughly scientific in its character, and addresses itself to educated men who are earnestly seeking a solution of the difficulties suggested by philosophy and science in their bearing on the claims of revelation. Dr Christlieb first directed attention to the subjects here discussed in a series of lectures delivered a few years ago in London, where he was pastor of one of the German congregations. After removing to Friedrichshafen, in St Gall, he repeated these lectures (1865-66) in an enlarged form at the request of the Evangelical Society there. In that form they were afterwards published, and obtained a wide circulation, particularly in Switzerland. The second edition, still farther

enlarged, has just been published. The work is thorough and conclusive, and we regard it as the ablest contribution to modern Apologetics that has recently appeared in Germany. The forms of error and unbelief which it controverts are brought definitely before the reader, and the author never fails to make it clear what he is aiming at. This we regard as a great excellency, and fitted to make the work practically useful. In this respect it far excels, in our opinion, the work of Delitzsch ("System der christlichen Apologetik") on the same subject. Indeed we do not know a work we could more fully recommend to earnest inquirers after the truth. There are three great sources of modern scepticism, viz., Philosophy, Historical Criticism, and Natural Science. Dr Christlieb confines his attention in the present volume to the difficulties as to a belief in Christianity, which arise from the first of these sources, and to a part of those arising from the second. The remaining subjects he intends to discuss in another volume, on which he is at present engaged. The topics here treated of are, (1.) The present cleft between Culture and Christianity; (2.) Reason and Revelation; (3.) Unscriptural Conceptions of God,—Atheism, Materialism, Pantheism, Deism, and Rationalism; (4.) The Biblico-Christian Conception of God; (5.) The Modern Rejection of Miracles; (6.) Modern representations of the Life of Jesus—by Paulus, Schenkel, Strauss, Renan; (7.) The Modern Denial of the Resurrection of Jesus; (8.) The new Critical Apprehension of Primitive Christianity—the principles of the Tübingen Critical School.

Kirchengeschichte von der ältesten Zeit bis zum 19 Jahrhundert. In vorlesungen von Dr HAGENBACH, Professor der Theologie in Basel. Neue durchgängig überarbeitete Gesamtausgabe. Erster Band, Die ersten sehr Jahrhunderte. Leipzig: Verlag von Hirzel. London: Williams & Norgate. 1869. Pp. 658.

Hagenbach is well known in this country as the author of many valuable works, particularly in the departments of Church history and the history of doctrines. Though he is a professor in a Swiss University, yet his works are very popular in Germany, and several of them, particularly his extremely useful Introduction to Theology, are handbooks at the universities there. At different times during the last twenty years he has published portions of his Academic Lectures on Church History, not, however, in chronological order. An abridged translation of his Lectures on the History of the 18th and 19th centuries was published a few years ago by Messrs Clark of Edinburgh, and more recently a complete translation, executed by Dr Hurst of America, has been published in London. He has been frequently asked by those to whom these lectures were known, and by whom they were highly appreciated, to publish a uniform and complete edition of them. He has seen fit to comply with their request, and thereby to lay the Christian Church under an additional obligation to him. He has long made church history his special study, and now in his advanced life (for he must be about seventy years of age), he is revising and putting into a permanent form the results of

his careful and prolonged researches. The lecture form is retained, and we think with very great advantage to the reader. The volume before us consists of thirty-nine lectures, and comprehends the history of the first six centuries. The work, when completed, will consist of seven volumes, and will comprehend the whole history of the Christian church down to the present times. The style is in a very remarkable degree lucid and vigorous. He is sound in doctrine, and thoroughly reliable as an historian. He does not bewilder his reader by vague speculations, but in a calm and interesting manner presents before them the varied phenomena of the church's history as they successively arise. We hope Dr Hagenbach may be spared to complete the revision of his lectures he has thus begun, and to leave behind him this monument of his industry.

Luther's Leben und Wirken. Von E. S. F. SCHULTZ. Berlin: Hertz. London: Williams & Norgate. 1870. Pp. 888.

This deeply interesting account of the life and labours of the great German Reformer consisted originally of a series of lectures delivered by the late Superintendent Schultz in Berlin. The work is edited by his daughter. She lays it "with the hand of thankfulness and of love as a wreath on the tomb of her dearly beloved father." The editor thus fitly and truly characterises the work:—"This work places before the educated reader a true and life-like portrait of the first Reformer, and of his times; it unfolds in a perspicuous manner the chief questions which entered into the Reformation movement; it edifies by its representations of the steadfastness in the faith, and the undaunted and unbending fidelity with which the theologians and the princes of the Reformation-time testified and strove for the Truth revealed by God, and for the establishment of the Church as the foundation of that Truth. It confutes the opinion that the Union (of the Lutheran and the Reformed Churches), which the author heartily approved of, is to be chargeable with the denial or the weakening of the Lutheran Confession. . . . This work shews clearly and truly what Lutheranism is, and how the union has its deep roots in the aims and endeavours of the German Reformers." Among the many works on Luther's life and times which have in recent years appeared in Germany, we regard the one before us as entitled to an especial place of honour. The style of the book is easy and flowing, and the events which entered into the great drama of the Reformation are grouped together with great skill, so that the whole has a wonderful vividness, sustaining the reader's attention with unflagging interest.

Einleitung in den Jerusalemischen Talmud. Von Dr Z. FRANKEL, Oberrabbiner und Director des Jüdisch-theologischen Seminars zu Breslau. Breslau: Skutsch; London: Williams & Norgate. 1870. Pp. 316.

Dr Frankel, the chief rabbi and director of the Jewish Theological Seminary for the training of Rabbis at Breslau, here presents us with

an introduction to the Jerusalem Talmud. The book is printed in the Hebrew language, and without the points. We must confess that our eye is unfamiliar with such typography, and with no ease or satisfaction have we been able to make our way into an understanding of the general aim of the work. It consists of five sections, and is supplied with a very full and complete ספח or index. The work presents a history of the Talmud, an outline of its contents, and an account of the place it holds among the Jews now scattered abroad. A short time ago a very interesting account of the Talmud, by Mr Deutsch of the British Museum, was published in the *Quarterly Review*. That essay was afterwards published in a separate form, and was translated into German, and passed through various editions in that country. It presents the Talmud in far too favourable a light. It is severely and justly criticised in Dr Delitzsch's recent work, "*Handwerkerleben zur Zeit Jesu*" (The Life of Artisans in the time of Christ). He says that Deutsch, who is a Jew, "conceals himself behind a Christian mask." We do not think that Dr Frankel's work is open to any such charge. It is written by a Jew, and avowedly for Jews. It seems to be adapted as a handbook for the use of students at the seminary over which the author presides.

X. FRENCH LITERATURE.

La Chaire Francaise au moyen âge, spécialement au XIII. siècle, d'après les manuscrits contemporaine par A. LECOY DE LA MARCHE, archiviste. Ouvrage couronné par l'Académie des Inscriptions et belles-lettres. Paris: Didier Edit. 1868.

The University of France, with its division into different academies, is often the means of bringing to light literary curiosities, which would probably otherwise remain buried in the MSS. of the public libraries. Among these, the work before us deserves an honourable place.

The author informs us in his preface, that in 1867 the *Académie des Inscriptions et belles-lettres* proposed, as the subject for its annual prize, the best treatise on the preachers of the thirteenth century. The competitors were required.

1st. To study the sermons composed and preached during the thirteenth century.

2d. To find out (if possible) the names of their authors, and the most important circumstances of their lives.

3d. To point out what light their works throw upon the morals of the times; the state of the public mind; the use of the vulgar tongue; and the civil and religious history of the thirteenth century in general.

The work before us was crowned, because, says the President of

the Academy, "The author has fully treated all the parts of the programme. He passes in review all the preachers who appeared in France during the course of the thirteenth century; monks, secular clergy, priests, bishops, cardinals. He examines in what language the sermons were written, preached, or translated. He presents to his readers a picture of French society, in accordance with the hints furnished by the words and opinions of the preachers. . . . He thus founds his assertions upon a great number of quotations and ingenious collations, and comes to conclusions, which, if they are not all equally sure, at least reach a high degree of probability."

M. Lecoy himself tells us that he has quoted from more than four hundred MSS., almost all dating from the thirteenth century, and only containing matter hitherto unpublished, without counting the printed sources, which are, however, much fewer in number.

During the dark ages, between the invasion of the barbarians and the reign of Charlemagne, sacred eloquence had fallen very low, except in the few instances which are well known. This was, therefore, the period of books of homilies and special collections of sermons and discourses, composed with the design of aiding the memory or the imagination of those whose duty it was to instruct the public.

The clergy being at that time recruited from among the barbarians, did not often possess in its ranks members sufficiently well instructed to be able of themselves to supply the wants of everyday preaching; more sermons were therefore borrowed and learnt by heart than were composed.

These collections, consisting as they did, of selections from the works of the early fathers, had at least the advantage of bringing the preachers back to the imitation of the ancient models of sacred eloquence. This was one of the reasons why Charlemagne caused them to be circulated through the different dioceses of his empire, and distributed to those appointed to read in the churches. But the momentary impulse given to sacred eloquence by the great emperor, did not last long. The Latin tongue was becoming less and less understood, while the vulgar tongue was merely in a state of formation.*

Unfortunately none of the stirring harangues of Peter the Hermit, or the other preachers of the Crusades, have been preserved. Among the well-known remains of St Bernard there are none of his popular discourses. It would have been very interesting to lay bare the secret of the powers of eloquence and persuasion by which those men swayed the masses as they did; much more interesting than to study the dry scholastic method that was already beginning to blight the reviving eloquence of the pulpit.

The twelfth century is marked by a flowery style of preaching that sometimes becomes pompous and stilted. The revival of letters is

* There is one specimen of the popular preaching of this period still extant. It is a fragment upon the prophecy of Jonah. It has been translated, and, though curious as a monument of the history of the language, it has no other merit, the matter appearing to be as much neglected as the style. V. p. 10.

shewn by a certain striving after elegance, but the discourses of that period which have come down to us, are exclusively addressed to the clergy and the friars; none of those extant can be said to represent the popular element.

In the first half of the thirteenth century, pulpit eloquence took a stride in advance, particularly in the two new orders of Dominicans and Franciscans. "When we shall have shewn," says our author, "the marvellous impulse that pulpit instruction received in the thirteenth century, the innumerable mass of original works which this movement produced, the prejudices and obscurity with which they are still surrounded, it will then be made clear why this period is fixed upon as the object of a detailed study, why it may be taken as the type of the whole middle age in the matter which we have under consideration. Before this century we find more rhetoric, but less fecundity; after it, the quantity increases, while the quality diminishes" (pp. 17, 18).

Our author examines, first of all, the question, Whose business was it to preach? For a long time authority to preach was given to bishops only, though they had the faculty of authorising members of their clergy to assist them. The prelates preached to the clergy in Synod assembled at ordinations, pastoral visits, and to the laity at the public ceremonials, at the offices and processions. Preaching was specially recommended to them at their ordination. The Chancellor of the church of Besançon read or repeated to the Archbishop at the moment of his consecration, the following, among other instructions: "Give yourself to preaching with ardour; let not sacred instruction cease to flow abundantly out of your mouth, with gentleness and clearness, towards the souls which are entrusted to you. . . and above all, let not your conduct belie your words, lest your hearers should say to themselves, 'Too delicate master, why do you not act as you speak?'" In the parishes it was the business of the priests to preach. Every stranger coming into a parish to preach had to shew a permission from the bishop. These *plebani* or parish priests, have left very few traces of their sermons. This is easily accounted for, because the simple and frequent exhortations addressed to a popular audience were hardly ever written down. Still there are a few whose fame has reached us, such as Foulgues de Neuilly, who preached in favour of the Crusades, and that curé of Vermanton who gave up the archdeaconship of Auxerre and the prebend of Paris, in order to devote himself to the daily instruction of his parishioners. Besides these, the chancellors of Notre Dame of Paris, the court chaplains, the members of the faculty of theology, and the doctors of the Sorbonne in particular, were all preachers. "The faculty was even invested with the right of deciding what masters should preach on certain days and in certain places of the capital. It became by degrees a centre of doctrine and of authority, and escaped, upon this as upon many other points, from under the authority of the bishop," p. 24. The deacons seem to have had a certain right to preach, but the pulpit was closed to the rest of the clergy. Besides the secular clergy, however, there were several orders of preaching friars; and the thirteenth century saw the rise of the two famous orders of Domini-

cans and Franciscans, who soon spread themselves everywhere, often to the great annoyance of the regular clergy. Our author is not very warm in praise of their eloquence, and he concludes this enumeration by stating that some of the anonymous writers, whose works he has examined, have left sermons among the most remarkable of the times. About the beginning of the thirteenth century, we find laymen thrusting themselves into the ministry under different pretexts. Sometimes cupidity induced them to offer to replace certain inefficient ecclesiastics. In Normandy, companies sometimes even farmed the preaching of a parish or diocese, engaging themselves to find as many orators as might be necessary. The Waldenses and Albigenses also harangued the people in order to propagate their doctrines. Some women, abbesses or nuns, pretended to have the right to speak in public. In Spain, Pope Honorius warned the bishops of Valencia and Burgos to shut the pulpit against abbesses who were bold enough to intrude into it. There are, however, still extant two fragments of sermons by the mistress of the Beghines at Paris. But no doubt the general rule of exclusion was maintained, and one of the Dominican friars gives the following four reasons for it:—"Women are excluded from the pulpit, 1st. Because their intelligence is not sufficiently extensive. 2d. Because they are destined to play a subordinate part. 3d. Because they tend to excite unholy desires. And 4th. In remembrance of the folly of the first of them, who, according to St Bernard, turned the world upside down, by opening her mouth once" (p. 83). Many and various are the exhortations addressed to preachers, as to their conduct, as regarding prayer, study, humility, regularity in their behaviour, all which are to be found described at length in one of the manuals which have come down to us. "The first preachers," it says, "were few, and they converted the world; those of our day are innumerable, and they hardly produce any fruit; the reason is, because they do not give themselves enough of pains to acquire these precious advantages." "There are," says another writer, "various kinds of orators; those who address themselves to the purse, those who address themselves to the ears, and those who address themselves to the heart; the last kind are rare." A third gives the following by way of illustration:—"He who acts differently from what he preaches, merits the sarcasm once addressed to a clerk who was preaching one Palm Sunday, and after praising the humility of the Saviour, was going away mounted upon a superb palfrey, when an old woman thus apostrophised him; 'Master, was the ass you were speaking about, and the Saviour who was riding on him, like that?'"

After this review of the different orders, on whom it was incumbent to preach, the author enters minutely into the lives of those orators who have left works behind them, and he acquaints his readers with the details of their biographies, as far as it is possible. In many cases, however, these lives are surrounded with great obscurity. Among those whose works are the most frequently alluded to in this volume, are a Cardinal bishop, a doctor of the Sorbonne, and a Cistercian monk.

The first of these, Jacques de Vitry, patriarch of Jerusalem, cardinal bishop of Tusculum, has hitherto been known as the his-

torian of the Crusades ; but as the orator " whose words thrilled through France, and stirred it so as it had never been stirred within the memory of man," he had long since passed into oblivion. He was a man of great erudition for the times in which he lived, and having spent a great part of his life in the Holy Land, and travelled much, he had been brought into contact with people of all sorts. " More than once in his discourses," says M. Lecoy, " he appeals to his ultramarine souvenirs in a way that makes us feel that he is in his element there ; and we can discover beneath the orator, the historian of the Crusades and the eastern explorer."*

It would appear that towards the end of his life he formed the project of collecting his sermons, so as to form a sort of didactic treatise. This great work consisted of two parts, the first of which alone has been published. The second, and by far the most interesting part, is only to be found among the French MSS. Out of this treatise our author culls many curious traits relating to the history of the times, and the manners, and customs of society during the thirteenth century. " We can easily conceive," says he, " what a picture of customs and manners such a plan well executed must present. There are seventy-four discourses in all ; two or three in general, and sometimes more, are addressed to each of the following classes, which may be said to have comprehended the whole of society at that time: prelates and priests; canons and secular clergy; students, judges, and advocates; theologians and preachers; black and white monks; grey, white, and Cistercian sisters; regular canons; hermits and recluses; grey friars; templars; hospitallers and attendants on the sick; lepers and the infirm; the poor and the afflicted; mourners; Crusaders; pilgrims; nobles and knights; citizens; merchants and money-changers; labourers and vine-dressers; artisans; sailors; male and female servants; married people; widowers and bachelors; young girls, children, and youths." In his prologue he says, " The greatest prudence and discernment is necessary in preaching. The same specific is not suitable to every one. The doctor who would attempt to cure everybody's eyes with the same collyrium must be mad, and he who attends to the eye does not take charge of the foot. . . . Thus, we must speak a different language, and even a different idiom sometimes, according as we address ourselves to the high or the low, to prelates or to the inferior clergy. . . . We must sometimes blame, sometimes encourage; aim less at the beauty of the sermon than at the edification of souls; let ourselves down to the comprehension of the common people; and employ many proverbs, and historical traits, and examples, particularly when the audience is tired, and is beginning to fall asleep. . . . *Experto credite.*" And the author relates how he aroused the attention of a whole multitude one day by the simple words, " The man sleeping in the corner down there will not know the secret I am going to tell you " (pp. 52, 53).

* Jacques de Vitry was one of the bishops who were sent to preach to the Albigenses. It is said of him: "Crucem contra Albigenses in Francia prædicans, eloqui suavitatem ac dulcedinem multis et innumerabilibus ad signum crucis accipiendum provocavit."—*Nicolas de Cantimpré*.

Very little is known of Pierre de Limoges, except that he was the intimate friend and colleague of Robert de Sorbon (the founder of the Sorbonne) from about 1259 to 1278. He seems to have been a diplomatist, and to have been several times entrusted with political missions to England. By a letter written in January 1268 to the English Chancellor Gautier de Merton, it would appear that he was employed by the Queen Margaret of Provence to restore peace between Henry III. and his barons.*

Pierre de Limoges has left several series of sermons; but his great work, entitled *Distinctions*, is a sort of alphabetical repertory, in which thoughts, materials, and whole sermons, are arranged in a certain though rather arbitrary order. The names of the authors are not always given; once the writer quotes himself; and there can be no doubt that a great number of the reflections and anonymous fragments are his own. According to all appearance this work was composed about 1278; at all events it must have been later than 1270, because several passages shew that St Louis was already dead. The library of the Sorbonne possessed this manuscript in 1838, as appears from the catalogue of that date. Pierre had himself bequeathed it to this institution along with his other books. "These labours," says M. Lecoy, "were executed by Pierre de Limoges in order to lighten the task of oratorical composition on his own behalf and that of his colleagues, and at the same time to preserve, and in a manner edit, the most remarkable productions of the preachers of the period. . . . Such an enterprise required a spirit of discernment and indefatigable assiduity. In bringing us into contact with a mind so inquisitive, with so ardent an amateur of the art of speaking, it makes us regret the more our inability to dissipate the obscurity by which his life is surrounded." Several other works of the same sort appeared about this time, for as the darkness of the middle ages increased, the need of such helps came to be the more felt; but none of the authors, except Pierre de Limoges and Robert Grossetête, Bishop of Lincoln, have made these repertories interesting by quoting whole discourses.

We cannot leave the preachers without saying a few words about Elinand or Helinand, a Cistercian monk of Flemish origin, who died in 1237. He began life as a Trouvère, going from manor to manor, enlivening gay parties with his light songs. Philip Augustus, whose court was the centre of pleasures and feasting, often had the poet about him.† "Admired, applauded, Elinand had hardly a thought of God and of retiring from the world. Making allusion to this period of his life, he affirms that there was neither scene, nor amphitheatre, nor public place, nor gymnasium, which did not resound with his name. You have known Elinand: Who has not known him? . . . He was no more fit for work than the bird which only knows how to fly; he had no other occupation than to run about the world, seeking to

* See Shirley, "Royal and other Historical Letters," &c., vol. ii. 222-235.

† V. Du Boulay II. 746, and the Romance of Alexander: "When the king had eaten he called for Helinand, and, to enliven him, he commanded him to sing."

destroy men by flatteries or by calumnies. Well! There he is, shut up within the walls of a cloister, he to whom the whole universe appeared not only a cloister, but a prison." Again, casting his eyes back upon a past which he deplored, he develops the words of that other convert who was struck down on the way to Damascus: "When I was a child I felt, I thought as a child; but now that the progress of age, of science, and of divine grace, have made a man of me, I speak and understand wisdom among them that are perfect. . . . The devil sought me, found me, circumvented me; Christ in turn sought me, found me, succoured me" (p. 148).

Elinand seems to have possessed vast erudition, if we are to judge from the number of Greek and Latin authors that he quotes, and the frequent allusions he makes to ancient history. He borrows largely, too, from the sermons of the fathers and of St Bernard, and shews a deep acquaintance with the different books of the Bible.

The mystic quietism of the *Imitation* finds an echo in the monk of Froidmont. "If we seek to learn what Truth is from Truth itself, let us not go out. . . . Let us remain shut up in the tribunal of our own heart; let us listen to what the voice of God within us murmurs. *Ne te quæsieris extra*" (Persius). "These words," adds our author, "betray the poet, surfeited with glory, whose illusions have vanished." Other passages express the same feeling in a still clearer manner. "Books tell us that a number of authors, worthy of the most widespread notoriety, have been left in the shade unknown by all, as if they had never been born. The favour of the public is a thing so frivolous, so fortuitous, that, according to the words of a great orator, while some please in virtue of their good qualities, others charm precisely by their defects. . . . Woe then to popularity! . . . See, here we have ecclesiastics studying the liberal arts at Paris, the law at Orleans, magic at Toledo, medicine at Salerno; where do they go to study the rule of life? They seek learning everywhere, virtue nowhere; and what is learning without virtue?" These austere words were addressed to the students of Toulouse, those amateurs of the *gai Savoir*, whom his former literary reputation drew round the preacher in crowds. In another place, Elinand, perhaps remembering the recent adventures of Abelard, complains of the too frequent union of learning and debauchery, and of the bad use to which men of letters put their science, just as in the times of the ancient philosophers. "He had looked closely," writes M. Lecoy, "into all the corruption of his times; at his conversion, this noble-minded soul had taken refuge in the mystic spirit of the cloister, as in a purer, truer, more useful kind of poetry. His ardour, his vivacity, were not extinct; they had only changed their aliment. There is no orator of the age in whose discourses is to be found so much fire, so much poetry. . . . 'Is it not,' he says, 'the very barbarism of learning to comment coldly upon a law burning with love, to reason in dead words upon a subject full of life?' And his voice at times sounds in the pulpit like a sort of chaunt" (pp. 153-154).

In common with most of the mystics of the age, Elinand displays a tender devotion towards the Virgin; and he has been reproached with harshness towards the Albigenses; but it is rather with credulity, in

believing them guilty of the monstrous vices laid to their charge, that we would accuse him.

Only one of his poetical works remains. It is *Verses upon death*, written probably after his conversion. Besides his other works, which consist of three series of sermons, we have a treatise by him upon the education of princes, entitled *De constituendo rege*. The wisest and most liberal doctrines in governmental matters are professed in it. The closing corollary runs thus: *Alioquin fulsum est quod in lege Scriptum est; Quod principi placet legis habet vigorem*.

Our author dwells with complacency on the not unlikely supposition that the counsels of the Trouvère, whose songs charmed Philip Augustus, helped to form the mind of his grandson, Louis IX., one of the best monarchs that ever sat on the throne of France.

After passing the preachers in review, and rescuing from oblivion as many details concerning their lives and labours as he possibly can, M. Lecoy goes on to speak of the composition of the audiences. These were generally very large; the distinction into clergy and laity is essential, and is never lost sight of by the preachers, the MSS. being generally headed *ad clericos*, or *ad populum*. It is a mistake to suppose that the audience generally listened standing. On the contrary, they were mostly seated, the noble ladies on folding stools or cushions, brought by their valets, the rest of the congregation on benches, the men on one side and the women on the other. The Parisians seem even in those days to have displayed the same spirit of mockery and scepticism by which they are still distinguished. In 1278, the Chancellor of Notre Dame reproaches them with turning their backs to the preacher as soon as they see him enter, and going out of the church the moment he takes his place.

Sometimes the audience interrupted the speaker with objections. Robert de Sorbon, who was chaplain to Louis IX., gives us the following anecdote, which may serve as an illustration: "A learned member of the clergy was preaching before the French king. He said as follows:—'All the apostles forsook Christ at the moment of the passion, and faith was extinct in their hearts. The Virgin Mary alone kept hers from the day of the passion till that of the resurrection; in remembrance of which, during the Passion Week at *matins* all the lights are put out, one after another, except one which is kept to light them up again at Easter.' Another ecclesiastic of higher rank rose to reprove him, and to beg him not to affirm more than is written; the apostles, he contended, had forsaken Jesus Christ bodily, but not with their heart. The orator was just going to be obliged to retract, when the king, rising, interfered in his turn. 'The proposition is not false,' said he; 'it is to be found duly written down in the fathers. Bring me St Augustine's works.' They obeyed, and the king pointed out a passage in the commentary on St John's Gospel, where the illustrious doctor expresses himself in these terms: '*Fugerunt, relicto eo, corde et corpore*'" (p. 205).

As regards the language used by the preachers of the 13th century, our author shews, first, that the sermons intended for the people were always preached in the vulgar tongue, even when they were written in Latin; and, second, that it was only when the preachers were address-

ing the clergy, and not always even then, that they used Latin. This is proved by many citations; for example, the epitaph of the Abbé Notger, who died in 998, has been preserved, and runs thus :—

“Vulgari plebem, clerum sermone Latino
Erudit et satiat magni dulcedine verbi.”

As we come downwards, we find that Latin has become a foreign language to many besides the lower orders. Before the year 1213, an Abbé of Jumièges is obliged to explain the gospel in French to a portion of his monks (*simplicioribus fratribus*). The courtiers also require to have the Holy Scriptures translated to them, and, a little later, we find the good king Louis occasionally taking this office upon himself. It was very natural that the clergy should make use of Latin in their preparations, because their MSS. thus became intelligible to their fraternity in every country. Besides, it was the only language admitted among ecclesiastics, and in the schools. Preaching to the people in the vulgar tongue was only a sort of concession. “The Romance language,” says the translator of Robert of Lincoln, “has not an agreeable savour to the clergy.” At the very beginning of the 13th century, or perhaps even earlier, Alain of Lille translates into Latin a sermon which had been preached by an Abbé of Montpellier, *Romanis verbis*. One of Elinand’s homilies, though written in elegant Latin, bears this note on the original :—“*Hic sermo totus gallice pronuntiatus est.*” Many others are preceded by the words, *gallice*, or *in vulgari*, while others are marked *in Latino*. Pierre de Limoges quotes a sermon “composed in Latin, but very suitable to be preached in Romance.”

We must pass over many interesting questions, such as the general theme of the sermons, the different kinds of sermons, the way in which they were divided, the preparation, improvisation, recitation, reading, gesticulation, &c., and content ourselves with giving the author’s conclusions in summing up this part of his subject. We must not forget, however, that his remarks apply to his own church and country, though perhaps not without their value for Protestants : “Taken as a whole, along with many resemblances as to the details, the preaching of the middle ages presents a striking contrast with that of modern times, a contrast which may be characterised in one word; the former is more taken up about the matter, the latter about the form. We have thus two opposite styles, having each its merits and its excesses. There is another cause for this divergence, which is, that the society of the 13th century derived its life from the church much more than ours does; it was better initiated into questions of doctrine and faith; in a word, it was infinitely more familiar with Christianity and all its practices. Is not this, in reality, the explanation of the most of the changes that have taken place in our manners and customs, even upon those points in appearance the most foreign to religious worship? The social spirit has become secularised like all the rest, and before all the rest. Eloquence itself has undergone this secularisation, and has spread from the religious into the civil domain” (p. 308).

Our author compares the sermons of the 13th century to a photo-

graph, which has been exhumed after six centuries, and of which the principal features are still visible. They contain, he says, a faithful portrait of society as it then existed, but not a flattering portrait; on the contrary, as it is the preacher's business to tell the people their faults, we must at times expect them to exaggerate the evils they are denouncing. The different phases of society of which M. Lecocq treats in the third part of his book are: 1st, The church and the religious world; 2d, Royalty and the feudal world; 3d, The burghers, the mercantile and common people; 4th, Women and their habits; 5th, Scholars and education; 6th, Letters, arts, and sciences.

The clergy are not spared, as might have been expected, but are severely handled; and, it must be confessed, they deserved it. "Rarely," says our author, "had Reformation been so necessary; and the reformers came, but, instead of being called Luther and Calvin, they were called Foulque de Neuilly,* Francois d'Assise, St Dominique, St Thomas. Luxury and riches, the principal causes of the errors of the prelates and monks, and perturbation in doctrine, one of the first results of idleness and a wandering mind, were severely stigmatised by these evangelical preachers. Two currents were thus formed in the religious world, the one going backwards towards the primitive austerity and simplicity, the other going down the declivity which was to end in the great heresies." Or rather the two currents had flowed on side by side from apostolic times, till at length they separated, the one ending in the Reformation and the other in the Council of Trent. This avowal of the necessity of a Reformation is precious in the mouth of one who calls the Church of Rome "the infallible centre out of which obedience is of no value, and does not even merit the name of obedience."

Simony is noted as one of the great evils of the age. The prelates, like Jeroboam, set up two golden calves; they sell justice, and they sell the prebends. They hunt after riches also in order that they may be able to live in abundance and luxury. "What difference is there now-a-days," cries Elinand, "between the table of a prelate and the table of a king? Do not even the abbots themselves want princely dishes? Shew me one of those rich men clothed in purple and fed on oysters (*Ostrea Cœnantem*), who is worth the rich man of the parable of Lazarus, groaning in hell?"

Another common vice is nepotism. "The wretches! the fools!"

* The celebrated curé of Neuilly-Sur-Marne, whose "austere and unlettered words changed not only the hearts of his parishioners, but entirely renovated the state of society in Paris, which was at that time the scene of great disorder, occasioned by the quarrelsome spirit of the burghers, and the effrontery of the women. His reputation was such that he was sent for into different countries, and, as he could not suffice alone for everything, he formed a school of disciples, among whom we may mention, Jean de Nivelles, the Dean of Liege, whom De Vitry calls 'a timid humble man,' but whose energy was such that, when a French doctor offered to cure him of the gout in four months, he replied, 'Woe be to me if, for the sake of this rotten body, I should cease labouring for the salvation of souls, were it only for three weeks.'" This brilliant pleiad had disappeared before the preaching friars began to be celebrated.

cries Jacques de Vitry with his energetic freedom of language, "They abandon the care of many thousands of souls to children to whom they would not trust threepence, for fear they would eat them!" The priests are not more tenderly handled: "Plunged in material things the priest heeds but little those of the intellect. He differs from the people as to his coat, but not in his spirit; in appearance, not in reality. . . . He teaches from the pulpit what he believes in his works. The tonsure, the vestment, the language give him a superficial varnish of religion, and within are hidden, under the sheep's clothing, hypocrites and ravening wolves."

The question as to whether it be lawful to hold two or more benefices is often discussed. In 1235 an assembly of divines was held at Paris to settle this point. Two doctors were found to defend it. One was the Chancellor Philip de Grève, who had personal reasons for his opinion, and who continued to hold all his charges till the last. He is condemned for this in no measured terms by his opponents, and three years later his successor, Guiard de Laon, says, "I would not for all the gold of Arabia pass a single night invested with two benefices, if I knew that one of them could be transferred the next day to the head of a capable man."

Another reproach cast upon the priests is their elegance and effeminacy. But some of the practices pointed as objectionable, are hardly more than ordinary cleanliness and neatness; the seam of the hair well marked,—the face freshly shaved,—the feet and hands covered. It is not very clear what is meant by some others, such as the shoulders uncovered, the arms hanging down, or engraven with signs (*Insculptis brachiis*). The style of their dwelling-houses is also spoken of: "They want to have houses in Paris such as the English barons have in London. This curious trait," adds our author, "is due to the Cardinal Eudes de Châteauroux, who had not been in England, however; thus the reputation of our neighbours on the other side of the channel for *comfort*, does not take its date from our times" (p. 380). The irregular conduct of the priesthood is complained of. The *priestess*, as she was called, was looked upon with horror by the people in general; but so strong a hold had these women over the priests, that when summoned by their bishops to choose between their parish and their mistress, they often preferred giving up the former.

The monks are depicted with almost the same features as the secular clergy, but not in colours quite so black. This may perhaps be because most of the preachers were themselves monks. Still there is no doubt that in those times of darkness and disorder, many of those who might have been the best members of society fled from it, and took refuge in the cloister. It is not easy for men restricted to one dress to fall into habits of luxury, but the monks often contrived to make up for this privation by adorning their buildings. "Palaces for hospitals," cries the indefatigable Elinand, "fortifications for walls, towers for refectories, castles for churches, villas for barns! Is it any wonder if we become the laughing stock of the laity? Would it not be possible to sup in the refectory, and lodge the poor in the dormitory at less expense? . . . We do not build for ourselves alone, say

you, but also in view of the monks who shall come after us. . . . As if it were not true that sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof! You have enough to do with the miseries of your own times without troubling yourselves about those of the future." Another cause of the relaxation of monastic discipline was, the harrassing cares attendant upon temporal affairs. Men of the world were often prevented from entering the monasteries by the fear of being implicated in annoyances of this sort. "Does an advocate put on the monk's frock? At once he is burdened with a quantity of lawsuits; and, since he will not go on lying as formerly, he loses them all. Is it a knight? Off they send him to sell mules in the market, but he cannot avoid pointing out their defects, and so the deluded brotherhood is obliged to seek other confidential men."

The austere virtue and fervency of the preaching friars and the minorites calls forth a concert of praise. Humility and charity are recommended to them, virtues which we fear they often forgot in their dealings with the Albigenses. One remarkable fact remains, which is, that while the lay clergy are severely censured for their debauchery, sins against morality are very little spoken of in connection with religious houses of either sex.

We need hardly stop to mention the feast days which, as is well known, occupied a large place in the habits of the middle ages, but merely remark in regard to them, that the origin of the feast of the *Invention* of the Holy Cross is given by two anonymous writers, along with the history of its discovery by St Helena, enriched with legendary details.

Passing on to the royalty, we find the hereditary form of government recognised, but not in the rigorous sense in which it has since been applied. Elinand in his treatise *De constituendo rege* retraces the prescriptions of the Hebrew monarchy found in the Bible, and bases the Christian monarchy upon them. The first qualities required of a sovereign are simplicity of manners, and acquaintance with the civil and divine laws, and with letters in general. Elinand places the safety of the commonwealth before all dynastic considerations. "It is not in the least astonishing that the king should be prohibited from possessing a private treasury, for he does not belong to himself, he belongs to his subjects." Our author here adds this comment: "The king belonging to the nation! Such a system is far from the too famous maxim, '*L'Etat c'est moi.*'" Jacques de Vitry also defends the same principles: "There is no security for a monarch from the moment that there is not security against him." These liberal doctrines do not hinder the clergy from insisting upon obedience and veneration to the sovereign, and from praying for him regularly at the end of each sermon. Princes are reproved for their pursuit of vain-glory, their authorisation of robbery and rapine, their favour for Jews and usurers with the aim of getting aid from them. War is condemned as blameworthy under all circumstances, but more so between Christians. "It was invented," says Etienne de Bourbon, "by the pride and ambition of the sons of Ham, and since then it has been productive of evil only." And yet Etienne de Bourbon belonged, not only to the order of the Dominicans who preached the crusade against

the Albigenes with such fanaticism, but he was even associated in the mission of the inquisitors in Auvergne and elsewhere.

What has been said of the royalty is equally applicable to the nobility. The high-toned morality of the ancient chivalry had already degenerated. A thinly disguised sensuality had succeeded the platonic gallantry of the paladins. Beneath the tents the talk was of nought but feasting; at table, of nought but sword-strokes. Those who were not destroyed by debauchery were ruined by luxury. The taste for show and indolence had been brought back from the East some generations before. The church disapproved of tournaments, though it did not absolutely condemn them as military exercises; but we can gather from a passage of Humbert de Romans, that the refined gallantry affected by the knights, the devices, the emblems, the oaths, the deeds of prowess in honour of fair ladies, and in short, the whole paraphernalia of chivalrous practices, often concealed under the varnish of elegance and poetry a licentiousness in morals far from platonic. The knights' true place is the crusade, and they are often reminded that the end of their institution is to fight against infidels. The guard and protection of the holy places is confided to the military orders, for the counsel given in the gospel against having recourse to arms does not apply to the outward defence of Christendom, which would else have been destroyed long ago.

The royalty and nobility had two classes of auxiliaries particularly obnoxious to the clergy, the seignorial officers and the lawyers. The provosts (*præpositi*) and the beadles (*bedelli*) are leeches who suck the blood of the poor people more mercilessly than their masters; "ravens of hell," watching over the remains of the victims; and thus the villain (serf) has a crowd of masters to serve; *Aspera sors populi, hic imperat, ille minatur*. They strain their wits to invent new ways of grinding down those liable to the villain-tax; and, as our author wittily remarks, forestalling the invention of modern legislators by six centuries, they go so far as to make them pay for the sun: "My lord," said a certain courtier-like bailiff to a count, "if you will trust to me, I will enable you to gain a fortune every year. Only let me sell the sun on your estates." "How so?" "There are people all over your domains who dry and bleach linen in the sun, and by taxing them at twelve-pence a web you will realise a considerable sum." And so it was done.

But we pass on to the burghers. One of the king's burghers! Woe to the foolhardy wight who dares to offend him. He is instantly seized, dragged before the sovereign, accused and convicted of having infringed the liberties of the town. Every page of the history of the times is marked by such quarrels between the turbulent youth of the schools and the proud burghers of the capital. It was not a rare thing to see burghers who had raised themselves from a low condition to considerable fortunes, and even to high degrees in science. But it is curious to observe how the same voices which were just now declaiming against the tyranny and extortion of the nobles, are no less loud in their denunciations of those famous associations of citizens which were everywhere established in order to resist them. The church found that in the extension of the rights of the citizens it was gaining nothing

but a change of masters, and that many masters are worse than one. Although industry in those days must have been very limited, and speculation only in its infancy, still the tricks of trade, which are generally thought to be of modern invention, were very commonly resorted to, and are mercilessly exposed in the pulpit. Innkeepers and publicans mingle water with their wine, or bad wine with good. "Wretched old women adulterate the milk abominably, or cease milking their cow for some days before they sell her, that her swollen udder may make her appear as if she gave milk in abundance." People steep their cheeses in soup by way of making them look rich. The hemp and flax sold by weight are laid all night on the wet ground. Butchers blow up their meat and fish (for they seem to have dealt in both kinds of provisions). Before they serve out the pork they take care to extract the blood, which they make use of to redden the gills of stale fish. "I have not bought a single piece of meat anywhere but from you for the last seven years," said a simple-minded customer to one of them in hopes of getting some provisions cheapened. "Seven years! replied the other wondering, and you are still alive!"

It is at the great annual fairs that the merchant is to be seen in his glory. Religion comes in here as in all the other circumstances of life. "God has ordained," says Humbert de Romans, "that no country can suffice alone for the supply of all its wants, but that each should be obliged to have recourse to others in order that they may be united in the bonds of friendship."* Here follows a detailed account of the fairs, which were opened by the blessing of the church, and a sermon suited to the circumstances. The sale is generally suspended on the Sunday, but the sacredness of the day was not always observed. It would seem that the merchants led a most agreeable life in the fairs, at least, according to an old tradition, "a certain Count of Poitiers wishing to find out by his own experience what was the pleasantest mode of life, disguised himself, and passed successively through all the conditions of mankind. He discovered none more delightful, none richer in enjoyments, than the life of the merchants in the fairs. But when he had partaken of the delicate repasts in the taverns, and had to take everything into account, and pay to the last crumb of bread, the noble lord demurred, and could not resign himself to go through the *quart d'heure de Rabelais*.† He returned therefore to his primitive condition, and doubtless he did well."

* "Thus we see," adds M. Lecoy, "that the presiding idea of our international exhibition is not a thing of yesterday."

† This well-known French locution is an allusion to a trait in the life of Rabelais. Passing through Lyons, and having no money, the story goes that he pretended to be a conspirator, and shewed several packets marked, *Poison for the King! Poison for the Dauphin!* &c. He thus got himself lodged at the expense of the town, and brought to Paris as a state prisoner, where he declared he would speak only to the king himself. The king having recognised him, thanked the magistrates of Lyons for their zeal, and kept the facetious curé to dine with him. It is not very easy to see how this proverb came from the foregoing event. Is it not rather a resumé of the whole life of Rabelais? He was often in want of money, and must have had to pass an uncomfortable quarter of an hour more than once.

Usurers are treated as a sort of monstrous race. "God," says one, "has created farmers, the clergy, soldiers, but the devil invented usurers." The most dreadful stories were told of them. Here is a specimen. It is said to have taken place in 1240, in the town of Dijon: "A usurer was on his way to be married. He wished to have the ceremony performed with great pomp, and went to the church of Notre Dame accompanied by a band of musicians. He stopped under the portico to receive the consent of the bride, and exchange the *paroles de présent*,* according to the usual form. Just as he was going into the edifice to have the ceremony concluded by the celebration of mass, another usurer, but one of stone, sculptured over the door, in the claws of a demon, became detached and fell down, striking him on the head with his purse. The unfortunate man was crushed by the blow, and the wedding was changed into a funeral. But his associates and friends revenged themselves by obtaining (by payment of a large sum of money), the demolition of all the personages sculptured in front of the door of the church."†

The Cardinal de Vitry in his sermons to seamen addresses them in their technical terms. He reproaches them with the vices that are common to their class at the present day.

Working men are warned against dishonesty in their trades, and the *sutores*, the *cimentarii*, the *carpentarii*, are reminded that it is their duty in common with medical men, to offer their services to the poor gratis. "Every morning and evening the clergy met with groups of journeymen waiting to be hired, or to receive their wages. They took advantage of the moment to address them a familiar practical exhortation." Servants, both male and female, seem to have been in bad repute, the former for dishonesty, the latter for immorality. The *serfs* were divided into three classes: *ascripticii*, or colonists; *servi glebe*, those attached to the soil; and *originarii*, born of the *ascripticii*, upon the soil itself. They had not only to endure the hard labour of the fields, but also the excesses of the lords and men at arms. Still they are represented as having mercenaries at their own service. As is well known, ignorance was their greatest vice. They long remained in a half pagan state, out of which it is doubtful whether the peasantry in many remote parts have ever been brought. Our author, who is not without his prejudices against heretics, repeats the old calumny against the Albigenses and Waldenses, accusing them of meeting in caves at night to practise enchantments.

As regards women, France has always been what it is. The loyal respect which leaves her in her own sphere, without seeking either to idealise or to brutalise her, has ever been unknown here. Chivalry, on the one hand, and monkish austerity, on the other, have sought, the one, to raise her almost above the level of humanity, and the other, to degrade her as a despicable and dangerous being, the source

* A declaration made by the two contracting parties before a notary when they went to receive the nuptial benediction in the church.

† Etienne de Bourbon, who tells this story, declares that he had himself seen the effects of this measure of security: "*Alias sculptas imagines qui ut in dicta porticu, extra, in anteriore parte ejus. . . . vidi ibi destructas.*"

of all evils. "There was but one woman," says Jacques de Vitry, "between Adam and God, and she had no rest till she had succeeded in getting her husband banished from the garden of delights, and Christ condemned to the punishment of the cross." When married, the woman becomes the companion and equal of her husband. Most of the preachers see a symptom of the equality of the two in the origin of the first woman, taken, not out of the head, nor the feet, but from the *side* of her husband. There is one folly that stirs the bile of the preachers more than any other, and that is the old quarrel with women's love of dress.* Here is the portrait of a Parisian elegante, as it is traced in 1278, by Gilles d'Orleans, Chancellor of the University. "Look at her feet! her shoes are so narrow that they are ridiculous. Look at her waist! it is still worse, she tightens in her body with a band of silk, gold, or silver, such as Jesus Christ and his blessed mother never wore, *though they were of blood royal*. Lift up your eyes to her head! it is there that you see the insignia of hell! There are horns, there is dead hair. . . . She is not afraid to put on her head the hair of a person who is perhaps in hell, or in purgatory, and whose bed she would not share for a single night for all the gold in the world. . . . She has more tails than Satan himself, for Satan has only one, while she has them all round her. . . . It is in Paris principally that women are to be seen running through the town bare-necked, bare-breasted. How these women fight against God." The hair is described as artistically arranged, adjusted, crisped, at the expense of fatigue and suffering. "By dint of stiffening and rubbing, the head is denuded before its time, but false hair repairs the outrage. Above the capillary edifice are placed crowns, fringes, or gilt bands." The Parisian ladies have a preference for ornaments in the shape of horns. "Nature," says Pierre de Limoges, "having refused them this ornament, they are anxious to make up for it in order to make themselves like the beasts." The dress is very full below, and forms a train more than a cubit long. "How is it," asks Etienne de Bourbon, "that women are not ashamed to carry an appendage which nature has reserved for the brutes?" *Miparties* or dresses of two colours are censured as well as elastic skirts. Pointed and low shoes with large buckles seem to have been much worn. Rouge was pretty extensively used, as well as ointment, perfumes, and washes. Madame Rachel's trade is no new one, for one of the anonymous Latin MSS. says, "Others finding their skin too dark, ask drugs from the doctors to clear their complexions, but they are well punished for it; for the dye that they give them takes off the skin along with the darkness, and if they complain, to crown their misfortune, they are condemned by the judge."

Dancing is next denounced as the most dangerous of feminine passions, and yet, the dances of those days were simple *rondos*,

* "With the help of the pulpit critics," says our author, "we can almost reconstitute the dress of both sexes, and we meet with striking analogies to our own times, for fashion does not innovate, it only turns in a vicious circle."

formed by a chain of men and women holding each other by the hand, and led by a person of either sex who struck up the couplet.

"One other observation suggested by what precedes," says our author, "which shews the distance that separates our customs from those of our ancestors is, that their amusements always took place in the day-time. Health and morality could only be the gainer by this, and, in fact, they did gain by it long after the thirteenth century."

The next subject treated by M Lecoy is education. France was the centre of the intellectual movements in the thirteenth century. From all the countries of Europe, disciples crowded round masters whose reputation for learning made them famous. The turbulence of the students is too well known to need more than a passing mention. The courses of the studies are being constantly interrupted by the perpetual brawl and conflict between the citizens and the students. "Let us pray for the schools of Paris," says a Latin MS., "for the suppression of a single lesson brings an incomparable and irreparable loss. . . . In fact, it is from thence that all the men of talent, all the prelates of the universal church, are drawn." Robert de Sorbon has left two treatises upon education, the one, containing the most minute details upon the examinations to which the candidates for degrees were subjected; the other is unpublished, and contains good and practical rules for studying.

The last chapter consists of an analysis of the theology, philosophy, literature, classic learning, history, poetry, physical sciences, and medicine, of the times. We cannot enter into this chapter at all; there would be too much to say upon it, so we shall merely quote the closing words of our author: "At bottom, the same interests, the same passions, the same struggles, fill all the pages of the great book of history; and at whatever moment we study it, the heart of man is found just what it has been, what it is, and what it will be."

If, in conclusion, we ask why these religious moralists who were so stern in denouncing the evils of the times, succeeded so ill in their endeavours after reformation, the answer is simply, because they did not seek the remedy high enough. They were too often content with recommending the puerile practices that the Church of Rome delights in, and which could no more purify the heart and conscience than the blood of bulls and goats could in Old Testament times. The atonement by the blood of Christ, preached in all its fulness and freedom by the reformers, could alone stem the torrent of vice and impurity which vexed the righteous souls of many of God's hidden ones who took refuge in the cloister to escape the doom of the Sodoms of their times.

C. de F.

XI. SWEDISH LITERATURE.

In Denmark, and also in Sweden, there has been carried on for several years an animated controversy on the relations between faith and knowledge. Professor Rasmus Nielsen of Copenhagen has all along resolutely maintained the opinion, that faith and knowledge are two absolutely "different principles;" whence it necessarily follows that they can never come into conflict with each other, in actual fact, but only in consequence of error. Against this doctrine, Nybläus, professor of Practical Philosophy at the University of Lund, has argued in a dissertation entitled, "*Om den religiösa tron och vetandet*" (of Religious Faith and Knowledge). He affirms that the idea of an absolute separation between knowledge and faith is philosophically untenable, that they shew themselves to be in actual fact united in one and the same human consciousness, and that to speak of faith as an "anti-rationalistic element," as Nielsen does, is to make all scientific discussion of it an impossibility. The conclusion Nybläus reaches is, that faith, in its essence, is neither above nor beyond reason, although, as passing into feeling, and prosecuting practical aims, it has, and must always have, in the imperfect human life, a relative opposition to knowledge.

In another dissertation, entitled "*Theodor Parker och den religiösa fragan*" (Theodor Parker and the Religious Question), published also at Lund, Nybläus fully sets forth and criticises Parker's religious opinions. The fundamental defect of Parker's systems is, in his having only an external conception of the idea of personality, on account of which he can affirm neither the eternity of God nor the true freedom of man. Even the religious conceptions of conversion, of regeneration, and the like doctrines, are to him very vague and undefined. Nybläus finally demonstrates that "his polemic against the theology of the church, although in other respects it might be salutary and necessary, consists more in words than in thoughts, and by no means supplies a criticism such as our times demand."

A work entitled, "*Messiasideen eller det af Jesus predikade Gudsriket*" (The Idea of Messiah, or the kingdom of God announced by Jesus), by the late well-known Nils Jynell, was recently published at Stockholm. It is an essay in response to the following questions proposed by the Hague Society for the Defence of Christianity: 1. "How was the idea of a Messiah unfolded up to the time of Jesus?" 2. "Did Jesus announce himself to be the Messiah, and in what sense?" 8. "What future value has the doctrine that Jesus is the Messiah?" This essay is written in the spirit of an advanced Schleiermacherianism. The author finds the idea of the Messiah for the first time in the prophecies of Joel, but only in its moral aspects. In Isaiah and Micah, the idea becomes political. Finally, in Daniel, the true realisation of it is carried forward into eternity. According to the assertion that the Gospel of John is a dogmatic production, the growth of Grecian speculation, and that consequently the words of Jesus which he spoke of himself are to be sought for only in the first three gospels, and even there, are found

not without an intermixture of many Jewish notions, he seeks an answer to the second question from these gospels alone. He finds there that Jesus did declare himself to be the Messiah, but he affirms that he did so with the greatest caution, in consideration of the ability of his hearers to comprehend him, and that he spoke with careful prudence in relation to the abolition of the Mosaic law, always combating the Old Testament representation of external strength and outward prosperity bound up with the idea of the Messiah, and giving prominence to the inward, spiritual, universal nature of the kingdom of God, by means of parables. Hence, with regard to the third question, it is concluded that the doctrine that Jesus is the Messiah has an absolute and eternal value, while the spirit which lives in the church is the spirit of Jesus; and amid all the Christian development in light and truth, "no other foundation can be laid than that which is laid."

Rydberg's "*Bibels lära om Kristus*," of which the third edition was published at Stockholm last year, is worthy of being noticed. In this "*Doctrine of the Bible regarding Christ*," the author, who is a private gentleman residing at Göteborg, reaches the conclusion that the Christology of the Bible is nothing but "the ideal side of Anthropology;" also that, according to the undistorted teaching of the Holy Scriptures, Christ is not God, but only man,—the ideal and universal man. This work, indicating a remarkable acquaintance with rabbinical literature, and with the theology of the ancients, particularly with that of the Alexandrine school, and written with the greatest talent, has called forth, from its first appearance (in 1861), an energetic opposition. Among these controversial works, written in opposition to Rydberg, the most notable is that by Bishop Beckmann of Hernösand, entitled "*Nya Testamentets lära om Kristi Guddom*" (*The Doctrine of the New Testament on the Divinity of Christ*). The subject is discussed from a moderately orthodox standpoint. To the third edition of his work Rydberg has added two critical dissertations, with the view of more fully bringing out and establishing his Christology. At the same time he has published a separate essay, "*Om Menniskans förutttillvaro*" (*On the pre-existence of man*), with the same general object in view. According to the theory defended in this essay, man has, as a spirit, a real existence before that spirit is united to the flesh at his birth. The pre-existence of Christ is of like character; and in his earthly life he is neither God nor some other being above man, but simply man, the prototype and the ideal of manhood. He attempts to defend this view from the Epistle to the Hebrews, and from the title given to Christ of the "first-born of every creature," from the regeneration of man and the gathering together and union of all things in Christ. Bishop Beckmann published, at the end of last year, a critical refutation of this essay, "*Aer Kristus i sin förutttillvaro idealmenniskan och icke Gud?*" (*Is Christ, in his pre-existence, only the ideal man, but not God?*). He maintains in it that, in the sacred Scriptures of the New Testament, there is attributed indeed to man an "ideal," but not a real conscious and personal pre-existence, such as is attributed to Christ the eternal Logos.

Dr K. H. G. von Scheele's "Rationalismens förberedelser (The Preparation of Rationalism) deserves attention. In this work the author treats of the preparation made for Rationalism by philosophy,—by the Cartesian philosophy, Locke's sensationalism, and and by the French encyclopædism; (2.) Of the preparations made by theology,—by Syncretism (a "religious medley" introduced by Callixt as an ironical basis for the union of all the churches) and Pietism, by the Würtemberg, the "historical" (Mosheim, Erenesti, and Michaelis), and the Wolfian schools, whereof Baumgarten's system was the blossom, and the theology of Semler the fruit; and (3.) of the general spirit of the age, tending towards mysticism and illuminism, &c.—*Hauck's Theologischer Jahresbericht*, 1870.

XII. AMERICAN LITERATURE.

The Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review. April 1870.

This is a superior number of our American contemporary. It opens with an able paper on "The Element of Time in Interpreting the ways of God." The writer shews that the plans of God and the essential doctrines of revelation, are necessarily so vast and far-reaching in their bearings, as to be full of mystery to man. God's purposes concern a universe, and they reach through eternity, and hence they cannot but be baffling to man's reason. Article 2d is a well-written essay on "Pantheism as a Phase in Philosophy and Theory of History." Article 9d is a review of the "Memoirs of the Life and Ministry of the Rev. Dr Raffles" of Liverpool. In the next article there is a remarkably clear and well-reasoned doctrinal discussion of "The Relation of Adam's first sin to the Fall of the Race." Here the *Princeton* stands upon its old ground, and with unabated vigour maintains the views it has all along defended on that important subject. The writer criticises the views of Dr Schaff and others, as they are specially presented in the recent volume on the "Epistle to the Romans," of the American edition of Lange's *Bibelwerk*. Dr Schaff affirms and defends the "realistic" view on the relation of Adam's first sin to the fall of the race. He holds a realistic oneness of the race in such a sense that the act of one is literally and really the act of all, and hence that the condemnation and ruin of the race are simply the punishment for its real, actual, and culpable participation in Adam's first sin. This theory imputes the sin of Adam to us, because of our literal and real participation in it. The question is not, whether there is an organic or vital connection of the race with Adam—that, all admit; but whether the relation is that of a numerical oneness, so that Adam and his posterity are all one substance, agent, or being, and in such a sense, as that what one does, all do.

This is the view held by Schaff, and also by Shedd, and generally

by all who follow Augustine as their leader in this matter. The *Princeton*, on the contrary, maintains the "federal" theory. It holds, indeed, that there is a vital and organic connection of Adam with the race which forms the ground and reason of his being constituted their federal or representative head. Adam was made the covenant head of the race, because he was their natural head, and hence when he sinned all sinned, not really and literally because "generic human nature," the one numerical substance common to all the race, acted in each act of Adam, but because all were *represented* by him. Having disposed of the realistic theory, the writer of the article next proceeds to review the different phases of the opposition to the federal theory, which have been developed in the so-called "New England theology." The whole article is well worthy of a careful study. The remaining papers are on "The Witness of Paul to Christ," being a review of the Boyle lectures for 1869. "The Christian giving for the time," in which the whole subject of giving for the cause of Christ is discussed in an earnest missionary spirit in the light of the present exigencies of the Christian church, and the aspects of the world. "Suggestions on Presbyterian reconstruction," in the altered state of the church, arising from the recent re-union and "Recent publications on the School question." This last article brings to view the controversies that have been carried on in America regarding the constitution of the public schools, especially on the subject of the teaching of religion in these schools. We think the views advocated by it most sound and seasonable, when it insists that the Bible and the teaching of fundamental, moral, and religious truth, shall not be prohibited in the public schools. America is aroused by this great question. The sound Protestantism of the country leads us to hope that the legislators will not at this crisis give way to the demands of Romanists and infidels. As a specimen of the tone which public men are assuming on this subject, we quote the following sentences with which this article closes. They are an extract from a recent defence of Christian education, by Dr Bellows, a prominent leader among the Unitarians of America: "If the Roman Catholics are not content with perfect toleration; if they look for the countenance and the support of the American people, as having an equal claim with the Protestant founders of an institution to regulate its fundamental methods of public education, they are reckoning without their host, and will surely come to grief. . . . We warn our Roman Catholic fellow-citizens of what is in store for them if they continue to press their claim to break up our national system of public schools. They will sooner or later bring on a civil war, in which they and their churches will be swept as by a whirlwind from the land. All liberty they can rightfully ask, they enjoy. But they ask in another form the liberty which Utah claims—she wishes to enjoy polygamy, and to have the right to teach it under the American flag. We deny the right; and shall extinguish it in her ruins if she raises a finger to maintain it." This surely is a significant sign of the times.

The Bibliotheca Sacra. Andover. April 1870.

The contents of this number of the Andover Quarterly are, 1. "Psychology in the Life, Work, and Teachings of Jesus." The writer starts from the principle, that there are some elementary powers of spontaneous production, called emotions, impulses, affections, sensibilities which are distinguished from intellect and will, and that in their ideal condition there must be some order prevailing among these powers, well arranged for the purpose of securing the right action of the will, and the highest exercise of the intellectual powers. The essay enters on the inquiry into *that order of these powers which should prevail in a perfect soul*, and into the manner in which *such an order may be secured*. The life of Christ presents an example of that perfect order. His teachings, and his work in healing men's souls and bodies, are contemplated as furnishing illustrations of the same order—as revealing the true psychology. 2. "An Argument for a Fourth year of study in the courses of Theological Seminaries." The Princeton theological seminary has already a four years' course, and it is likely that soon the other seminaries will follow its example. There is very manifestly a strong tendency towards a more thorough and comprehensive course of theological study. It is an encouraging symptom, and great good to the churches will undoubtedly flow out of it. 3. "The Doctrine of the Trinity in opposition to his system of the Unitarians." 4. "The Year of Christ's birth." This is a very learned chronological investigation into the subject. It is a review of Zumpt's recent work, "Das Geburtsjahr Christi." The writer, Dr Woolsey, President of Yale College, subjects Zumpt's views to a critical examination. Zumpt maintains the view that Christ was born 747 u.c., that is between two and three years before the death of Herod. The usual calculation is, that it took place 750 u.c. (—4 b.c.) This is the view defended by Professor Wieseler of Greifswald, in his recent "Beiträge zur richtigen Würdigung der Evangelien," which he published as an appendix to his well-known "Chronological Synopsis of the Four Gospels." President Woolsey rejects both views, and after a lengthened and able criticism, arrives at the conclusion that "at present the chronology of our Saviour's life must remain a matter in which nothing positive can be affirmed." 5. "The Silence of Women in the Churches," judiciously and ably handled. 6. "Prophecy as related to the Eastern question," by Herrick, one of the American missionaries at Constantinople. The author holds that "while there is no question that the Mahomedan power is, under different forms, Saracenic and Turkish, distinctly referred to, there are strong reasons for believing that the faith of Islam as a religion, or its founder, is nowhere mentioned or distinctly referred to in our Scriptures." He presents a deeply interesting account (1) of the Commercial, Civil, and Political condition of Mohammedan Turkey; and (2), of the Influence of Western or Protestant Christian Doctrine and Life in Turkey, and gathers from the survey, weighty considerations for the zealous prosecution of missionary labours in the east.

Cyclopædia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature.
 Edited by Drs M'CLINTOCK and STRONG. Vol. III. E. F. G.
 New York: Harper Brothers. London: Sampson, Low, & Co.
 1870. Pp. 1048.

We have already had occasion to direct the attention of our readers to this magnificent work. It promises, when completed, to be beyond doubt the most comprehensive and valuable publication of the kind in the English language. The literature of all nations is laid under contribution to enrich its pages. The senior editor, Dr M'Clintock, we regret to learn, died a few months ago amid his useful labours. He long occupied a prominent place in his own denomination, but was held in universal esteem among all the churches of America. The preparation of materials for his department of the *Cyclopædia* engaged his anxious care. His work was so far completed when the Master summoned him away to his rest. The final revision of the remaining portions of this great work will devolve on Professor Strong and a large staff, thirty-one in number, of able coadjutors, who have all along been associated with the editors in the undertaking. We trust the publishers will be enabled to bring to a successful conclusion the enterprise they have hitherto so ably conducted, as thereby to confer a lasting benefit on the church of Christ.

Sketches of Creation: A Popular View of some of the Grand Conclusions of the Sciences in reference to the History of Matter and of Life. By A. WINCHELL, LL.D., Professor of Geology, Zoology, and Botany in the University of Michigan. New York: Harper Brothers. London: Sampson, Low, & Co. 1870. Pp. 459.

Many years ago, in our student days, the perusal of Mantell's works on Geology first opened to our view the deeply interesting discoveries made by the geologist in the history of the preparation of our globe for its present inhabitants. Farther studies in that science have only deepened the feelings of wonder with which we then read the strange hieroglyphics written on the rocky foundations of our earth. With Dr Winchell as our guide, we have again surveyed these old scenes, old but ever new, of this world's history. A more interesting and intelligent guide we could not wish. He combines scientific accuracy with vividness and beauty of description, which we have never seen equalled. His work is from beginning to end a grand panorama. The reader's attention is sustained throughout, and while his mind is informed, his heart cannot but be stirred with feelings of awe and reverence, forcing from his lips the adoring cry, "O Lord! how manifold are thy works! in wisdom hast thou made them all: the earth is full of thy riches."

The author's design and the spirit in which he writes, will be apparent from the following extracts from his preface: "The work will be found useful as an aid in review. The student may plod ever so diligently and ever so intelligently through the details of a science; he is apt to gain only vague impressions and floating ideas, unless enabled to take a comprehensive survey of the field, with the details

all left in the background, and the great outlines and prominent landmarks are brought saliently into proper relation to each other." "All our learning would in reality be but the 'vanity,' which it is sometimes reproached with being, if it could reflect no light upon the origin, the nature, the duty, and the destiny of man. It is not for its facts but for the significance of the facts that science is valuable. . . . Science interpreted is theology; science prosecuted to its conclusion is God." The author dedicates his work "To all who love to hold communion with the thoughts embodied in the 'visible forms' of nature; who delight to contemplate the sublime, persistent, all-comprehending, and beneficent plans of Deity, unfolding through geological cycles toward definite and intelligible ends; to all who love to 'Look through nature up to nature's God.'"

We thank Dr Winchell for the great pleasure the perusal of this excellent and beautifully illustrated volume has afforded us, and we hope that he will be enabled to carry out his expressed intention of dealing in a subsequent work with the whole question of the relations of science to the Christian faith, a subject of pressing importance in the present day.

The Andes and the Amazon; or, Across the Continent of South America.

By JAMES ORTON, M.A., Professor of Natural History in Vassar College. New York: Harper Brothers. London: Sampson, Low, & Co. 1870. Pp. 856.

This beautifully illustrated volume is one result of a scientific expedition, consisting of five American gentlemen, under the auspices of the Smithsonian Institution of Washington. They sailed from New York in July 1867, and after crossing the Isthmus of Panama and touching at Paita, Peru, their route was from Guayaquil to Quito over the Eastern Cordillera; thence over the Western Cordillera, and through the forest on foot to Napo; down the Rio Napo by canoe to Pebas on the Marañon; and thence by steamer to Pará. In 1541, Orellana, a knight of Truxillo, with a party, animated by the *auri sacra fames*, as Mr Fletcher informs us in the introduction to this volume, were the first to descend the "King of Waters," as the Amazon is called by the aborigines. On that occasion they were said to have seen the fabled women-warriors, and hence they gave the river the Spanish name which it now bears. About one hundred years after Orellana (in 1687), an expedition consisting of about 2000 in all, headed by Pedro Teixeira, ascended the river from Pará to Quito. This memorable voyage of discovery occupied about eight months. In 1745, De la Condamine, the French Academician, descended the river from Quito to Pará, and published an account of his exploration in that great valley—

"Realms unknown and blooming wilds
And fruitful deserts, worlds of solitude
Where the sun smiles and seasons teem in vain."

Professor Norton and his party were the first explorers speaking the English language who crossed that portion of the South American

continent. The volume before us contains a deeply interesting account of their explorations. Though not a scientific book, it will interest the naturalist.

The Southern Presbyterian Review. Conducted by an Association of Ministers in Columbia, S. Carolina. Vol. XXI. April 1870.

This valuable periodical represents the sentiments of Southern Presbyterians in the States. In the prospectus of this number the editors announce that "they do not endorse in every particular what is uttered in their pages. Each author is responsible for the views which he expresses. This is a matter of convenience where there are minor differences between editors themselves, or between them and their brethren. Free discussion, too, is important to the interests of truth if kept within just limits. These limits must be strictly observed. Editors would be worthy of censure should they allow opinions to be expressed subversive of any doctrine of the gospel; nor would it be becoming to allow their own views, or those of their contributors, to be rudely attacked in their own pages." From some editorial remarks on an article on the "Church and her Presbyters," we are gratified to perceive the moderate and yet sound views of this periodical on church government. There is an article on "Christ and the State," by the Rev. A. W. Miller, D.D., Charlotte, N. Carolina, which the author has kindly placed at our disposal; and we may find place in a future number for this important and well-reasoned communication.

XIII. CRITICAL NOTICES.

Words Heard in Quiet; Searchings out of the Book of the Lord, and Fragments of Letters and Poems. By E. A. W. With a Memorial Preface, by the Rev. B. PHILPOT, M.A., late Archdeacon of Sodor and Man, Vicar of Lydney, Gloucestershire. Edited by his Daughter. London: W. Hunt & Co. 1870.

None can read these sweet musings of a departed spirit without being impressed with having been brought into communion with the gentlest and most amiable of women, and one who possessed a mind of superior order, capable of dealing with divine truth, as well as daily living under its sanctifying influence. We might refer in proof of this to the section, "General Redemption, consistent with the Election of God," which, though expressed in a way which some would hardly call Calvinistic orthodoxy, opens up an original vein of thought, and shows how, under different modes of conception, all true Christians come ultimately round to the truth of the Gospel. But the most precious things in the volume are the records of Christian experience it contains. What can be finer than the following?

"In reading the 107th Psalm this morning I was much struck with the last verse: 'They shall understand the *loving kindness* of the Lord.' None but the *wise* can read the *whole* of that Psalm (with its description of so many awful states and perilous circumstances) as a catalogue of the *loving*

kindnesses of the Lord. How beautifully it corresponds with Jer. ix. 23, 24.

I used to think that in praying for the love of Christ to be shed abroad in the heart, we prayed for happiness; and so we do! but I know now what it involves,—crucifixion. It opens every pore to human suffering; and the larger measure we receive, the heavier becomes the weight. We could not carry it through a rough world like this, unless Christ bore it with us. But why do I write, as if I knew it? My heart condemns me. I have but *touched* that which crushed and crucified my Lord. “ I know that the strong in faith are often *strongly* exercised and sorely tried. The Word of the Lord is to them as silver, tried in a furnace of earth, purified *seven* times, and found *faithful*. I was speaking to a clerical friend the other day on some spiritual subject, and said something of ‘*unanswered* prayer.’ Never shall I forget the tone of earnest yet affectionate rebuke with which he interrupted me: ‘*There is no such thing.*’ That little word, so fitly spoken, has been, and I trust ever will be, a blessing to my soul,—encouraging trust in God. Mark xi. 22.” (Pp. 155–156.)

Pulpit Discourses. By MINISTERS connected with the Berwick Presbytery of the United Presbyterian Church. Edinburgh: Andrew Elliot. 1870.

These thirteen discourses, by as many ministers, are on the Word of God; and they breathe its spirit and put forth its power. Jeremy Taylor, chaplain to Charles the First, wrote Rules for Holy Living, for the comfort of those deprived of the enjoyment of the ritual of the regular clergy. The discourses before us do not deal in lifeless rules; but they promulgate life-giving principles. Their very appearance meets a charge sometimes made: that the pulpit is losing its power, and is being superseded by the press. But, here is one instance of many in which the utterances of the pulpit are repeated and prolonged by the press. This publication is designed to suit the case of those prevented by affliction from hearing the Word of God in public from the lips of the living preachers to whom they have formerly listened. It is well fitted for the purpose, and also to do much good in a wider sphere. We say, a wider sphere, in full view of the fact that the living voice of the ministers of this Presbytery has not been limited in its range to the neighbourhood of the silver Tweed. Its sound has been heard, and its powerful and beneficial influence experienced, under the shadow of the lofty Grampians and on the banks of the crowded Clyde. The voice of one of them has been heard in London by many thousands of Englishmen, and by thousands of Germans in the tones of their native tongue in the palace of Frederick the Great at Berlin.

The variety which it exhibits is one of the most attractive features of this little work. Every discourse is imbued with the Scriptures. But, in one, they are formally quoted; in another, their choice expressions are beautifully interwoven like threads of gold with the texture of the style; in a third, the words of Scripture do not appear prominently, but its spirit is transfused into and pervades the whole. The reading of them, one after another, reminds us of the times of refreshing in former days, when at a Communion in summer a considerable number of ministers met together and in succession preached. After the example so often given by the Lord himself, the solemn service was not in a temple made with hands, but under the open face of the sky, “majestic in its own simplicity.” No gilded walls or gorgeous drapery hindered the breathing of the pure air of heaven. No fretted roof or windows of stained glass prevented the worshippers from being bathed in God’s own clear light. The hearers, like

those of old by the pure waters of the lake of Gennessaret, sat down on the green grass, which was adorned with the flowers that their Maker has commanded us to consider. The sound of the preacher's voice,—while he was speaking of a scene far more glorious, and describing with faith and fervour the tree of life growing there, and the river of life flowing there, by the side of which the Lamb leads and feeds his redeemed people,—that voice might seem an echo of the triumphant shout of the church already in heaven. Some might get more than a glimpse; as did he of whom Dr Brown, of Berwick, tells us in his discourse :

"Of 'James Wait, the Pious Shepherd,'—I quote from memory the title of his memoir, published many years ago, by Mr Maclaurin of Coldingham,—it is stated, that when seated at the Lord's table at Stichell Brae, and subsequently at Kelso, there was vouchsafed to him an overpowering revelation of the glory of the Lord, and of His love to mankind sinners. He said, 'I was no sooner set down at the table, than I found such a flood of the Spirit's consolation poured in upon my soul, that I was obliged to cover myself with my plaid, to keep it from the eyes of others. I found myself obliged to plead, that the Lord would strengthen the vessel, or hold His hand; for I found that I could not bear up.' He felt that it was becoming more than he could stand, and that if carried further, he must expire in an agony of bliss." (Pp. 69-70.)

Of the discourses, we give a specimen from that of Dr Ker (now of Glasgow), on "The Sorrow arising from the Departure of a Christian Minister," from the text, Acts xx. 38. We select this passage chiefly because it bears directly on the present condition of the Church as a whole, and gives salutary counsels concerning her duty to the public cause of Christ :—

"We have a precious deposit in the midst of us, an ever-living Saviour and His everlasting gospel; and all-precious in itself, it is dear also from the hands by which it has reached us. It has come through a long line of faithful men and true, who have maintained it in its purity, defended it against assault, and commended it to their successors, with the earnest charge: 'Before God and the Lord Jesus Christ, to keep that good thing committed unto us by the Holy Ghost that dwelleth in us.' As the latest of these are passing away, and leaving us alone, let us be stirred up more firmly to hold, and more fearlessly to assert, the authority and sufficiency of the Gospel we have received through them. The vessel of the church is entering upon new and untried seas. We shall have exigencies to encounter which they did not meet, and adaptations of the truth to the events and problems of the age to ponder and accomplish, which they did not find incumbent. May God give us largeness of wisdom and steadiness of purpose! But we are to remember that the gospel itself, amid all, must be held fast and kept unaltered. We have to dig new channels, and guide into them numerous growing streams; but woe betide the world and us if we tamper with the living water that flows within. Our fathers had the march through the wilderness, with its perils and privations; it seems as if our part would be the comfort and labour that precede entering on the full possession of the land. Theirs it was to suffer; it is ours to struggle with the siege of walled cities of ancient superstition, and the incursions of numerous tribes of shifting unbelief. But it is the ark of the testimony that is to be carried forward amid all, around the battlements of Jericho, and against the hosts of the Amorite and Hittite. The clear unshrinking witness to Bible truth will overthrow in the end every stronghold of error, and scatter all assailants. The past has done its work, and those who have borne the ark upward through the desert, have faithfully discharged their trust; now the future, to which ages have looked, appears pressing on, and upon us rests the heavy responsibility of leading it in,

and making it truly Christian. A mighty work ! but the divine strength that nerved our fathers will be ours if we seek it. Let us hear from their lips that parting encouragement which the chosen leader of Israel gave his people : ' I can no more go out and come in : also the Lord hath said unto me, Thou shalt not go over this Jordan. Be strong, and of a good courage, fear not, nor be afraid of them : for the Lord thy God, He it is that doth go with thee ; He will not fail thee, nor forsake thee.' " (Pp. 120-121.)

We cordially recommend these discourses, as not only instructive and edifying, but also, judging from the impression made on our own mind, soothing, consolatory, and cheering.

D. N.

Bishops and Councils : Their Causes and Consequences. By JAMES LILLIE, D.D. and M.D. Edinburgh : W. P. Nimmo. 1870.

The author of this small volume connects the institution of diocesan prelacy with predictions of Christ and his apostles. Thus the announcement of our Lord regarding the wolves or false prophets (Mat. vii. 15), which, understanding as a prophecy, he thus translates : " But guard yourselves from the false prophets, who are coming to you in sheep's clothing, but within are tearing wolves. By their fruit ye will come to know them " ; he expounds by the prophecy of Paul to the elders of Ephesus (Acts xx. 28) thus : " Take heed to yourselves and to all the flock over which the Holy Spirit hath made you overseers, to tend the congregation which he hath purchased with his own blood ; for I know that there will enter among you after my departure tearing wolves, not sparing the flock ; and from among yourselves shall men arise, speaking crooked things, to draw away the disciples after them." The author then brings forward the significant fact that Paul corroborates his prediction to the Ephesian elders by solemn warnings in Rom. xvi. 17, 18, &c. ; and in Eph. ii. 1, utters the same prediction, and is repeated by Jude : " For there are certain men crept in unawares, who were before ordained to this condemnation ; " and Rev. ii. 2 : " Thou hast tried them which say they are apostles and are not, and hast found them liars." The important fact being thus ascertained that false prophets or wolves were to appear in the church, the author surveys the page of history, to find out, if possible, the time when they appeared. The apostolic fathers are cited in succession, from Clement of Rome to Tertullian, and no characters answering the prediction can be found. The two centuries during which they lived were what Mosheim calls " the golden age of Christianity." The government was by presbyters, and the morals of the church was pure. This is proved by a long quotation from Tertullian. Fifty years after presbyter Tertullian, the scene changes with Bishop Cyprian. The characters of Christians and of the Bishops who ruled them contrasts sadly with those of the presbyters, Tertullian, Irenæus, and Justin Martyr. Bishop Cyprian gives a melancholy description, in his Treatise of the Lapsed, of the flocks and their pastors. The condition of the church did not improve before the time of the Council of Nice in 325. This is proved from Eusebius. The results of the Council were not satisfactory. The orthodox Hilary of Poitiers, addressing his Arian oppressor Constantius, declares " it is a thing equally deplorable and dangerous that there are as many creeds as opinions, as many doctrines as inclinations, and as many sources of blasphemy, as there are faults among them. Every year, nay, every moon, we make us creeds to describe invisible mysteries. We condemn either the doctrine in ourselves or our own in that of others ; and reciprocally tearing each other to pieces, we have been the cause of each other's ruin." (Pp. 62.)

But to judge of our author's argument, we must refer the reader to the

volume. The sentiments are firm and outspoken ; the style is trenchant and incisive ; and no statement is made without being supported by quotations, displaying no small amount of reading and reflection.

Baptism : Only the Holy are to be Baptised. By W. P. MACKAY, M.A., Minister of the Gospel, Hull. Edinburgh : James Taylor, 31 Castle Street. London : J. Nisbet & Co. 1870.

Much difference of sentiment and practice has prevailed in the Christian church on the question of baptism,—whether it ought to be administered by immersion or sprinkling, and whether the administration of it ought to be limited to believing adults to the exclusion of infants ; and the controversy has often been conducted with much violence and acrimony. In this tract the author's object is to prove that the children of believing parents, or of parents of which one alone is believing, are to be baptised. (1 Cor. vii. 14.) He describes the process by which his own mind, through the study of the Scriptures, after years of uncertainty, was brought to rest ; and the argument is conducted with ingenuity and effect, and with a spirit of Christian charity in the highest degree commendable.

The author distinguishes between the *Body of Christ* and the *House of God*—using these two expressions as being the Scriptural ones, and the distinction between them as being the kernel of the whole question. It is by the baptism of the Holy Spirit, he observes, not by mere water-baptism that we are united into the *Body of Christ* ; but admission into the *House of God* as seen here upon earth is by water-baptism. “The House of God on earth,” he farther says, “is an assembly *separated* to God on the earth, owning Christ as Lord and his Spirit as their Guide ; and infants are not admitted to baptism as believers nor as infants, but as *separated ones*.” To this we would add that baptism is a privilege which children enjoy through their parents as members of the visible church, which consists of all those throughout the world that profess the true religion, together with their children. This agrees with the passage already quoted from Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians, and with the words of Peter, in his sermon on the day of Pentecost, “The promise is unto you and to your children.” As is observed in the Westminster Directory for Public Worship, the children of professing parents are Christians and federally holy before baptism, and therefore are they baptised ; for their baptism supposeth them to be church members, and doth not make or constitute them such.”

Berkeleian Philosophy : With an Appendix to Dr Temple's Essay. By the Rev. Dr CHARLES R. TEAPE, Incumbent of St Andrew's Church, and Chaplain to the Bishop of Edinburgh. Edinburgh : William Paterson ; and London : Simpkin, Marshall, & Co. 1870.

Few of our readers may be able, from the title page of this treatise, to guess the connection between Bishop Berkeley and Dr Temple. Nor can we engage, within the limits of a notice, to explain the matter to satisfaction. Suffice it then to observe that our author professes himself an advocate, to a certain extent, of the philosophy of Berkeley ; the true aim and tendency of which he expounds, with much acuteness and research, from the Bishop's writings. We do not attempt to follow Dr Teape in his metaphysical analysis of the Berkeleian philosophy, the main object of which, according to his view, is to present the Supreme Being as the great First Cause, operating directly, and through the medium of external objects,

ideas, and impressions on the human mind. Referring our readers to the treatise before us, as well worthy of the closest attention, we only refer at present to the Appendix, in which Dr Teape applies the principles he has laid down to the famous essay of Dr Temple on the Education of the World,—its childhood taught by rules; its youth taught by examples; and its manhood acting by principles. "We do not disparage," says our author, "any of all the agencies enumerated in the essay, and the great benefits resulting from them; but we deny the possibility of their raising the race higher in a progressive ratio; so that century one may be denoted childhood; century forty, manhood; and century sixty, maturity." "We affirm God alone is the source of education and development; and while many complain of the essay being too broad, it is in reality too narrow and confined. Education is spread over an infinitude of time, yet confined within periods and limits. What was done by the Creator, millions of years gone by, was designed to tell on the present and on races yet to come." We have been particularly struck with the force and felicity of his remarks on the longevity of patriarchal life; on the building of Babel, which Dr Temple supposes to have been intended literally to reach to the skies, and quotes as a proof of childhood; and to the high degree reached by now extinct civilizations. But we must content ourselves with quoting, as a specimen of the author's method, the following extract:

"We therefore affirm, in the *third* and last place, that goodness, piety, and virtue in man is not the result of self-education, of thought, or of reflection, of conscience, learning, refinement, or reason, which man has, yet every day violates, for some future or present object or gratification. Piety and virtue are the effects of the direct actings of the influences of God on the heart, mind, and conscience of man, so that I can read the evidence of God's present power and agency in a good man in every age of the world's history, with the same certainty as I read it in a planet or a blade of grass. We cannot here enter into the various aspects of this fact, involving all the duties and privileges of revealed religion, and all the mysteries of Providence. We conclude it in one sentence—a personal God, infinitely wise and good, spiritual, eternal, omniscient, omnipresent, acting out His own visibility alike in the departments of mind and matter, and both equally every moment in need of and dependent on His aid. Consequently, I read in letters clear and distinct His perfection in the forms of creation, His power in the continuance of their duration and regularity of their motions, His holiness in every characteristic of an Enoch, a Noah, a Prophet, Apostle, or Christian. All people in all time acted on by the same agency, and wrought up to maturity by the same hand, the Son of God, the mediatorial centre and source."

Rome and the Council in the Nineteenth Century. By FELIX BUNGENER.
Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1870.

This is a valuable and important contribution to the numerous works which have been evoked by the self-called Ecumenical Council. A single glance at the ample contents of the volume will shew the author has taken a position peculiar to himself. This will be explained by the following extract from his Introduction:—

"Many people will probably say what the present Council has been. I shall try to say what it will be.

"And yet I have no intention of writing in a spirit of prophecy, or of embarking on a visionary undertaking. For some years Catholicism has shewn very clearly what it is, and what it intends. It has shewn this by its boldness as well as by its fears, by its firmness, its tractability, its logic,

and its inconsistencies. All that is necessary is to know how to detach and seize the one invariable idea that presides over these diversities, and promises to itself the empire of the world.

"I have elsewhere analysed that idea in a philosophical and moral point of view. My book on *Rome and the Human Heart* was intended to shew how the human heart has created Catholicism, and how Catholicism in return sacrifices everything to the human heart, flattering its pride, pampering its tastes, even where it appears to be thwarting them; and, in short, reigning through the human heart much more than through the divine authority with which the church declares herself to be invested.

"I should like now to look at the same question from a historical point of view. The present Council will not only furnish me with an opportunity I had long desired, it will form a central point round which the facts I have collected will naturally group themselves.

"I might have collected them in order of succession from the history of every age. For, as Romanism claims to be identical with Apostolical Christianity, we have a right to interrogate every Christian century, from the nineteenth to the first, respecting the antiquity or novelty of the doctrines, institutions, and tendencies of the Papal Church.

"But such an inquiry would be a work of controversy, and that I do not desire. My plan, then, is this:—

"First, I restrict the field of my investigations, except in one or two necessary instances, within the limits comprised between the Council of Trent and the present Council.

"Secondly, I examine all questions from a Catholic point of view,—I mean as they would be examined by a Catholic seeking to determine what these three centuries have done for his church, whether for good or evil. In what respect, since the Council of Trent, has she progressed, or gone backwards? Which tendencies have been strengthened, and which weakened? Which doctrines have been thrown into the shade, and which placed in stronger light? How far the church has submitted to the influence of modern times, or how far resisted them! What has she gained? What has she lost? What, finally, is her real position in the midst of contemporary generations? These are the questions I propose to consider; and each will necessarily subdivide itself into several others."

From this it appears that the work of M. Bungener does not interfere with the paper by Dr Merle d'Aubigne, which we have published in our present number. The Address of Dr d'Aubigne is an historical retrospect bearing on the present Council; the work of M. Bungener is rather a prospective view of the Council, taken from that of Trent, but touching on the characteristic features of the papacy in general, from that time to the present, as bearing on its future destinies. M. Bungener clearly identifies the cause of Popery with Ultramontaniam, as its true and proper development; and, in a style of scathing criticism and startling effect, exhibits its real character, stripped of its poetic embellishments and high-sounding pretensions. Take the following remarks on the papacy, considered politically:—

"The papacy desiring liberty! Why, yes; but only so that one voice might make itself heard among men, a sovereign voice, silencing for ever all speech, and all thought but its own. It claimed liberty, but only as it claims it now. 'The church,' so the syllabus says (Art 19), 'is a true and perfect society, entirely free.'

"Fine words, but in reality a word-juggle.

"For, in the first place, this is always understood: the church is the clergy, and the clergy, much more now than in the days of Gregory VII. or Innocent III. is the Pope. Neither the Encyclical nor the Syllabus says a word of any right recognised as belonging or extended to the church,

to the body of the church, to that *society* which the Pope begins by declaring to be *true and perfect*. Such words, therefore, only mean—and this also is understood—that she has a regular government, perfectly organised, and that that government is free.

“But in politics a *free* government would mean the government of a free country. Here, then, is the great sophistry, if indeed it be sophistry, and not sheer boldness in playing thus openly with things and men. The liberty of the church is the liberty of its head to exercise, without hindrance or control, all the rights he may declare to be the rights of the church. The liberty of the church is, that the Pope should be free, in the name of the church, and ever more and more in his own name, to settle matters of faith, to impose his teaching on all, even, if necessary, by constraint (Syllabus, Art. 24), and temporal punishment. The liberty of the church is, that the Pope should be free, not only not to suffer any church to exist beside his own (Syllabus, Art. 77), but to stifle in his own (Art. 15) any striving after free and individual faith. The liberty of the church is, moreover, that all education should be free to pass entirely into the hands of the priests (Art. 45). It is, again, that the Pope should be free to legislate in a sovereign manner (Arts. 68 and 69) on all matters relating to marriage,—the central point of civil life,—to maintain for an indefinite period (Art. 43) the concordats that have recognised his rights, and, above all, as we have already seen, to require of every Christian sovereign that he should place his authority, his soldiers, his own person, at the service of all these *liberties*.”

A Commentary on the Confession of Faith. With Questions for Theological Students and Bible Classes. By the Rev. A. A. HODGE, D.D., Author of “*Outlines of Theology*,” “*The Atonement*,” &c. Edited by W. H. GOULD, D.D. London: T. Nelson & Sons, Paternoster Row; Edinburgh and New York. 1870.

Dr Hodge has been long known in this country, as well as in America, as an able, learned, and sound theologian, of which he has given ample proofs by the various admirable works which he has published. This Commentary on the Westminster Confession of Faith, is a work which will repay careful and frequent study, to the theological student, to the minister of the gospel, or to the private Christian. That Confession of Faith, though, like every other document written by fallible men, it is not, like the Word of God, to be received with absolute and implicit faith, is, in many respects, entitled to special attention. Baxter, who was not a member of the Westminster Assembly, and who did not agree with its sentiments on various points, yet affirms that it was the most learned assembly of divines that had ever convened since the age of the apostles. It has been adopted as the subordinate standard of the great body of Presbyterians in Scotland, England, Ireland, and America,—as explanatory of the sense in which they understand the Scriptures, with the exception of certain parts relating to the magistrate’s power in regard to the Church, which some of them, as the majority of the American Presbyterians, have altered and modified; and which others, as the Free Church, the United Presbyterians, and the United Original Secession Church, have explained. The alterations and amendments made by the great bulk of Presbyterians in America, as Dr Hodge informs us, are on the last paragraph of the twentieth chapter of the Westminster Confession of Faith; the third paragraph of the twenty-third chapter; and the second paragraph of the thirty-first chapter.

For the junior classes in our churches this Commentary may be too elaborate; but for the more advanced classes,—if they can be brought to

take an interest in the study,—its use as a text-book would be exceedingly profitable, being specially adapted for their advancement in the knowledge of the will of God as revealed in the inspired Word. The volume is wholly devoid of the controversial, its design being solely the communication of instruction.

Such being its object, we have here to regard the Westminster Confession of Faith, not only as a subordinate standard, but also as a text-book peculiarly suitable for religious instruction. For this purpose, the comprehensive field of divine truth which the Westminster Confession of Faith embraces peculiarly adapts it. In this respect it greatly surpasses the confessions of the church in the first ages of Christianity, such as the Apostles' Creed, a document so called, not because it was written by the Apostles, but because it was understood to express their faith, and which, in its present form, was adopted throughout the Christian Church about the close of the second century; the Nicene Creed, which consists chiefly of a declaration that the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son is a fundamental article of the Christian faith; and the Athanasian Creed, which is mainly devoted to a distinct enunciation of the doctrine of the Trinity. The Westminster Confession of Faith being written in a systematic form, this conduces greatly to its utility as a medium for communicating to the human mind the things of God. This, indeed, so far from recommending it, will excite a prejudice against it in some minds, in the present day when there exists a strong and very foolish hostility, not only against confessions of faith as subordinate standards, but even against the study of divine truth in a systematic form. No objection of this sort is ever brought against the study of the sciences—chemistry, natural philosophy, zoology, botany, mineralogy, &c. The reduction of these sciences to a systematic form, tends the more effectually to promote their acquisition; and the reduction of the will of God, as revealed in the Scriptures, into a systematic form, will equally contribute to the acquisition of an accurate and full knowledge of the contents of the volume of inspiration.

Dr Hodge's Commentary is introduced by two chapters, the first being a short history of creeds and confessions; and the second giving some account of the origin of the Westminster Confession and Catechisms. In an appendix, written by the author's father, Dr Charles Hodge, professor in Princeton Theological College, two articles are added: one, on "What is Presbyterianism?" and the other, on "What is meant by adopting the Westminster Confession?"

History of the Karaite Jews. By WILLIAM HARRIS RULE, D.D. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1870.

"The book now presented to English readers," says the author, "is the first volume in our language that has been entirely devoted to the history of Karaite Jews. Writers on Jewish history have usually given a chapter, an appendix, or a few commonplace unstudied sentences to this branch of their subject. The subject in itself was deemed interesting, but so scanty and imperfect were the materials, that it was impossible to treat it satisfactorily."

In preparing this volume for the press, the author has had recourse to numerous authentic sources of information, and he has spared no pains to render his history of this Jewish sect, the greater part of which will be new to most readers, both full and accurate. The normal principle of the Karaites is profound reverence for the *written* law of God, contained in the Old Testament, and the rejection of what is called the *oral* law, or the

traditions of the elders. Not satisfied with the written law alone as a divine revelation, gradually the Jews received along with it the oral law or the traditions of the elders, as of equal authority, having, as they believed, been delivered by God to Moses on Sinai along with the divine law then committed to writing.

Some authors, as Prideaux, date the origin of Karaism from the year of our Lord 750, and represent Anan, a Jew of Babylonia, of the stock of David, a learned man in his way, as the founder of the Karaites. But the author of this volume carries the origin of the sect, not only beyond this period, but before the commencement of the Christian era, and even back to the time of Ezra. In this opinion, the author, as he explains himself, may be considered as substantially correct. No such party, indeed, existed at so remote a period, bearing the name, or organised into a separate sect; but as, after the time of Ezra, the traditions of the elders, which were multiplied from generation to generation, came to be extensively regarded as of equal if not of higher authority than the written law, there is no doubt that many among the Jews opposed this extravagant veneration for traditions, and maintained the exclusive claims of the written law to inspiration. Throughout the whole book of Malachi, which was written between 433 and 424 years before the birth of Christ, we meet with the spirit that developed itself among the Jews into Phariseism and the Saduceeism; and we learn from the same prophet that a faithful bard then existed among the Jews who resisted the corruptions and tendencies of their times, though they had not formed themselves into a separate sect. This veneration for traditions became almost universal among the Jews. So rank and luxuriant had the evils that arose from it become in the time of our Saviour, that he declared that they "made the word of God of none effect through their traditions" (Mark vii. 13). Speaking of the times of Christ, the author says: "We may not find Karaites by name, but shall, at least, be able to trace the principles of Karaism in the Jewish mind, and to mark the deterring influence of our Lord's personal ministrations beyond the circle of Christianity. All our Lord's ministry was an active and continuous antagonism to human traditions."

After the time of Christ, these traditions, which were often very absurd and burdensome, and wholly subversive of the written law, were still more multiplied, and for many ages—from the destruction of the temple to the present time, they have been regarded with greater respect and devotion than the Old Testament Scriptures, being opposed only by a few Karaites.

These traditions—the very traditions which our Saviour when on earth condemned—were corrected and arranged by Rabbi Judah the Holy, in the Mishnah, which is the original text of the Talmud, and which gives a faithful representation of Jewish theology and ecclesiology, both before and after the times of the apostles. The Mishnah forms a key for the explanation of many of our Lord's discourses, and must therefore be of great value to the interpreter of the New Testament.

An important observation of the author we must here quote:—"The Mishnah," he writes, "must be read with interest, for it has contributed, more than any other visible instrument, to the perpetuation of a system of traditionary principles, precepts, and customs that keeps alive the peculiar spirit of Judaism, as distinct from all the world of Gentiles, that feeds on enthusiasm, and rivets an attachment strong beyond the conception of any stranger, thus keeping this ancient people in an isolated existence for the fulfilment of their appointed service in the world, until the fulness of the Gentiles shall be gathered in, and the dispersed of Judah shall return with a ransomed world to crown the triumph of their Messiah—theirs and ours."

The Mishnah was followed in the year of our Lord 230 by the Jerusalem

Talmud, so called to distinguish it from the Babylonian; not that it was written in Jerusalem, but because that city was claimed by the authors as their metropolis. This Talmud forms only one volume; but the Babylonian Talmud, which was completed in the year 506, is much larger, filling twelve or thirteen thick and closely printed folio volumes. "This called forth the active opposition of a multitude of soberminded and conscientious Jews, who eventually assumed or accepted a new name, but never acknowledged themselves to be a new sect, and never ought to have been so regarded." The Karaites are distinguished from the Rabbinites, who are the zealous supporters of traditions as of equal obligation with the written law.

Sermons Preached in Hexham Abbey Church. By J. W. HOOPER, Curate. London: James Nisbet & Co., 21 Berners Street. 1870.

These sermons treat of many important points relating to Christian faith, privilege, and practice, and contain many solemn and impressive passages. They are twenty-nine in number, and embrace among other subjects, Faith, Hope, Love, the Privilege of Communion with Christ, Moses on Mount Pisgah, Christianity and Platonism, the Presence of God, the Athanasian Creed, Self-Deception, the Eternal Meat, the New Life on Earth and in Heaven. From the excellence of the matter, and the elegance with which it is presented to the reader, they form a very suitable volume for Sabbath reading, and by such as enjoy the author's ministry they will be especially valued. The admirable discourse on Christianity and Platonism may well inspire us with gratitude that we have in Jesus, contemplating him only in his prophetic office, an instructor infinitely superior to Plato, who may be considered as the "representative of the very highest form of the philosophic morality of heathenism."

Heroes of Hebrew History. By SAMUEL WILBERFORCE, D.D., Lord Bishop of Winchester. London: Strahan & Co. 1870.

"The following sketches, with the exception of David the King, have already appeared in the pages of *Good Words*. They are now republished at the request of many who desired to possess them in a separate form." In these sketches, the well-known talent of the Bishop, and the rich beauty of his style, shew to great advantage. He has woven the facts of sacred history into a series of striking pictures, and adorned them with a profusion of beautiful imagery. Beyond the literal history, however, he seldom, if ever, seeks to rise. We have natural character, elevated by religious feeling, drawn by a masterly hand. But we look in vain for any deep insight into the workings of divine grace in the hearts either of the sinner or the saint. No opportunity in the records of these heroes, of the Old Testament, to illustrate, at any length or in any pointed way, that faith for which Paul declares these elders "obtained a good report," and which he shews in his catalogue of them in the eleventh of the Hebrews, ran like a golden chain through the history of their attainments and sufferings. We have seldom seen a more complete proof how little, after all, the finest literary taste, and the highest intellectual treatment of sacred history, can compensate, even in point of effect, for the absence of spiritual unction and evangelical sentiment, "What is the chaff to the wheat?"

Addresses. By HENRY WARD BEECHER, of Plymouth Church, Brooklyn.
New York. 1870.

Mr Beecher's merits and demerits may be said to be equally conspicuous. It is needless to deny or to dilate upon his foibles and eccentricities. These appear so much on the surface of all he says and does, that it argues no penetration to point them out, and no great wisdom to comment upon them. In the *Addresses* before us, which were delivered to week-day assemblages, after returning from his European tour, Mr Beecher dwells fondly, as usual, upon himself, his feelings, and his impressions. He has invested deeply in his popularity, and he draws largely upon it; though he wisely contrives to flatter his audience in the same breath with which he exalts himself. We think we see him as he stood in a perfect arbour of bouquets showered upon him by his admiring flock, and in the midst of the incense waved from a thousand perfumed handkerchiefs, as he told them how, above everything else, he thought of them praying for him on a foreign shore. Every sentence he utters, prayers and all, are taken down verbatim by a ready writer, and here we have them reproduced. We have been assured that this prophet is not so highly esteemed in his own country as here. Still he is the man of his day, and it is vain to deny his parts. His main drawback in our eyes is his miserable dearth of Gospel truth. On this point we refer to the judicious remarks of one of his own countrymen, in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, when commenting on his lately published volumes of *Sermons*:—

"We certainly find in these sermons a great deal which we can conscientiously commend, and that amply justifies the exalted position which their author holds among American preachers. They are worthy of great praise for the freshness, vigour, and earnestness of their style; for the beauty and oftentimes surprising aptness of their illustrations; for the large amount of consolatory and stimulating thought embodied in them, and for the force and skill with which religious considerations are made to bear upon the most common transactions of life. The sermon, in the first volume, on the Love of Money, is one of the most powerful sermons in the English language.

"Yet we think these sermons open to very grave criticism for their want of the specifically evangelical element. There is altogether too little in them which a disbeliever in the essential truths of the gospel might not have written. Mr Beecher says in his preface, that chapters of theology, if preached now-a-days, would not be listened to. We say, that if Mr Beecher could attract the attention of such a congregation as his to some of the discussions contained in these sermons, he could very easily attract their attention to such topics as total depravity, the nature and necessity of regeneration, and the nature and necessity of evangelical faith; and we do not know that we can point him to a better argument in favour of what we have said than the preaching of his own father.

"There are one or two questions we should like to ask. If the object of the preacher is to convey ideas to the minds of the hearers by words whose meaning can be readily apprehended, what end is gained by using such words and phrases as 'inwardnesses,' 'avertness,' 'hereditated,' 'basilar,' 'vacuous,' 'acerb,' 'effulge,' 'resurrected,' 'sapid,' 'salacious,' 'to traverse the canons of morality,' 'products that have in them no ministration of faculty'? We cannot help asking, also, whether Mr Beecher, in his public prayers, is never troubled by the intervention between God and himself of the image of the reporter, diligently engaged in his task; nor can we suppress our intense admiration of the mar-

vellous power possessed by Mr Ellinwood, of uniting the abstraction of mind and fervour of spirit required in the devout worshipper of God, with the mental and manual labour which he has to put forth as a reporter of prayers."

The Testimony of the Catacombs, and of other Monuments of Christian Art, from the Second to the Eighteenth Century, concerning Questions of Doctrine now disputed in the Church. By the Rev. WHARTON B. MARRIOT, B.D. and F.S.A., sometime Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, &c., &c. London: Hatchards. 1870.

This is a most seasonable work, and destined, we should think, to produce a wide and beneficial impression. Part I. deals with the Cultus of the Virgin Mary, and proves, beyond all reasonable doubt or denial, that the worship of Mary had no existence in the earlier ages of the Christian church. Part II. takes up the monuments bearing on the claims of supremacy in the See of Rome. Part III. refers to monuments regarding baptism and the eucharist. These are elucidated by plates and woodcuts of the monuments that remain extant. We can conceive nothing more fitted to produce conviction than the exhibition of these works of art, conveying as they do to the eye what no historical records could do, a vivid and unmistakable argument in proof of the gradual corruptions of the Church of Rome. The book is beautifully got up, containing a great variety of illustrations; the text is equally well composed; and altogether it may be regarded as one of the most effective contributions to our anti-ritualistic literature.

The Ministry of the Word. Sermons by WALTER MACGILVRAY, D.D., Gilcomston Free Church, Aberdeen. London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co. 1870.

These Sermons are brief, varied, pleasant, and edifying. They correspond well with their title: they are truly the ministration of the Word. In their mode of treatment they are generally textual; that is to say, the text, instead of merely indicating a topic of discourse, into which the preacher may import some favourite ideas of his own, occupies a central position, from which, in its connection, the ideas flow, or upon which they naturally hang, as fruit upon a tree, bearing its peculiar flavour. The great advantage of this method is, that the message comes to us with power as well as freshness. We have less of the preacher and more of the word preached; less of human idiosyncrasy, which is apt to issue in monotony, and more of that "tree of life in the midst of the garden, which bears twelve manner of fruits." The style of the volume is simple, clear, and scholarly. And we feel sure that, in its perusal, the reader will find no cause to complain of the tedium or the dryness too often associated with the name of sermons.

The following works still lie on our table for future notice:—"John; or, the Apocalypse of the New Testament," by Philip S. Despres, B.D.; "A Critical English New Testament;" "Men of Faith," by Luke H. Wiseman, M.A.; "Bloomfield: a Tale," by Elizabeth Warren; "Zeller's Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics," translated by Raichel; "The Lost Sheep Found, and other Sermons to Children," by the Rev. Gordon Calthrop, M.A.; "Life Problems, answered in Christ," by Leigh Mann, &c. In the poetic line, we have "The Alexandra"—Poems by the late William Leighton; "Rizpah and Early Poems," by Gilbert Beresford, &c.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW.

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ART. I.—*The Two Testaments in their Relation to each Other.*

THE exact relation which subsists between the two collections of ancient records which unite to form Holy Scripture, is a subject on which few seem to have any definite and well-grounded judgment, although it is very well known that this topic lies very near the root of many questions constantly coming up for solution in the present age. For want of a well-considered and accurate decision of this preliminary inquiry, evidence derived from the Old Testament is often practically evaded, and often fails in its effect. Every one familiar with theological investigations has had occasion to observe this at such times as he has sought to convince the understanding of his readers by appealing to the testimony of the Jewish Scriptures. Old Testament citations have usually importance attached to them when they come in to confirm principles, which, for other sufficient reasons, we have seen it right to adopt; but when their testimony is clearly on the opposite side to that which we have already adopted, we somehow contrive to remember that these ancient records are superseded by the New Testament, and that the state of things there described, however well it may have been adapted to the circumstances of the people of God in their minority, is now, in the manhood of the church, a little out of date, and is scarcely up to the requirements of a higher and more spiritual dispensation. Practically, this means that it is not divine revelation, but our own sense of what is right and proper to believe and to do

which is to form our religious sentiment, and to regulate our moral action. At the very least it means, that evidence from one part of Scripture does not stand exactly on the same level with evidence from another—a position clearly antagonistic to that great principle which most of us have been taught from childhood to cherish with undoubting faith—that the entire Word of God is the rule of faith and life. This inconsistency of judgment arises, we think, from the want of definite knowledge as to the exact relation in which the two Testaments stand to each other, and, when carried to its natural issues, expresses itself in contradictory statements of opinion, and in painful uncertainty of action.

In laying down some principles on this subject, and in pointing out some of their applications, we do not profess that we have reached the ultimate and foundation truth of the matter. Our design is rather to call attention to its importance, to stimulate thought, to suggest somewhat to those who are more familiar with such investigations, in order that, by repeated efforts, some clear, well-defined, and indisputable principle may be reached, which may supply a firm basis for subsequent inquiries. When truth itself is too high to be grasped, it is a healthful exercise to stand on tip-toe and touch it if we can.

We begin by noticing the vast chasm which separates the two main portions of Revelation. There is a chasm in regard to time; there is a chasm in regard to language; there is a chasm in the social and political surroundings of the events described. Not only so, but the moral sentiments, the modes of worship, the forms of religious life, are so different, that a man who passes from the polar regions to the tropics scarcely feels a greater change of temperature, than is felt in a religious sense by one who passes from the types and shadows of the Pentateuch to the clear realities of the Gospels, from the keen, incisive denunciations of the prophets, to the genial warmth of apostles and evangelists. The moral atmosphere is entirely changed. The local has made way for the universal; limitation has given place to expansion, constraint to freedom, death to life, condemnation to glory.

So painfully was the contrast felt, even in the early unscientific ages of Christianity, that some acute thinkers could, with difficulty, bring themselves to believe that two systems so apparently different as those presented in the law and the gospel, could have originally emanated from the one infinitely wise and unchangeable Being. Some Gnostics of the second century went to the extreme of supposing that the Old Testament was not the production of the Supreme Deity, but rather of the Demiurge, whose works Jesus was commissioned to counteract and destroy. If this were so, it would certainly

account for the apparent harshness of the Jewish legislation, for the cumbrous and seemingly unspiritual ceremonial, and for the deflections from rectitude which, on various occasions, are allowed to pass without rebuke in the Old Testament. It is questionable, however, whether the hypothesis would be attended with many other advantages, while it is certain that it would call into existence at least ten difficulties, any one of which would be more huge and terrible than any of those that it had put out of the way. The Gnostic heresy is long since dead. Christians everywhere are now agreed in the belief that the Book of Revelation, like the Book of Nature, has no second author. A work whose constituent parts are the production of at least forty different men, writing in different places, and separated some of them from the others by centuries, must, of necessity, present great diversities in thought and style; but amid all these diversities, one grand plan and purpose is manifest throughout. So much is this felt on closer inspection to be the case, that the old Gnostic notion is universally exploded. Intelligent persons may still be found who do not profess to believe that any portion of Scripture is divine, but no man now thinks of accounting for the moral distance between the two Testaments, by alleging that one of them is from God and the other from the devil.

It must not be forgotten, however, that while both are in their origin divine, the New Testament is the more recent in production; that the works which it contains are the latest written expression of the divine mind; and that they present the full development of a religious system which the Old Testament exhibits in germ only. This is the one grain of truth that underlies the common prejudice which exalts the gospels and the epistles at the expense of the law and the prophets, and which unduly disparages the latter without overestimating the former. Every one who mixes in religious society of almost any grade, has at some period encountered the growing impression that the Jewish Scriptures are now obsolete—that at least they have lost in a great degree the binding force which they once possessed, that precepts embodied in them, and in them only, cannot legitimately command unqualified obedience from Christians, that in fact no religious duty can be proved to be a present duty, except it be proved from the New Testament.

“Does not the word *testament* mean a will?” said a shrewd but unlettered peasant to his minister. “Yes, it sometimes has that meaning,” was the answer. “But if a man make a new will, does not this of necessity revoke any other will which was in existence before it?” “Among men such is, undoubtedly, the case,” said the minister. “That being so,”

rejoined the peasant, "does not the fact that God has given us the New Testament, deprive the Old Testament of its validity as a rule of conduct, and can it now be of any other use to Christians than like an old will to shew the intention of the testator at the time it was made?" To an error put so plausibly, it is no doubt difficult to give an answer equally clear and equally plausible. An uneducated man can scarcely be induced to perceive how deceptive and unsafe it is to found any important principle upon a mere analogy between our acts and the acts of that great Being, whose thoughts and whose ways are so different from man's. The fallacy of the argument lies in supposing that He, "with whom is no variableness neither shadow of turning," changes as a man changes, who, by every new record of the disposition of his effects, absolutely invalidates every other record by which it was preceded. God does not alter his plan, though he may modify his law to suit the altered circumstances of humanity. The New Testament is not a distinct and independent revelation—it is rather the completion of a revelation which was in process of communication for ages—it is the finishing of an edifice, in whose erection priests and prophets were engaged for centuries, but which required to have the top-stone laid upon it by evangelists and apostles in order to make it perfect. To carry out the peasant's figure, it is not so much a new will, revoking everything that had gone before it, as a codicil to a will, altering some old arrangement now no longer needed, and providing for some new circumstances, which, in the case before us, Omniscience doubtless foresaw from the beginning, but which were not in actual existence when the document was at first prepared.

In the conversation now quoted, the peasant was merely giving utterance to an opinion which it would be a mistake to suppose peculiar to peasants or artisans. The probability is, that it was derived from others superior in intelligence to himself, whose treatment of the Old Testament Scriptures may have, undesignedly perhaps, communicated to his mind the impression which he embodied in words. Perhaps in the public services of the church he may have heard the lesson of inspired wisdom read constantly from the gospels and epistles, but from the law and the prophets rarely. Out of every ten discourses pronounced from the pulpit, nine may have been based on passages found in the New Testament only. The very songs of the sanctuary, indited by inspiration, embedded in the Scripture, surrounded by so many holy associations, and in which millions of the saints now asleep have expressed towards God the deepest and purest feelings of the heart, may have fallen into disuse, and may too frequently have had substituted for

them something of a different origin, supposed to be better adapted to Christian use. He may have read in his favourite Christian monthly, that some precept, which he recognises as a portion of what he has always regarded as a moral and universal law, which has long been held in respect by the people of God, and whose observance is a blessing to humanity, is now entirely divested of divine obligation, because it was originally addressed to Jews, and has not had its sanctions repeated in the New Testament. Philosophic theologians, perhaps, may have told him that the whole moral law, not one poor, pitiful fragment of it, is abrogated for reasons not unsimilar; that it is in fact quite a mistake to suppose that the Christian, in the freedom of his present state, is under any written "preceptive rule" whatever, and not under the "influence of an inward directing life." The philosopher aims to outshine the other moral instructors of the age, by calling the Old Testament an "old Jew book" and by wondering why it is that this enlightened generation is to go about in its "old Jew clothes" for evermore, when it might shine in tinsel sheen, and flaunt in cap and bells, and don all the gay attire, better adapted, no doubt, to the taste and habits of an age which has so far cast into the shade the dull and sober folly of the past. The Rationalist comes directly to the point at which the others aim in a sort of roundabout fashion, and maintains broadly that the Old Testament was written for the Jews only, and that Christians have nothing to do with it as a guide of faith and conduct.

In striking contrast to the treatment which the Old Testament receives from the flippant and shallow theology now so much in vogue, is the profound respect in which it was held by Christ and his apostles. They constantly revert to it as the infallible director of faith and life: its simplest statement is held by them as conclusive upon any question which it touches: in its very words and phrases, they find the basis for a solid argument, or point out a profound and spiritual meaning. It is by passages directly cited from what the philosopher calls the "old Jew book" that our Great Master, in the hour of fierce temptation, fortifies his own resolution, and puts the evil spirit to flight. In his sermon on the mount, he explains the deep spiritual meaning which underlies the precepts of Sinai, and asserts in terms the most emphatic, that "Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law till all be fulfilled." When he reads from the prophet in the synagogue of Nazareth, the congregation are taught that the passage read speaks about himself. When the great Teacher, standing at the head of the Christian ages, sums up the first and greatest commandment of all,

it is in words found substantially in the Old Testament. When, some years before the earliest book in the New Testament was written, he commands them to search the Scriptures, it is obvious that it was the Jewish Scriptures that he meant. The Jews he represents as erring in not being sufficiently familiar with their own Scriptures; and among the last sayings of the Redeemer in his agony were words extracted from them,—a circumstance not rendered less emphatic by the fact that it is not on record that he ever quoted any other book. After the resurrection, his thoughts dwelt much on the subjects contained in these writings, and in the interval before the ascension, he expounded to his astonished followers the things in them concerning himself.

The existing fragments of the discourses delivered by the apostles in the discharge of their evangelistic work, testify to the use which they made of the Old Testament in convincing their countrymen that Jesus was the Christ. Paul used it in reasoning with them in the synagogue every Sabbath day, and the Bereans were counted a noble people for the diligence with which they tried the preaching of the apostles by this unerring test. It was the Scriptures contained therein, which Timothy knew from his childhood, and which we have high authority for saying were able to make him "wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus." The founders of Christianity taught invariably that these ancient writings were designed to promote the faith and instruction, and to stimulate the hope of after ages; and the apostles, like their Master, used them, not only in illustration, but in argument, for establishing principles, and for enforcing great practical lessons. All these considerations help to make it plain that, however much it be the fashion now to depreciate the older revelation, in the judgment of those from whom Christianity derives all its authority, the Old Testament was not regarded either as obsolete or useless, but as full to overflowing with the lessons of inspired truth.

To this line of remark, two answers might possibly be given. The frequent appeals made by Christ and his apostles to the Jewish Scriptures constituted, it might be said, a sort of *argumentum ad hominem*,—an argument which, without pledging the user of it to any high degree of faith in the Old Testament, might nevertheless be sufficient to prove that the Jew, on his own principles, was bound to receive Christ as the Messiah. This, we admit, would account for such a fact as that Paul reasoned with the Jews every Sabbath out of the Scriptures,—they were the only standard of appeal that his opponents were willing to acknowledge; but, we submit, it cannot account for the manifest veneration that Christ and

his apostles cherished for these ancient writings, nor for the frequent use made of them by the Christians of the apostolic age. Or, it might be alleged, that, as the New Testament was yet unwritten when these commendations were bestowed upon the Old, there is somewhat of unfairness in pressing such testimonies as evidence to guide us in determining their relative claims. It is indeed true that the Christian Scriptures were not then committed to writing; but it is no less true that their authors were then alive, and that the use which these inspired teachers of Christianity made of the Old Testament, and that the terms in which they spoke of that collection of ancient documents, have come down to us with all the authority that justly attaches to the apostles of Christ, and are woven inseparably into the very texture of their writings, and are on record for the guidance of succeeding ages. If men will persevere in elevating one portion of divine revelation at the expense of another, nothing can be fairer than to quote the testimony of that portion, which they profess to honour, in favour of that other portion which they persistently degrade.

Let us now open and examine the Old Testament. Amid its varied and multitudinous contents we find some incidents and details which do not appear to be so edifying as others,—a remark that might justly be made of the New Testament as well. Many of its facts are genealogical, antiquarian, historical—mere relics of things which once had a human interest, but which now appear to bear very remotely, if at all, on the religious or other concerns of humanity. But we must learn to take God's book as we take God's world—as we find it, rather than as we would like it: to a ripe and Christian scholarship, precious, though at first unperceived, truths slowly reveal themselves in the words of inspiration; while patient industry has turned to account and made fruitful some of its most isolated and apparently barren facts. But apart from all such things, the Old Testament contains very much that can never grow old or meaningless: representations of the character of the Unchangeable, which, if true at all, must be true for ever; germs of doctrine and fully developed truths which still hold their place in all the creeds of Christendom; predictions fulfilled and unfulfilled in regard to the fall of kingdoms, the overthrow of cities, the origin and growth of institutions, the destiny of nations. The spirit of its historians, as well as of its prophets and poets, is the testimony which they bear to Christ and to his kingdom. The same moral phases of human nature are exhibited in the one part of Scripture as in the other. Both alike agree in the representation that man is ruined by sin, yet not so ruined as to be beyond hope of salvation, and that the servants of God, saved

by grace, are in this world tried by sufferings and temptations, but nevertheless look forward hopefully to a future deliverance and rest. In both parts can be seen the same disease at work in humanity, the same danger, the same enemies, the same Saviour, the same struggle, the same victory, the same reward; but with this difference, that what the Old Testament presents under shadow, the New exhibits in the sunlight. Taken together, they constitute one grand book, each part necessary to the completeness of the other. The pyramid of divine revelation is composed of two parts,—the Old and New Testaments; apart from the New Testament the structure would have no apex, apart from the Old it would have no base.

Still it must not be forgotten that the Christian Scriptures have been written since the Jewish, and as they themselves assume the principle, that what was once adapted to the circumstances of men may not always remain so, it becomes an interesting inquiry, how far the legislation of the Old Testament is affected by the principles embodied in the New. We say *legislation*, because practically it comes to this. God is unchanged; truth is unchanged; man's relationship to God is unchanged, except in so far that the payment of the price of redemption, once a thing of the future, is now a thing of the past; the promises and the threatenings of God are unchanged—all are unchanged, except in this, that all these subjects now stand out more distinctly in the light of a fuller revelation. But the point of deepest interest is to inquire, how far is the duty which men owe to God and to each other changed, now that we are in possession of an additional part of divine revelation, which there can be no doubt modifies to some extent the portion which was first received. The grand inquiry is, How far does that modification reach? What portion, if any, of the Old Testament legislation, is now binding upon Christians?

We must candidly admit that we are not prepared to submit any well-defined axiom whose truth will command the concurrence of every reader, and the application of which will have the talismanic effect of enabling him to pronounce unerringly on the obligatory nature of any individual precept of the Mosaic economy. That would be perhaps impossible. Even if we could produce such a principle, and could convince all men of the truth of it, endless differences would arise from the endeavour to apply it. We prefer to attempt the humble, but not useless, task of laying down some plain facts, which will, we hope, commend themselves to the judgment of our readers, and enable them to take an accurate and consistent view of the subject.

1. Underneath the legislation of the Bible, *there is a LAW*

OF NATURE, to which man cannot in any circumstances safely run counter, and which he is bound to obey independent of a written revelation altogether. This law is the relic of an inscription, which originally the finger of God impressed on humanity, and which the dire catastrophe of the fall has not been able entirely to efface. In the period from Adam to Moses, before any portion of divine revelation was committed to writing, men lived under this moral law exclusively. Where there is no law there is no transgression, but the facts recorded of Sodom and of the Deluge prove, that in that vast period of human history there was transgression enough. If written revelation were entirely withdrawn, and we reduced to the same condition in which mankind existed before the first inspired penman lived, we would still be under a law, the breach of which would bring to us, as it did to them, penalties culminating in death. No subsequent change of dispensation—no after abrogation of any written law can affect, in the smallest degree, this unwritten law which has its basis in the nature of God and constitution of man. It is quite true that the Old Testament assumes this law as true, states it in words, and lends to it additional sanctions of its own; but no change that may in after times befall the peculiarities of the Mosaic or other Old Testament legislation can in the slightest degree affect that older law, which comes directly from God, which Scripture assumes and embodies in itself, but which would be equally binding upon men if the will of God had never been expressed in any written form whatever.

2. *Some precepts of the Old Testament were never intended to be binding universally upon the people of God.* They were addressed to individuals in peculiar circumstances, or given for a purpose which has long since been carried into effect. The command of God made it a duty for Noah to build the ark, for Abraham to offer up his only son, for Moses to stand before Pharaoh, for the Israelites to borrow from the Egyptians, for the invaders of Canaan to exterminate its idolatrous natives; but it is quite evident that these commands were addressed to individual men and individual races in circumstances which can never occur again, that the design of these commands has been long since served, and that, by no fair stretch of interpretation, can it be understood that they were ever intended to receive obedience from individuals or nations in after ages. God has work for every servant of his, but it is quite evident that the same work does not lie at every man's door. The special duty of Noah was not the special duty of Moses; and what was the special duty of either one or other, cannot now be the work of any of the servants of God.

It was never intended that commands addressed to special persons for special reasons should receive general obedience.

3. *Many precepts, which once were binding generally on the people of God, are now obligatory no more.* A precept which once imposed obligation may cease to do so in one of two ways: it may be expressly *repealed*, or it may be *fulfilled*; that is, the purpose for which it was given may be now accomplished, and, consequently, the reason for its observance may cease to exist. The teaching of Christ, while expressly asserting that one letter should not pass from the law till all would be fulfilled, manifestly implied that the fulfilment of any portion of it is reason sufficient for that portion ceasing to be obligatory. Animal sacrifice is an illustration of this. That oldest form of divine worship was typical of the central fact of the Christian redemption; it assumed the guilt of the worshipper, it was an illustration of the great doctrine of substitution, it pictured in a striking form the desert of sin, it pointed to the atonement of the promised Deliverer. But this is now an event of the past; the good things shadowed forth in the victim which bled at the altar are actually realised, and now there is no further need for the institution. Christians are not indeed forbidden to bring bulls and goats to the altar, in so many express words; but now that Christ has suffered, the grand design of sacrifice is accomplished, and there is no farther need for a rite the purpose of which has been fully wrought out.

Farther, many things enjoined upon men in the Old Testament are now set aside by express enactment in the New. This is the case, for instance, in regard to circumcision as well as other matters. During the lifetime of the apostles, a controversy arose as to whether circumcision was necessary to salvation, and the apostles and elders who were at Jerusalem met to deliberate on the subject. The question as it came before the meeting took a broader form—namely, as to how far the law of Moses was binding upon Gentile Christians: and the decision arrived at was, that Christians were free from the law of Moses in every respect, except as to abstaining from meats offered to idols, from fornication, from things strangled, and from blood. This decision exempted Gentile Christians, not only from circumcision, but from everything peculiar to the law of Moses with the exceptions named. It could not, and indeed was never intended to exempt men from the moral law, which was in force from the first, independent of Moses, and which Moses only adopted and confirmed; but with the exceptions specified, it does relax the obligations of every other portion of the law. The decision of the apostolic council, recorded in the 15th of Acts, sweeps away at a stroke everything that was merely ceremonial, or that belonged to the peculiar civil polity

of the Jewish people. To prove from the Mosaic law that anything is a duty, it is not enough to shew that it is embodied in the Pentateuch—that by itself is not sufficient to impose obligation now; it must be proved that the precept in question is a principle of the law of nature, or that it is specially exempt from the repeal of the Jewish law by the apostolic council, or that it is re-enjoined in the New Testament. If none of these things can be shewn, it is still possible that the precept may be useful in deciding some doubtful case which is not decided elsewhere, and which touches the social and natural relationships of humanity, and in this point of view may furnish needful guidance to one who really seeks divine direction; but it is impossible to attach to it much binding force in face of the apostolic letter exempting Gentile Christians from any such burden.

4. It follows that *every Old Testament precept of a general nature, and which has never yet been fulfilled or repealed, still continues to be binding.* If it were otherwise, then Christ came to destroy the law and the prophets. But he did not come to destroy; he came to fulfil. Besides, the principle in question we understand Him to have affirmed, when he said, "Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law till all be fulfilled."

The principle now stated does not necessarily imply that every example recorded in Scripture must of necessity entail obligation. An approved example proves in every instance that the thing done is lawful in similar circumstances; but mere example does not necessarily prove that we are bound to do the same thing, because it is possible that the act done may be immoral, or it may to us be impossible of performance, or it may be entirely unsuited to our present condition, or it may be recorded in circumstances to shew that it was a mere individual act not designed for general imitation, or we may have express directions to act otherwise. But it is in some respects different with a precept or a principle. If a principle be enjoined upon us by infallible authority, it is our duty to receive it implicitly, subject to such modifications or extensions as it may please its author afterwards to communicate. If God was pleased to give a precept, which clearly was not addressed to special individuals, nor intended for a temporary purpose, but which can be fairly carried out in any place and at any time, and if that precept is not annulled by authority equal to that by which it was commanded, it is manifestly still in force. A divine command may fail to obtain respect from men, or it may even perish out of human memory, but it never grows obsolete—it stands forth luminously on the page of that Word which liveth and abideth for ever. All this depends on the

principle, true even under human governments, but still more true under the divine, that no law can be repealed by any authority inferior to that which originally imposed it. If God binds, man cannot loose: if God himself does not loose the bond, we are bound for ever.

Let us now test the validity of these principles by applying them to the settlement of some of the questions of our time. It will be found on examination that they conduct us to results very different from those, which we must reach if we proceed on the principle, that nothing in religion binds except it comes to us on the express authority of the New Testament.

If we allow the Jewish Scriptures to be entirely superseded by the Christian, we are shut up to discover the origin of THE CHURCH within the New Testament; and from this there is but a single step to the position of the sectaries who maintain, that in the antecedent period, that is, for two-thirds of the whole period of the existence of the human race, there was on the earth no church whatsoever. But it at least enlarges the field of vision if we view the subject on the principle, that the two Testaments are co-ordinate parts of the same revelation, bearing to each other the relations already defined. In that case, the church is not simply a divine institution, which makes its appearance on the world's platform in the later ages of human history, but it is the congregation of the faithful in all ages—a society which originates in Eden, and which, unlike that ancient river that went forth from Paradise, has flowed on in unbroken volume since. It is the company of God's saints in all countries and in all ages, for a time bounded visibly by Canaan, and limited to the natural seed of Abraham, and distinguished by certain peculiarities of its own; but in New Testament times, while preserving its continuity and identity, forming itself into a new organisation, with a new staff of officers, new rites of worship, and a new central truth. It is still what it was from the first, the society of the faithful, but the local, the temporary, the national drops from around it, and it stands out in fully developed form a kingdom older than any earthly kingdom, and destined alike to conquer and to survive them all. If we confine ourselves to the New Testament and refuse to look beyond it, we rob Christ of much of his glory, and shrivel up the history of his kingdom into eighteen centuries; but when each Testament is allowed its place as an integral and essential portion of divine revelation, and the purpose of God from the beginning is taken into account, what a grand and comprehensive prospect is presented, not only of the plan of redemption, but of that old institution, which exists this moment at our doors, and which, notwithstanding all the weakness that adheres to it, has outlived the greatest nations of

this world, and which has still a career before it to which nothing except eternity can set bounds.

The **MODE OF MAINTAINING DIVINE WORSHIP** is another subject that must be affected very considerably by our view of the relations between the Testaments. If the New Testament only is to govern the practice of Christians, and all evidence from the Old is virtually out of court, there is no room for any difference of opinion on the subject. The case everywhere there presented, is that of a weak minority, designated the church, striving to exist in the dominions of a state whose rulers, from the highest to the lowest, are bitterly hostile to them. In such circumstances, countenance from the State, not to speak of substantial aid, is entirely out of the question. The church, if it live, must live upon its own resources, and divine worship must be maintained at the expense of the members. There is nothing else for it, but that "He that is taught in the Word" must "share with him that teacheth in all good things." But the church, it is obvious, may exist in very different circumstances; it may, for instance, be in a position where kings and rulers are members of it, and the whole current of public sentiment runs strongly in its favour; or it may be in a position where the rulers, though not members of the church, are known to cherish friendly feelings in regard to it. And it is not self-evident that the same plan of church maintenance, which must be followed when the church is subject to a government avowedly hostile to its members and its principles, must of necessity be followed, either when the rulers of the State, though of a different religion, are friendly, or when they themselves and their people virtually constitute the church, and are interested in its weal. Examples of the cases here supposed actually occur in the Old Testament. When a whole nation, rulers and people, are at one on the subject of religion, as in the case of Israel, the priesthood are supported both by a portion of the offerings and by a tax which was a charge upon the land, while the other essentials of public worship are provided for exclusively by voluntary gifts. When the church was in a position of subjection to a friendly, though a pagan, government as in the case of the Jews after the return from the captivity, we find them, at a time when inspired prophets were among them, receiving gladly from Artaxerxes, king of Persia, money needful for the house of God and for the purchase of offerings to be dedicated at the altar, and we have an inspired man—not, as he would be expected now to do, rejecting such a gift with scorn, but blessing God "who had put such a thing as this in the king's heart" (Ezra vii. 11-27). It is quite true that neither Testament supplies an example of what should be done in the matter, where the citizens, though

all nominally Christian, are divided into different sections, as jealous of, and as distinct from, each other as if they were of different faiths; and in such a case there is room for conflicting sentiment as to the application of general principles, and as to the relationship in which Church and State are to stand to each other, and as to how far the precedents supplied are to influence us in a case, for which we have in no part of Scripture any precedent whatever. But if example fail us as to one phase of the question, that is no good reason for ignoring, or wilfully discarding, such examples as we have. It may not be a duty to follow these precedents in every instance where they may appear to apply: that they take the form of precepts addressed to special persons, or of barely recorded examples, while teaching that the thing in itself is lawful, does not deny, nay it guarantees, to those in power the right to judge of the expediency of acting upon them in other cases: but to us it seems unfair in itself and disrespectful to Divine Revelation, for no adequate reason, to proceed and to argue, as if no such cases had any existence whatever on the face of the Old Testament Scriptures. Let us shew, if we can, that the precedents in question are repealed, or that they have met with a complete fulfilment—types and shadows of good things already come; but if we fail to do so, why not acknowledge the truth that lies unrepealed on the face of the Divine Statute Book? It may, or may not, be applicable to any case now existing—circumstances where it is applicable may, perhaps, never occur again, but there is in neither supposition any just reason why we should ignore or curtail any portion of the testimony of God. The better plan is to shew, if it can be done, that what was lawful once is lawful now no more.

Taking the New Testament by itself, nothing is more certain than that it does not *command* us to devote a seventh of our time to purposes of rest and worship. Did we not know that the example and teaching of Christ were designed to correct the erroneous extreme into which the Pharisees in their scrupulosity ran, he would seem to encourage a violation rather than an observance of the SABBATH LAW: while Christians might frankly admit that the risen Saviour appeared on two successive occasions to his disciples on the first day of the week, that the most remarkable of all the Pentecosts fell upon that day, that upon it the disciples at Troas met to break bread, and that John was in the Spirit upon that day—we say they might admit all this without seeing in it a law binding all Christians universally upon that day to abstain from work, and to devote all its hours to purposes of rest and worship. The New Testament *enjoins* no man to devote the Lord's Day to rest and worship; and if mere example were enough to turn a

particular act into a general duty, all Christians would be bound to pray upon the housetop at the ninth hour, inasmuch as it is recorded how on one occasion Peter did so (Acts x. 9). The truth is, that it is not to the New Testament, but to the Old, that we must look for the institution of the Sabbath-law—the principle of *one day's rest after six days' work*. Nature itself, antecedent to all written revelation, teaches no doubt that a time of work should be followed by a season of rest and worship; but it does not settle the proportion that the one season is to bear to the other, whether one day in seven, or one day in eight, or one day in ten. To the Old Testament we must look for this. It settles the proportion of six days' work and one day's rest; it states as a matter of fact that this proportion was at creation sanctioned by the example of God: it indicates that in the patriarchal ages, anterior to the Mosaic law, men measured time after this fashion, and observed the division of weeks—a division which unlike that into months and years could not have been suggested by any of the great movements of the natural world: and it inserts this specific proportion into that portion of the Mosaic economy, which stands out by distinction as the Moral Law. The Sabbath law of one day's rest after six days' work being thus clearly established, encircled by provisions and warded by penalties peculiarly Mosaic, the New Testament intervenes, not to establish a new institution, but to modify and explain an institution already established. First, everything peculiarly Jewish in the law ceases to bind in conformity with the decision of the apostolic council—a fact, which at once disposes alike of such prohibitions as “ye shall kindle no fire throughout your habitation on the Sabbath-day” (Exod. xxxv. 3), and of the death-penalty attached to such acts as gathering sticks on the Sabbath (Numb. xv. 36). Next, rest is the predominating idea, and worship only the secondary idea, of the Sabbath in the Old Testament: but under the New Testament worship comes to the front, and rest retires into the secondary position. Christ teaches, both by precept and example, that a work of love to God, or of mercy to man or beast, may lawfully be done upon the day of rest; and the examples of the apostles and of the Christians whom they instruct, comes in to shew that the seventh of our time may be given to the worship of God on the first day of the week with as much propriety as on the last. The mere example of meeting for worship on the first day of the week, taken by itself, would not be enough to establish a great law on an indisputable basis, and to impose a universal duty; but it is surely enough to legalise the modification of a law already established. The Sabbath law had its basis in nature: the Mosaic system adopted the principle, and loaded

it with peculiar provisions and penalties, which now, in accordance with the permission of the apostolic letter (Acts xv.), bind no more: the New Testament continues the principle of six days' work followed by one day's rest, and modifies, in respect to the time of its observance and the duties to be performed, an institution which was anterior to any portion of the inspired record, and was coeval in its origin with the human race. Did the New Testament stand alone, the observance of the Lord's-day would not be a matter of obligation, any more than the observance of Easter or Christmas, or of any festival which rests on the rather dubious basis of mere church authority: but when it is considered that the Old Testament gives voice to the dictates of nature in regard to rest after work, and proportions the time that the one is to bear to the other, this furnishes a basis for the modifications of New Testament example, and leaves no just reason for doubt, that to worship God on the first day of the week, and to abstain from worldly toil in order that worship may be more generally and profitably performed, are matters of imperative obligation.

The facts thus stated in illustration of the relation of the Two Testaments to each other, cut away the roots of the most plausible argument ever advanced to justify PERSECUTION for believing and propagating religious error. No one, we think, can pretend that either the law of nature or anything in the New Testament can bind us to resist error with the sword, or to attempt its extirpation by force. But intelligent and good men, reading in the Old Testament that the idolater and blasphemer among the Israelites were to be put to death (Lev. xxiv. 14; Deut. xiii. 6-10), and not remembering that the position of God's people at present is not exactly what it was then, have imagined that heresy and error are to receive no more quarter from the magistrate now than idolatry and blasphemy of old. This principle, conscientiously carried out by strong men who believed it to be true, has often in the past seized its victim and bound him to the stake, and heaped him round with faggots, and set fire to the pile. But one simple fact robs the persecutor of his argument, and leaves him without any scriptural authority for his bloody work. The ceremonial and judicial law of the Hebrews is not binding upon Christians. The letter of the apostolic council has settled that for ever. From the burden of keeping the law of Moses, in so far as it is supplementary to the moral law, we are exempt entirely, save and except that we are to "abstain from pollutions of idols, and of fornication, and of things strangled, and of blood." No ruler therefore is under obligation by the law of God to put a man to death on the ground of his opinions, whether he be blasphemer or idolater, heretic or infidel. The

statute under which that penalty was once inflicted, is now repealed by the express authority of the New Testament ; and no man is justified in saying that the death penalty for such offences is now made obligatory by God.

BAPTISM is at present the divinely appointed form of admitting to visible Church membership. Every instance of the administration of this ordinance in connection with the Christian church, is the case of a Jew or a pagan who has renounced his former religion and has professed faith in Christ. From various well-known hints we may indeed conjecture that baptism was extended to the children of believers as well as to themselves, but on that point the New Testament, taken apart from the Old, supplies no evidence which could candidly be regarded as direct, and in itself satisfactory. But the case is altered when we take into account that, antecedent to the time of Moses, and for two thousand years before the reconstruction of the church upon a Christian basis, the principle of admitting children in common with their parents into church membership was in full operation, and that this principle, divinely originated and established, has never been set aside. The rite of circumcision, which was the divine mode of giving effect to this principle, has indeed been repealed by express enactment, but there exists no evidence which can lead any candid man to believe that the principle itself has been ever touched with the design of relaxing its obligations. But if the principle of the church membership of children still exists, as it must till it is repealed, there is no mode of recognising it except by the administration of baptism. It is by baptism that the parents are admitted, and the precedent of the Old Testament confirms us in the belief that the ordinance which admits the parent should admit the child. The practice of infant baptism rests mainly on an Old Testament principle. Cut away the Old Testament, and you remove at once all solid foundation for an observance, which, with the exception of one or two respectable denominations, is at this moment the practice of all Christendom.

Another case is that of MARRIAGE CONNECTIONS. The instance of the incestuous person spoken of by Paul in his first epistle to the Corinthians, intimates plainly enough that there are some persons so nearly related to us, that to enter into bonds of marriage with them is, under the New Testament economy, a sin. The marriage of a man with his stepmother is the case forbidden, and from it we may infer generally that marriage connection with any other person, more closely related than a stepmother, is forbidden also. Moreover, nature itself teaches that there are some persons so nearly related to us by blood, that marriage with them would be sin. Beyond this we can-

not go, either by the law of nature or the precepts of the New Testament. When we attempt to draw a line in order to shew how far it is possible to go in the direction indicated without committing sin—to fix a limit which humanity must not transgress—we must either fail or fall back upon the Old Testament. The much controverted 18th chapter of Leviticus supplies the main facts that bear upon the case. But here, again, we must remember that the apostolic letter has relaxed the obligations of the ceremonial and judicial law in everything except in the matter expressly excepted in the 15th of Acts, and in face of it we can scarcely say that the statements in the 18th of Leviticus come to us with the force of direct commandments. But when we consider that the passage in question pronounces upon natural and social relations which were not peculiar to the Jews, but are common to humanity in every age, and that it supplies instruction upon a point which is not touched by any other part of divine revelation, we must believe that no Christian should intentionally decline such guidance. To shut our eyes wilfully to the divine regulations of old, in circumstances such as we have described, and to look upon men and women as free to enter into any marriage connection, not expressly forbidden by the law of nature or by the New Testament, would be an inference of a wide sweep, which, if acted on to any extent, would be a fruitful source of confusion in society.

That the New Testament lends its sanction to civil government, and to all that civil government requires in order to carry out the objects for which it was ordained, can scarcely be called in question by any one who has read the 13th chapter of the Epistle to the Romans. He who bears the sword is vested with power to make laws, to enforce obedience, to raise taxes, to punish criminals, and to wage war for just and necessary reasons. It does not pledge any one, however, to the justice or expediency of CAPITAL PUNISHMENT. With the Old Testament, all divine sanction for this last penalty of crime must of necessity fall to the ground. The law of Moses indeed went so far as to pronounce the death penalty for what would now be regarded as the minor offences of theft, blasphemy, idolatry, sabbath breaking, witchcraft, and adultery. This phase of criminal jurisprudence, peculiar in a great extent, but not altogether so, to the Hebrew nation, may now be regarded as entirely set aside by the apostolic decree; but apart altogether from the Mosaic legislation, we find that the Old Testament lends its sanction to the infliction of capital punishment for the greatest offences, such as treason and murder. As early as the days of Noah, the principle was inculcated that the man who intentionally robs another of

his life justly forfeits his own; while in later Jewish history, we find the most pious of the Hebrew princes inflicting the death penalty upon those who rebelled against their government. And yet capital punishment in these cases is not enjoined in such a way as to make it a duty in every case of treason and murder. What the Bible does is to lend its sanction to a principle, the application of which, in every case, is a matter of expediency, of which the ruler is to be the judge. The Bible does not make capital punishment a duty which the state is under obligation to perform in every case, but it certainly sanctions the principle that in some cases the death penalty may be righteously inflicted. To maintain, as some well-meaning but short-sighted people do, that the Bible does not sanction it, and to support the affirmation by a series of disingenuous interpretations, is both uncandid in itself and dishonouring to the Scriptures. However much the overmerciful may shudder at the statement, the Bible has sanctioned capital punishment, and it does. And yet, without the slightest disrespect to the Scripture, the state might abolish the practice, and commute the penalty of the higher offences into something less severe than death, inasmuch as Holy Scripture does not prescribe its infliction as a duty, but only approves the principle, and leaves the civil ruler free to judge as to when it is proper to apply it. It is entirely a different question, however, whether society would derive any great advantages from the abolition of capital punishments. It is not improbable that such an enactment would cause more evils than it would prevent, and that mercy shewn to the guilty in every case, would be in reality want of mercy to the innocent. The only safe method of abolishing the death penalty is to abolish from society the crimes to which it is attached. First let us extirpate treason and murder, then capital punishment, in any country where law is as merciful as it is in ours, will not require legislative enactment to accomplish its end,—it will die of itself.

We may have failed to carry the assent of some readers to our statements, but this much is, we trust, obvious to all, that no man can form an intelligent and accurate opinion on some of the most important discussions of our time, without facing the question, What is the value justly attachable to evidence drawn from the Old Testament alone? It must be allowed, we think, that to admit proof from that quarter when it seems to favour our opinions, and to reject it when it opposes them, is unsatisfactory, and that we are bound to deal with such evidence on some definite and intelligible principle. Lastly, we think that when this system is discovered, we are bound to carry it consistently through, and to admit the consequences,

be they what they may. This we have attempted to do in hope that we may stimulate inquiry, if we cannot command conviction. The two principles which lie at the root of our theory is, first, that Old Testament and New are alike the written will of God; and, secondly, that the New Testament is the more recent portion of divine revelation. From these follow all the other principles. For if the New Testament is the last portion of inspired truth which God has communicated to man, it may contain alterations or modifications of the truth communicated in the previous portion, while it itself has received no authorised alteration. This is only saying what is necessarily true of all legislation—human or divine—that the last legislative act influences every other which has gone before it. We have stated the extent to which Old Testament institutions are affected by the legislation of the New. Institutions whose purpose has been fully accomplished have been allowed to drop from human observance, there being nothing now for them to do; and very many others have been expressly repealed by apostolic authority, so that the local, the temporary, the narrow peculiarities of Judaism have entirely passed away, and Christianity is entirely freed from their observance. But this does not affect those precepts of the moral law which Moses embodies in his code, but which would have been obligatory on men if Moses had never written or never been born; nor does it touch any of those social questions, as to which men in every age and country need direction, but of which no decision can be found, outside the Pentateuch, in any other portion of the Scripture; nor does it interfere with any other institution of a general nature elsewhere enjoined in the Old Testament. In a word, the Christian Scriptures are to modify and explain the Jewish, but both equally are the word of truth. The New Testament, like its authors, possesses the power of “binding” and “loosing”—of deciding how far the injunctions of the Old Testament are or are not to be observed—and this honour it is entitled to as being the more recently communicated portion of the Divine statute-book, the latest expression of the will of God.

On the contrary, no Old Testament precept or practice is to be permitted either to annul or to alter anything that is taught and proved in the New Testament. That would be to Judaize. That would be, in point of principle, to revive the doctrine of those false teachers who, in despite of apostolic admonition, disturbed the infancy of the church by maintaining that the observance of the law of Moses was essential to salvation, and against whose pernicious influence, even after the decision of the apostolic council, Paul was obliged to contend so earnestly

in his last days. To make the Old Testament dominate over the New, is the principle which, in the primitive Christian ages, converted the apostolic bishop into a priest, the Lord's table into an altar, and the bread and wine into a sacrifice. It was this principle, which, in ages before the Reformation, introduced the splendid vestments and other accompaniments of a form of worship, which had in reality passed away: and, in ages after the Reformation, led many of the most distinguished theologians in the Protestant Churches to believe that civil governments now have the same authority to inflict the death penalty on the heretic and the infidel, as the authorities of the Jewish theocracy had to inflict it upon the blasphemer and the idolater. From the bondage of this dangerous principle we have at length achieved our emancipation; and he would be a bold man who, in the present state of society, would attempt its revival. But we must take care of an extreme that is directly the opposite of this,—the extreme of saying or supposing that the Jewish Scriptures have lost all their vitality, and that nothing outside the New Testament is binding upon Christians.

It is quite a different principle from either, and one which we think enables us to avoid these dangerous extremes, namely, that every Old Testament precept and principle, founded on the law of nature, or regulating the social relationships of life, and of general, as distinguished from local and national application, is still in force; and that no principle or practice of such a nature requires to be re-stated or re-sanctioned in the New Testament, so long as it keeps its place in the more ancient code of human duty unrepealed and unfulfilled. This principle we affirm, and in holding it, we neither dishonour the Scriptures nor do injustice to ourselves. That the Old Testament is God's word to the Christian as well as to the Jew, and that, subject only to the modifications imposed upon it by a later and clearer revelation, it is a constituent and essential portion of the one perfect rule of faith and practice, is a principle which supplies all who hold it with the highest guidance on a variety of subjects, in regard to which those who reject it are left without divine light, and have, therefore, to grope their uncertain way as best they can, aided only by the shifting taper of human expediency.

ART. II.—*Angelus Silesius. *—Physician, Priest, and Poet.*

Eine literar-historische Untersuchung, von Dr AUGUST KÄHLERT, Professor an der Königl Universität in Breslau. (*Angelus Silesius. An historico-literary investigation*, by Dr August Kahlert, &c., &c.) Breslau, 1853.

JOHANN SCHEFFLER was born in Breslau in the year 1624. His father was Lord of Vorwice, in Poland, and had been made a knight by King Sigismund III. On account of the persecution which the dissenters, of whom he was one, were exposed to, notwithstanding the treaty of Wilna, he had been compelled to emigrate. The dissenting community in Poland was composed of Lutherans, Calvinists, and Moravians. In Breslau the exile joined the Evangelical Lutheran Church, and sent his son to the St Elizabeth Gymnasium. The circumstances in which he was placed were most favourable to the development of the genius of the future poet, which early manifested itself.

The rector, Elias Major, was celebrated, not only as a scholar, but as a poet; and had written both German and Latin poetry. The Professor, Christopher Coler, is still known by his panegyric on Opitz. Among his school fellows was Andreas Schulz (Scultetus), many of whose boyish productions were printed. Scheffler made his first attempts at this time, but only one of them is supposed to be extant. It is to be found in the "Holy Joy of soul." The occasion of his writing this poem was a poetical May festival, instituted by Coler, and held on the 22d of May 1642, in the Gymnasium. At this festival Scultetus described the "Pleasure of the Woods," and was followed by Scheffler on "the Nightingale." We subjoin a version of the poem, which appears in the volume referred to under the title. "The Psyche encourages herself to a new life in spring." (Book iv. Hymn 143.) We have abridged the third and fourth stanzas of the original, and they form the third verse of the following rendering. Otherwise the piece is given in full:—

The lovely spring comes forth again,
The virgin with her flowery train;
The fields and pastures pregnant are
With all her loveliness so rare.
The foe of bloom, the blustering north,
Ariseth now to journey forth;
The sighing of the turtle dove
Is heard again in every grove.

The lark forsakes the nest, and soars
On high, and now exulting, pours

* The materials of this article have been derived chiefly from *Angelus Silesius*.

Her flood of song through all the air,
O'er fields and meadows everywhere.
The siren nightingale we hear
With ear enraptured, far and near
The minstrels of the wood rejoice,—
The young and old,—with gladsome voice.

The woods put on their green array,
Their leafy banners now display ;
The west wind, kissing all the bowers,
Is fragrant with the spoil of flowers.
The deer are bounding here and there,
The fields and trees their gladness share ;
And scattered o'er the quiet meads,
The woolly herd at morning feeds.

The whole creation everywhere
Another nature now doth wear,
The earth in new attire is clad,
And all the water floods are glad.
The air is soft and mild again,
'Tis warm and rich in dew and rain,
And when our eyes we upward raise,
Heav'n's beauteous smile then meets our gaze.

Arise my soul and upward soar,
And linger in the pit no more,
And let thy heart's now sterile ground,
In vernal beauty decked be found.
Let winter's reign be ended now—
A green—a budding branch be thou—
Be thou a world created new,
A field of virtues fair to view.

Now let there from thy heart arise,
The lovely sound of dove-like sighs ;
And let thy deep desire be heard,
To see thy Bridegroom and thy Lord.
Be thou a nightingale, and sing
A song of love, whose notes shall bring
The blessed God e'en down to thee,
Who dwelleth in eternity.

And as the lark soars high in air,
Rise thou above all earthly care,
Above its tumult and its noise,
And bask thyself in heav'n's own joys.
In joyful song thy voice now raise,
Prepare thyself by constant praise,
To honour thy Creator's name—
To swell the volume of his fame.

E'en now the sunshine of his grace,
Doth bring thee to the blissful place ;
His beams e'en now fill every heart,
And heav'nly hues to it impart.
His Spirit, gracious wind—on thee
The breath of life breathes tenderly ;
Then bloom for ever in his love,
And ever as he moves thee, move.

This poem is quite free from the mysticism which so largely characterises his later works. Little is known of his early development and history. In May 1643, he matriculated at

the University of Strassburg, and seems to have gone from thence to Holland, where he resided perhaps from 1644 to 1647. In Holland, he became acquainted with the writings of Jacob Böhme, which had been taken thither by Franckenberg, the friend of Böhme's last days, his ardent admirer, the collector and the promoter of the publication of his master's writings. In Amsterdam, Scheffler likely became acquainted with Franckenberg, with whom he afterwards became so intimate, and who exercised a very great influence on our poet. Through Franckenberg, Scheffler probably became acquainted with the many Chiliasts, Kabbalists, and other mystics in Amsterdam. There is evidence in a letter of Scheffler to Bethe, the Amsterdam publisher of Böhme's writings, of their common intimacy with Franckenberg. There is no trustworthy evidence existing regarding Scheffler's purpose in residing in Holland. There is no proof that he entered any University. He resided at Leyden for two years, and occupied himself probably by writing sacred poetry, stimulated by the earnest religious spirit which prevailed there at that time. The sonnets of Andreas Gryphius, his countryman, written and published at Leyden a short time previously, afford information as to the prevalence of such a spirit. At a later period he was accused of associating with secret sects at Leyden, but in a vindication of himself, published in 1664, he said, "that he did not know till that hour, where any Mennitish or Baptist Church was to be found in the place."

From Holland he proceeded to Padua, and became a matriculated student of that University on the 25th of September 1647. It was the custom of the most distinguished Silesian physicians of the time to graduate at Padua. In a year after commencing his residence, Scheffler obtained his diploma as doctor of Philosophy and Medicine. The peace of Münster having been concluded, the young physician was induced to return home after an absence of five years. He was appointed physician at the Court of the Prince of Oels. This Prince, Duke Sylvius Nimrod of Würtemberg, who succeeded to the principality of Oels, by marriage with the last Princess of the Münsterberg line, after taking the oath of allegiance at Vienna, in 1648, entered on his government on the 3d of January 1649. He effected many useful reforms, was a zealous Lutheran, but very bigoted. He would not allow his wife, who was a member of the Reformed Church, to have a chaplain of her own confession. Whenever she wished to partake of the Lord's Supper, she had to send for one to Brieg. The Duke displayed his earnest spirit in a grim and curious manner. During the plague, in the year 1652, he instituted the remarkable order of the Death's Head, "as a

constant memorial of the universal necessity of death, and in order to stimulate to all noble and knightly virtues." The ninth section of the statute establishing the order, bound all its members "to renounce entirely all unbecoming pleasure and luxury, such as banquetting, playing, dancing, &c."

The date of Scheffler's appointment as physician to this Duke was November 3. 1649. The reason assigned for it was, "that he had been recommended to the Duke on account of his good qualities, and his experience in medicine." The salary assigned to him was 175 thalers (about £21, 5s.) a-year; he had also a house free, with various perquisites, as well as the privilege of practising beyond, as well as within, the principality. At the time, and in the circumstances, this was doubtless a desirable and comfortable appointment, though the salary itself seems small enough for a court physician. The perquisites and privileges connected with it would make it equivalent to much more, and the position was secure. The Court preacher, Christoph Freitag, the head of the clergy of the principality, had attained the rank of Imperial poet laureate by his Latin poems, and was the friend of the poet Tscherning. He was censor of the Oels press, and exercised his functions on the strictest Lutheran principles. Scheffler retained his post at this Court only for three years. The aversion he felt to the principles of the Augsburg Confession brought him into unpleasant conflict with Freitag. It has often been asserted, without proof, that Freitag refused to sanction the publication of writings which Scheffler wished to issue. The wonder is that Scheffler, with his strong mystical bias, maintained his position so long at the Court of so strictly orthodox a prince, who shewed no favour to separatism. He may have been influenced to remain by the return of Franckenberg (1650), for we find that he retained his post until Franckenberg's death.

This friend of Böhme was a native of Ludwigsdorf, near Oels, but many years before, had surrendered his patrimony to his brother, and gone to Holland on account of the danger to which the Böhmits were exposed, and of the offence which he himself had given to the Lutheran clergy, who had the censorship of the press, by his views on the Lord's Supper and Confession.

Franckenberg was universally esteemed notwithstanding his mysticism and enthusiasm. He died on the 25th of June 1652, after prolonged sufferings. In the funeral sermon, preached probably by Freitag, his piety was highly commended. Scheffler published a poem on the occasion under the title, "A Christian memorial of honour of the late noble and strict Herrn Abraham von Franckenberg," &c., &c., which

gives us an insight into the author's whole range of thought and feeling at the time, when he was twenty-eight years old. The spirit of Böhmist mysticism appears decidedly in the poem. The closing lines are:—

“ Who time takes without time,
And sorrow without sorrow,
To whom as now was yesterday
And as to-day's to-morrow.
Who values all alike,
E'en now in time is he,
In the desired estate
Of calm eternity.”

The poem lacks the distinctively Christian element. It commends Franckenberg for his wisdom. Playing on the syllable *berg* (mountain), it represents him as a rock that has withstood every assault, and will be uninjured in eternity. Identifying *Adel* and *Edel*, the former referring to nobility of rank, the latter to nobility of character, it holds up Franckenberg as the model of nobility, which consists in love to God and contempt of the world. This is the first poem Scheffler ever printed, and the only one known to have been published by him before he joined the Church of Rome.

Scheffler, while at the Court of the Duke of Oels, is said to have boasted of having had visions, and to have excited hostility by his neglect of Confession and of the Lord's Supper. But he paid no heed to this opposition. The year after Franckenberg died, he took the most decisive step in his life. On the 12th of June 1653, he was received into the Church of Rome in the church of St Matthias, Breslau, and at his confirmation, received the name of Angelus, probably after some favourite scholastic, mystic, or theosophic author. This step made a great sensation, and exposed him to numerous personal attacks. The motives which led him to take it can only be conjectured; the lowest and most mercenary were ascribed to him. Whatever explanation may be adopted, there is no sufficient ground for imputing such motives to him. He received a mark of Imperial favour shortly after, it is true, in being appointed Court physician to the Emperor Ferdinand the Third; but it was a purely honorary distinction, there was no emolument connected with it, and there is no evidence that he ever betook himself to Vienna. The distinction could only have been conferred on account of the privileges connected with it, and the protection it afforded him from the intrigues to which the step he had taken would expose him in Breslau. It is doubtful whether he ever practised medicine again before entering the priesthood. In the absence of all evidence that he was influenced by base or mercenary considerations, there is no reason to question his sincerity, at least, in making the

following declaration:—"I have acted as an upright Christian, inasmuch as I have publicly confessed what was in my heart with the entire conviction of my conscience."

Had the Spener school arisen, a different history might possibly have been his, and one which, though in every point we might not have been able to approve, would at least have presented far fewer things to be condemned. The Romish party were very active. Hartman, Prior of the Lords of the Cross, to whose hospital the church of St Matthias belonged, was very zealous in his propagandism. In 1638, he had secretly introduced two Jesuits into the town, and concealed them in his convent. From that period their order, whose entrance had been strenuously resisted by the magistracy for many years, laboured steadily, at first secretly, and under great difficulties, but afterwards with increasing success, to establish a Catholic school, and to win over men of mark to Catholicism. After the departure of Swedish troops from Silesia, from the year 1650, their efforts were more public. Sermons were preached in St Matthias' church against Lutheranism. Many evangelical churches were taken from the people by the edict of Regensburg, December 19. 1653. For a century previous, all learned institutions in Silesia had been evangelical, and but for the efforts of the Jesuits, there would have been a lack of suitable persons for the Imperial service. Very many went over to the Romish Church from the most mercenary motives, and got the wages of unrighteousness, which they loved. Kahlert specifies the cases of several such perverts, but if evidence is to have weight, Scheffler cannot be classed among them. In the year 1653, he published a vindication of his step under the title, "Johann Scheffler's Fundamental Reasons for renouncing Lutheranism, and joining the Roman Catholic Church." In this book he assigns fifty-five marks which convinced him of the falsehood of the Lutheran faith, and upwards of eighty reasons for the truth of the Roman Catholic faith. We have not been able to get a sight of this, nor of any of his controversial writings referred to below, but from a publication by a Popish writer, Witmann, entitled "Angelus Silesius, as Convert, Mystical Poet, and Controversialist,"* we learn several of the reasons which he assigns against the Lutheran Church. Among these are the want of unbroken continuance, a holy founder, like-minded successors, and an infallible interpreter; the neglect of saint worship, blasphemy and ingratitude towards the saints, the contempt of celibacy; the want of miracles, and of heroes for the spread of the faith; corruptions of doctrine which have been condemned by the ancient Church; the complete resemblance to ancient heretics shewn by the separation from the Church, and

* Angsburg, 1842.

the destitution of love displayed in the animosity to her most beautiful institutions. On such grounds as these, he condemns the Lutheran Church as false, and on the other hand, maintains the Romish Church to be the only Communion in which salvation can be found, because it possesses all the contrary advantages of doctrine and discipline inherited from the Apostles and Fathers and faithfully preserved, an unchangeable ground of faith, a true interpretation of Scripture in the living word of the Holy Spirit and his legitimate organs, an invariable unanimity, and in these, and in the Rock on which she is built, possesses the power of continual triumph over heresy and persecution, over the gates of hell, and in the same Spirit and the same power, can expel all heresies, and avoid all extremes. "Right and true," he continues, "that Church must be, which not only satisfies all the wants of the human soul, by her living faith and reasonable discipline, her beautiful worship and high esteem of the spiritual life, but also excites the admiration of all impartial minds by the hosts of her saints, as well as by her constant exhibition of the gift of miracles and prophecy, and by her high humanity." . . .

The spirit of a devotee, and not of a mercenary, breathes through this defence. It is needless in these pages, and it would be beside the purpose of this article, to enter into any detailed refutation of the fatal errors, assumptions, and fallacies which appear even in the most meagre summary of his defence. In substance, such arguments and claims have often been advanced in support of the claims of the Papacy, and as often refuted. By the same errors and fallacies, many gifted and ardent, as well as weak and unwary minds in our own time, have been seduced from the Protestant fold into the bosom of the mother of harlots, and many more persons, devout and superstitious, trained in a semi-Romish system, ill-grounded in Scripture truth, are likely enough to follow. The Vindication called forth a reply from Chemnitz of Jena in Latin, which doubtless dealt satisfactorily with it. It is entitled "An Examination of the Arguments by which Dr Johann Scheffler has impugned our Religion." He made no rejoinder at that time. Ten years later, he resumed theological authorship, and continued it uninterruptedly until his death. Meanwhile, he displayed his zeal in a different manner. He joined in a pilgrimage to the convent of Trebnitz, three German miles from Breslau. He walked in front with a torch in his left hand, a crucifix in his right, and a crown of thorns on his head. This event took place probably in the year 1656. Something appears to have occurred on this pilgrimage which exposed him to subsequent reproaches, and gave occasion for the writing of squibs, in which his character was attacked. About the

same time, he published his poems. He seems to have devoted several years to the collection and increase of them, so that his two most important and celebrated works might appear almost simultaneously. "The Cherubic Traveller" was published at Vienna in the year 1657, and the "Spiritual Shepherd Songs," &c., in Breslau, probably in the same year. The license to print the former is dated July 6. 1656, therefore it must have been ready for the press sooner than the latter. The license of the latter is dated May 1. 1657. It was granted by Sebastian Von Rostock, Canon of Breslau, and Vicar-general, who expressed his opinion in terms of the warmest approval. A Viennese license of a later date also appears on the first work. The reason which induced Scheffler to publish it in Vienna, was probably because theological prejudice would not operate so strongly to its disadvantage there; he may also have expected that it would be more highly appreciated at Vienna than at Breslau. Rostock had studied at Vienna, where he had powerful patrons. He was at the head of the Imperial commission in Breslau, and in all official transactions represented the Arch-dukes of Austria, who, in succession, became Prince Bishops of Breslau and Neisse, and received the income of the see without performing the duties. After having performed the duties for many years, Rostock himself was elevated to the dignity, though of burgher parentage. He was made at the same time Imperial Commander-in-chief in Silesia, and for the first time the temporal and spiritual dignities were united in one person. He became Scheffler's patron, and doubtless exercised much influence upon him. Scheffler may have been indebted to his good offices for the appointment which he held.

His reputation in Germany rests chiefly on the *Cherubic Traveller*. It is unsystematic in form, consisting of isolated maxims arranged in six books. This form was intentionally retained by the author on the ground that the maxims were thus given to him by the Giver of all good. The maxims are chiefly metaphysical and theological; some of them, however, are psychological and ethical. He gives his views of God, the World, the Creature, Evil, Christ, Redemption. He reverts constantly to the subject of Love, which he treats exhaustively. There can be no doubt of the pantheistic tendency of his views, a tendency which he must have felt would be attributed to them, though he refused to admit it himself, for he repudiated it in the preface to the second edition. After saying that the following rhymes contain many strange paradoxes as well as very high conclusions, not known to every one, concerning the Godhead and union with God or the Divine essence, and that an heretical sense might easily be attributed to him on account of the brevity of the expression, he goes on to say, "Let it be

known once for all that the author's meaning never is, that the human soul can or should lose its constitution, and by deification, become changed into God or his uncreated essence, which can never be to all eternity. For although God is Almighty, he cannot effect this, that a creature become naturally and essentially God; for if he could, he would not be God." Then, quoting the most objectionable of the maxims, he refers them to the union with God rendered possible only through the grace of Christ. He maintains with Tauler that the sanctified soul can attain such an intimate union with the Divine essence as to become quite penetrated, transformed, one with it, and so become by grace what God is by nature. He teaches that the way by which men alienated from God by sin and sunk in love of the world should return to fellowship with God, whose essence is love, is by silent contemplation of God, self-denial, renunciation of the world, perfect resignation and devotion to Divine love, so they become one with God, and partakers of all that God is. The incarnation of God in Christ, and the redemption effected by the blood of Christ, he indicates as the way on which God can meet and unite with men. On the other hand, the incarnation must be repeated, as it were, in a man's heart, in order that he may be filled with the essence of God, be born of God, and become a son of God, a Christ, as it were.* The influence of Böhme is most noticeable in the first book, which, as he says, was written in four days, probably at a much earlier period than the others, for the theosophic element yields gradually to a more distinctively believing one in the later books. The book is mystical throughout. There is a common bond between mystics of every school, and Scheffler passed from Böhmist to Mediæval mysticism. The book made a profound impression on Leibnitz, and attracted the attention also of Schlegel and Hegel. G. Arnold was the first who made it known among Protestants. "That these maxims," says Dryander, "contain a treasury of the most profound thoughts, and are among the most important productions of Christian Mysticism, is acknowledged by all competent judges, and can only be disputed by those who have no capacity for religious thought and Christian Mysticism." Various editions of the book have appeared.

We give a few samples of the more distinctively evangelical maxims. The thoughts and expressions are bold, and present one, and that an important aspect of the truth.

Though oft in Bethlehen
The Saviour born should be,
Yet art thou lost for aye
Unless He's born in thee.

The Cross of Golgotha can ne'er from evil free,
Unless within thy heart it also reared be.

* Dryander in Herzog.

I tell thee that the Saviour rose again in vain,
Unless the bands of sin and death be rent in twain.
If the eternal God His dwelling make in thee,
No image in thy heart but His dear Son's must be.

The following are a few of a practical character :—

Thy bundle cast aside,
The victor's crown who'll wear,
No sack of gold should now
Upon his shoulders bear.

The swineherd loves the swine,
The groom the stall, I ween,
But if thou noble art
Thou'lt love where'er 'tis clean.

We circumspection need ;
Alas ! how many fall,
Because they fail to guard
The senses' door at all.

Hope soon will cease and faith be lost in sight,
And tongues no more be heard, and all we rear
With time will pass away, and love alone
Remain—let us then ever woo her here.

The rose no questions asks,
She grows because she grows,
Ne'er thinketh of herself,
Ne'er asks if any knows.

The floor whereon the virtues stand,
The roof 'neath which they be,
The shrine where they enclosed are
Is deep humility.

The nearest way to God,
Through love's door aye doth go ;
The progress on the way
Of science aye is slow.

Pride hateful is to men,
Men love humility,
Yet those who practise it
How very few they be !

The other book which appeared about the same time is entitled, "The Holy Joy of Soul; or, Spiritual Shepherd Songs of the Soul enamoured of Jesus." The first three books are dedicated to "Jesus Christ, the fairest of all the children of men, the King and God, the Author and Finisher of all love, the only goal and end of all enamoured hearts, with the deepest humility, and most hearty desire to love him eternally above all other, as a testimony of his love." They form something like a lyrical epic. The hymns treat of Christ from His birth to His sufferings and death successively. The longing of the soul for Christ forms the introduction of the first book. Nature appears empty and waste to the soul. The Virgin who is to bring forth the child, is praised. The remainder of the book is devoted to enraptured contemplation of the child

Jesus. The hymns in this book abound in allusions to Greek mythology. He was on this point carried away by the taste of his age, and wished that all poets would use their lyrical apparatus in praise of Jesus.*

The second book contains hymns which treat of Christ's sufferings and death, dwelling on the agony in the garden, the scourging, the cross bearing and crucifixion, and on the wounds. In the third book the resurrection, the walk to Emmaus, the ascension, the longing for the vanished One, and the gifts of the Holy Ghost, form the subjects. Then the love of the psyche to her Redeemer is celebrated quite in the manner of the Song of Solomon.

The Virgin Mary, St John, Mary Magdalene, and the witnesses at the cross, are celebrated in the fourth book, which contains also many hymns of an experimental character. The contents of the fifth book are miscellaneous. The greater number of the hymns are quite free from any Romish taint. There are a vagueness and a sentimentality in many, but in not a few there are gleams of pure evangelical light. In some there is as much evangelical truth as could well be expressed within the limits of a short hymn. The collection, as a whole, is marked by true poetical genius, and by singular depth and fervour of devotional feeling. The form is often very graceful. The Catholic and evangelical churches alike, received and valued his hymns. The Spenser school welcomed them with peculiar satisfaction. They gradually made their way in the churches. Fifty-three appear in the Halle hymn book of 1741. In Silesia, they met with varying treatment, as the feeling of aversion to the author, on account of his controversial writings, or of appreciation for the poetry, and truth that marked his hymns preponderated. Many found their way into the Silesian hymn book (1745.) Sixty years later, they were all struck out again, though the best were retained in the hymn books of other countries. Neumeister, a zealous Lutheran—a voluminous writer—the author of many popular hymns, who was born towards the close of Scheffler's life, bears this testimony about him: "*Papæus hic Angelus sed bonus.*" Many of his hymns are now familiar to English readers, in the translations of Miss Winkworth and others. A few samples we give at the close of this article. There is no evidence that he became a Jesuit, as has been said, but he did enter the order of the Minorites.

On May 21. 1661, he was received into the priesthood at Neisse. In the following year the public procession on Corpus Christi day, was revived at Breslau after it had been long discontinued.

* Preface to "*Holy Joy*," &c.

The event excited much attention. The young priest carried the pyx. He got the credit of the whole affair, and squibs were written against him and scattered about the streets. The revival, as well as the recovery of other privileges which had been denied to the Roman Catholics of the city since the reformation, was doubtless due to Rostock's great influence in Vienna. It was shortly after (April 1664) this that he was elevated to the Prince-bishopric. At Whitsuntide, the same year, Scheffler was made marshall of the Bishop's Court and Episcopal Councillor. At this period it was that he entered on his career as a controversialist. He had done nothing in this way previously, save writing in vindication of his secession to the Romish Church. Now, however, he assumed the aggressive, and threw down the gauntlet to his opponents, and for twelve years carried on a fierce warfare with practised writers, and with all Germany looking on with interest and attention. The occasion which prompted him to enter the field, was the danger which threatened Silesia in common with the other states of the empire from the Turks. In the year 1663, precautions were taken by the authorities in Breslau, and levies were raised to strengthen the small force in the city. He wrote a treatise on the reasons why the people of God were overrun by the Turks, and published it at the Jesuit press in Neisse, in 1664. In this treatise he made the Protestants wholly responsible for the danger. But when Montecuculi defeated the Turks at St Gothard, in Hungary, and peace was concluded, he wrote again on the providential deliverance of God's people. The idea of a Romish theocracy runs through both the treatises. Chemnitz of Jena, and Scherzer of Leipzig, entered the lists with him, and Scheffler replied in various small treatises. No quarter was asked or given on either side in the contest, which degenerated into gross personality. In 1665, another combatant entered the lists, Alberti, a Silesian by birth, a professor of theology at Leipzig, who for many years was associated with Chemnitz and Scherzer in defence of the Protestant cause against Scheffler. Scheffler was inexhaustible in his invention of new forms and titles for his writings. In 1668, for reasons unknown, he adopted a *nom de plume*, and directed his attacks specially against the Protestant population in Silesia. The position which he took up as a defender of the Papacy was very extreme. Not only did he maintain that the Romish Church was the only one in which salvation could be found, but also asserted that whoever was not Catholic believed only in a phantom Christ. He denied him civil and ecclesiastical rights, asserted that no sacrament could avail him, that his prayers

are not acceptable to God, that he is excluded from the promises. He vituperated the Reformers, and accused Protestants of idolatry, of worshipping a god made by their own reason. He vindicated persecution and compulsion of conscience. His writings display, nevertheless, much profundity of thought, dialectic skill, and wide range of reading, in the Fathers, and Mystics, new and old. Sincerity may also be conceded to him: this would only make him more dangerous; we hold him to have been engaged in the defence of a system full of deadly error. The review of the controversial period of his life is peculiarly painful. The atmosphere we breathe is wholly different from that which pervades his devotional and poetical writings. Though, as we said above, we have not seen his controversial treatises, nothing that we have read about them would lead us to suppose that he in any way strengthened the cause of the Papacy. It is an inherently corrupt and indefensible cause. The cause of truth was doubtless ably maintained by his opponents. Great as the excitement was which his polemical writings produced, they were forgotten when the times of strife passed away. They have of late years been subjected to a thorough and impartial examination, the results of which have been embodied in the above remarks. We have given the judgments of Protestants, who oppose and refute his errors while they estimate fairly his ability and learning. His Romish apologists, Wittmann and others, claim for his controversial writings, that they are the true expression of the spirit of Christian love, as much as his poetry. They prove, at least, that the Spirit of the Papacy is unchangeable. During this controversial period he does not appear to have written much poetry, though new and enlarged editions of his poetical works appeared. Many of the additional pieces may have been lying by ready for use.

His third great poetical work appeared probably in 1673. It is entitled "A Sensuous Representation of the four last Things," and is distinguished only by occasional flashes of the poetic fire of the Psyche, and abounds in blemishes of taste, is often very coarse, and still more frequently very trivial. We find also in it fiery zeal and an excess of material similitude. The deterioration in the quality of his poetry as displayed in this book may be fairly attributed to the influence of the corrupt faith which he so warmly espoused and defended with such bitter, uncompromising and fanatical zeal.

The book is in four parts,—1st, Death in twenty strophes; 2d, The Last Judgment in sixty; 3d, The eternal misery of the damned in seventy-two; 4th, The eternal joys of the blessed in seventy-five. His intention, as stated in the preface, was "to stir the mind to salutary astonishment and to sweetest

rapture, partly by terrible representations and partly by lovely attractions." "The Heavenly Procession" was added in the edition published in 1689. Several years before his death, Scheffler resigned his offices at the Episcopal court in order to retire into the convent of the Lords of the Cross at St Matthias' Church, and to pass his last days in undisturbed privacy. The date of his retirement is uncertain. His decision was probably occasioned by the death of his patron, of apoplexy, on the 9th of June 1671. He devoted his last years to collecting and making a selection from his controversial writings, in which he was encouraged by two powerful patrons of the Catholic cause, George Abraham, Baron of Dyhern, Governor of Glogau, who bequeathed a considerable sum of money in his will for the purpose, and Bernhard Rosa, Abbot of the Cistercian Convent of Grüssau. He published fifty-five controversial treatises in all, and of these he deemed thirty-nine worthy of preservation. He published them in a folio at Neisse and Glatz, in the year 1677, under the title "*Ecclesiologia*." He displayed the hatred to Protestantism which animated him to the last by having a copperplate put opposite the title page representing the Fury of Heresy with her dependents besieging the city of God, with Luther as drummer, and Calvin as trumpeter!

In his preface, dated Breslau, Feb. 12. 1676, he says, "That though most unwilling to disturb his spiritual rest by spiritual work, he felt necessitated to withdraw from this pleasing inward repose, and to work; that the love of Christ, and specially the example of Saint Augustine, constrained him." He speaks further of the bitter attacks to which he was exposed, of the complaints made against him as an inciter to rebellion and disturber of the peace to the authorities, of the cold shoulder given to him even by Catholics, who, through defect of love, preferred to see heretics go quietly to hell than enrage them by the truth. He bore all patiently, he adds. His zeal was too great for the lukewarm friends of that cause which he so warmly espoused. Though we cannot feel any sympathy with this zeal, it is touching to see him withdrawing from the strife, deserted even by friends, to die in solitude. "His *Ecclesiologia*," Kahlert says, "is an abiding historical memorial of the spiritual conflict of that age, in which Scheffler brought upon himself the enduring hatred of a great portion of his countrymen as the uncompromising and enthusiastic representative of the party opposed to all Church reforms, and particularly the raging foe of Luther, an opposition regarded as all the more unpardonable because he was a pervert from Lutheranism."

In the same year in which he published the "*Ecclesiologia*,"

he issued a work entitled "The Precious Evangelical Pearl for the perfect Adorning of the Bride of Christ." This was only a translation of the celebrated *Margarita Evangelica* of Francis of Sales. This closed the literary activity of this fiery, enthusiastic, much deluded, erratic, but highly gifted man. A singular phenomenon he is, a psychological problem not easy to solve. The contradictions in his character are such that it has been maintained that Angelus Silesius and Johann Scheffler could not be one and the same person. Schrader has maintained this view in a work entitled "*Angelus Silesius und seine Mystik*." Schrader's argument has been adopted and repeated in this country by Mr R. A. Vaughan in his "Hours with the Mystics." Facts, however, are too strong for the theory. Neither Schrader nor Vaughan seems to have been acquainted with the positive evidence adduced by Kahlert, which is quite conclusive.

We have seen that Scheffler distinguished himself as a poet while still a gymnasiast. His poem on Franckenberg's death is marked by the same mystical character as the "Cherubic Traveller," and many passages in both works are substantially the same. The former was published under his own name. Schwartz in his funeral sermon on Scheffler mentions the fact that our poet assumed the name of Angelus at his confirmation, and refers to his Psyche. He does not mention the "Cherubic Traveller;" but Angelus himself, in the preface to the second edition, refers to his Psyche, and also to the "Four Last Things." Schwartz further mentions that Scheffler in many of his books concealed his own name and assumed that of J. Angelus Silesius. On literary and other grounds also, the fact has been established by Kahlert.

His last years were passed in the solitude of the cloister amid much bodily suffering. He took little food. During his last weeks he permitted no one to approach him. He died on the 9th of July 1677, of consumption, after prolonged bodily weakness, fifty-three years old.

How little worthy of remembrance Scheffler was considered by the Protestant literary men of the seventeenth century appears from the fact that Cunrad, in his "*Silesia Togata*" (1706) gives the names of upwards of 1,500 learned men of Silesia, together with the dates of their births and deaths, and a Latin distich characterising each, and passes Scheffler over in silence. The Rector, J. C. Leuschner, in a later edition, supplied this omission, in which he characterised Scheffler as a physician and controversialist, but does not say one word of his being a poet. The following are a few samples of his hymns. They are translations, it will be remembered, in which the sense has been adhered to with as much fidelity as

the translator found possible, but in which he has endeavoured to retain something of the spirit. The form has not always been adhered to. The writer is not aware that any of the following pieces have been rendered into English by any other pen.

In selecting these hymns he has preferred giving those in which a spirit of pietism, if not something of the evangelical strain which he owed, more perhaps to his early upbringing than to his subsequent training in the Romish Church, are most conspicuous ; but truth compels us to state that several of his other pieces are addressed to the Virgin and the Saints of Rome in a style of adulation little, if at all, short of that which he addresses to the blessed Saviour.

The Psyche thanks the Lord Jesus for His death :—

Lord Jesus ! for Thine agony
And death I would give thanks to Thee,
And let the merit of Thy pain
My soul in hour of death sustain.

I thank Thee, Lord, for all Thy grace ;
Thou pay'st my debt, dost turn Thy face
On me in love. In my last hour,
Oh ! grant me Thy sustaining power.

Lord in Thy favour let me die,
That not in vain Thine agony
May prove for me. Grant me in love
To live for aye with Thee above.

—(“ *Holy Joy of Soul*,” Book ii. Hymn 60.)

The Psyche calls on the Lamb of God for forgiveness :—

O Lamb of God ! Thou gift of love
My sin and guilt who dost remove,
By all Thy shame and agony
Thy conflict unto death for me.
Have mercy, Lord, I pray !

O Lamb ! whose goodness overflows,
Whose pard'ning love no limit knows,
My slothful walk, the sins I've done
From youth till now, forgive each one.
For Thy great love I pray.

O Lamb ! so gentle, full of love,
Who dost the wrath of God remove,
Oh give me peace, my heart compose,
World, devil, hell, and all my foes,
Help me o'ercome I pray !

—(“ *Holy Joy of Soul*,” Book ii. Hymn 54.)

The Psyche gives herself to her Bridegroom :—

My heart, my all, oh take to Thee,
In soul and body Thine I'd be !
Direct each act, and thought, and word,
According to Thy will, O Lord !

Thou feedest me with milk and wine,
Dost cause the spring of life divine
To rise in me. So rich Thy grace
That wholly Thine I'd be always.

In time, and in eternity,
 Devoted to Thy will I'd be,
 To live or die, aye ready still,
 According to Thy Sovereign will.

But, gracious Lord, be wholly mine,
 Oh come and make my heart Thy shrine,
 My bridegroom be—my God indeed,
 My Comforter in hour of need !

—(*"Holy Joy of Soul,"* Book iii. Hymn 102.)

The following verses are from a Penitential Hymn (Book iii Hymn 127), too long to quote entire, and which expresses the deepest contrition for shortcoming and sin. It might, to judge by its contents, have been written after a fall :—

Behold, behold Thine only Son,
 His heav'nly bliss forsaking,
 My pain and wages of my sin,
 My weakness on Him taking.
 Behold, how He upon the Cross
 For me, for me is nailed,
 And as a Bridegroom true submits
 To be so sore assailed.

What wilt Thou more?—my debts are paid,
 My sin is gone for ever,
 And changed am I in heart and mind,
 His blood doth me deliver.
 I'm now a friend, I'm now a child,
 I'm now new born from heaven,
 The whisp'rings of the Spirit's wind
 To hear within 'tis given.

The Psyche is comforted by her Jesus :—

Lately in the forest wand'ring
 On my heavy sorrow pond'ring,
 That I in my misery,
 Wretched orphan, left should be,
 By my Lord ! lo ! to my side
 Jesus came and said, Wherever
 Thou may'st be, I'll leave thee never,
 But will always true abide.

'Think how willingly I sought thee,'
 Said he, 'and from evil brought thee,
 With my blood and death, I thee
 Saved from all thy misery.
 I am aye with thee, my son,
 Though thy sense may not perceive me
 And my seeming absence grieve thee
 And thy tears flow freely on !'

'Could I therefore now forsake thee ?
 Could thy sighing hateful make thee ?
 Should I not aye rather be
 In thy sorrow near to thee ?
 Doubt not, then, my gentle dove !
 Oft I leave thy soul in sadness,
 Long withhold the light of gladness
 For thy good, 'tis all in love.'

'In my presence shalt thou wander,
When thou wilt,—embrace me yonder,
When I from thy misery
Bring thee to my halls on high,
When thy love and faithfulness
With myself shall be rewarded,
And thou from all evil guarded,
Dwell'st with me in endless bliss.'

When I heard this consolation
Hush'd was all my lamentation,
And my heart then bounded high,
Gone was all my misery ;
All the birds, it seem'd to me,
Sweeter than before were singing,
And the west wind then was bringing
Cooler, balmier airs to me.

'Lord,' I answered, 'I shall ever
Up to Thee myself deliver,—
E'en when sighing to Thy will
Shall I be submissive still.
For I know that Thou my Light,
Though Thou leavest me in sorrow
Many a night and many a morrow,
Yet wilt ne'er forsake me quite.

—("Holy Joy of Soul," Book iv. Hymn 134.)

The Psyche will love nothing but her Jesus :—

Oh ! tell me nought of gold and treasure
Of this world's beauty, pomp, and show,
For nought can give me lasting pleasure
Of all the world can e'er bestow.
Let every one love what he will,
I'll love and follow Jesus still !

He only is my joy for ever,
My gold, my treasure, picture fair,
I gaze with rapture tiring never,
And quietness of heart find there.
Let every one love what he will,
I'll love and follow Jesus still !

The beauty of the flesh decayeth,
The world with all its lusts must fade,
And Time,—the great destroyer layeth
In ruins what men's hands have made.
Let every one love what he will,
I'll love and follow Jesus still !

No power His stronghold shaketh ever,
No end His Kingdom e'er shall see,
The honour of His throne wanes never
From henceforth to eternity.
Let every one love what he will,
I'll love and follow Jesus still !

His riches all our thoughts pass over
His high and holy countenance,
The beauty we in Him discover
Ne'er can, can never blanch.
Let every one love what he will
I'll love and follow Jesus still !

High can He raise me by His power,
 Can make me in His glory shine,
 With costly treasure can me dower
 That boundless riches can be mine.
 Let every one love what he will
 I'll love and follow Jesus still !

And though while on the earth I wander,
 I must without them ever live,
 Hereafter in His Kingdom yonder,
 Them all with bounteous hand He'll give.
 Let every one love what he will,
 I'll love and follow Jesus still ! *

— (" *Holy Joy of Soul*," Book iii. Hymn 89.)

The Psyche exhorts to following Christ :—

Saith Christ, our Captain, follow me !
 Ye Christians, follow all,
 Deny yourselves, forsake the world,
 Obedient to my call.
 Take up your cross, nor trouble shun,
 Believers follow, every one !

I am the Light, I lighten you
 And shew you virtue's way,
 Who comes to me and follows me
 Can ne'er in darkness stay.
 I am the Way, to all I shew
 How they should truly forward go !

My soul is ever full of love,
 My heart of lowliness,
 And evermore my lips o'erflow
 With words of tenderness.
 I serve my God with all my pow'r
 His face beholding evermore !

Is't often hard ? I go before,
 I'm at your side alway,
 I fight myself, I ope the path,
 I'm foremost in the fray.
 A wicked servant he who stands
 And views the fight with folded hands.

Whoe'er his soul desires to find
 Will lose it without me,
 Whoe'er for me to lose it seems,
 Brought safely home shall be.
 Unworthy be my joy to share
 Who after me no cross will bear.

Then let us each take up his Cross,
 And follow Christ our King,
 With courage, trustfully stand firm,
 In all our suffering.
 Who will not here the conflict share,
 The crown of life shall never wear.

(" *Holy Joy of Soul*," Book v. Hymn 171.)

J. K.

* The above translation appeared in the *Weekly Review*, September 19. 1868. It has been revised for this article

ART. III.—*Have Indian Missions been Successful?*

“NO,” is the answer frequently given, “they have been a failure.” We ask any one making this allegation, “What do you understand by failure? Success and failure are purely relative terms; and before one or other of them can be legitimately applied to an enterprise, a decision must have been come to with respect to the proper standard of judging. State, then, more precisely the standard you adopted in pronouncing on the want of success which has attended Indian missions.” Possibly the disputant may reply, that in his opinion Indian missions have not been so successful as might have been expected. In this latter form, he virtually says no more than this: “Experience has disappointed the expectations which I had formed of Indian missions.” As experience disappoints the expectations of most people, not merely in regard to missions, but with respect to everything else, the charge made is not a serious one, for possibly enough the expectations may have been too high, at least it is necessary to shew that they were not so, before it is possible to establish the proposition, that Indian missions have really failed.

Everything, then, depends on the standard by which success or failure is to be tried. Can that standard be fixed, or must it vary with the temperament of the individual, the man of sanguine disposition placing it high, and the person of desponding spirit making it low? To us it appears that it may be fixed perfectly. Success in the heathen world must be tried by the same standard which we apply here. Or, to enunciate the principle in its most general form, there must be the same standard for every country, nay more, for every age. We think any one who properly reflects on this subject, will see that this is an axiom. If one wishing to know the relative size of Britain and of India, were to adopt a linear mile of one size in the one country, and another in the other, his whole calculations would be vitiated. The very essence of true comparison is identity of standard. Nor does the consideration that the Divine Spirit operates by laws almost wholly inscrutable by man, set aside the postulate, that the standard must everywhere be the same, if relative success is to be inquired into. This, we think, is not sufficiently regarded by some. We have heard it maintained, that the work may be expected to go on faster in India than here, because we read that “a nation shall be born in a day.” This nation, it is assumed, without a thought that proof is necessary, will be a heathen

one, and very likely India. Why is this? We fear from a certain amount of latent unbelief. The obstacles which impede the progress of the gospel at home being known, it is deemed unlikely that the work will ever advance, with any approach to rapidity here, and therefore the scene of the moral miracle now adverted to, is relegated to a less familiar land. We, on the other hand, should, *a priori*, expect that the predicted birth of a nation in a day, would be within the limits of Christendom, rather than in the heathen world. There no extensive trains have yet been laid, which a spark from heaven might ignite; here, on the contrary, they have. But in this, as indeed in most other subjects, *a priori* reasoning is out of place,—what is requisite is a calm and impartial exegesis of the prophecy about a nation being born in a day, that we may ascertain whether there is any hint, however slight, as to the scene of that great event. The passage, in the exact form in which it is generally quoted, “a nation shall be born in a day,” does not occur anywhere in Scripture. One resembling it is found in Isaiah lxvi. 7-9: “Before she travailed, she brought forth; before her pain came, she was delivered of a man child. Who hath heard such a thing? Who hath seen such things? Shall the earth be made to bring forth in one day? or shall a nation be born at once? for as soon as Zion travailed, she brought forth her children. Shall I bring to the birth, and not cause to bring forth? saith the Lord: shall I cause to bring forth, and shut the womb? saith thy God.” It, in a remarkable degree, exemplifies the inexact manner in which Scripture is often quoted, that while this passage is supposed to run thus, “a nation shall be born in a day,” it is really so worded as to necessitate a negative answer to the inquiry, “Shall a nation be born at once?” A glance at the verse will shew this to be the case. “Shall the earth be made to bring forth in one day?” Answer, no; “or shall a nation be born at once?” Again, no. This being so, then, it will stand a unique fact, that “as soon as Zion travailed, she brought forth her children.” To what event or events does the prediction refer? We think ver. 20 throws light upon it: “And they (the Gentiles) shall bring all your brethren for an offering unto the Lord, out of all nations, upon horses, and in chariots, and in litters, and upon mules, and upon swift beasts, to my holy mountain Jerusalem, saith the Lord, as the children of Israel bring an offering in a clean vessel into the house of the Lord.” There is a passage in another chapter which seems parallel to the one now quoted: “For thy waste and thy desolate places, and the land of thy destruction, shall even now be too narrow by reason of the inhabitants, and they that swallowed thee up shall be far away. The children which

thou shalt have, after thou hast lost the other, shall say again in thine ears, The place is too strait for me: give place to me that I may dwell. Then shalt thou say in thine heart, Who hath begotten me these, seeing I have lost my children, and am desolate, a captive, and removing to and fro? and who hath brought up these? Behold, I was left alone; these, where had they been? Thus saith the Lord God, Behold I will lift up mine hand to the Gentiles, and set up my standard to the people: and they shall bring thy sons in their arms, and thy daughters shall be carried upon their shoulders" (Isaiah xlix. 19-22). The idea apparently is, that the Gentiles shall bring the dispersed Jews back from the countries in which they have been exiles, and restore them to their own land, and to Zion, which they loved so well. The primary reference, we should suppose, is to the return from Babylon, now long past, while there is also a secondary allusion, either spiritual or literal, to an event in the church's history as yet future. What concerns us at present, is to point out that the great accession to the number of the worshippers at Mount Zion, was produced, not by the sudden conversion of a Gentile nation, hitherto heathen, but by the gathering from various lands of the church members who had long been there in captivity. When, then, the scene of the birth of a nation in a day is laid in the heathen world, considerable latitude requires to be given to the language of the prophecy, while no such want of precision attaches to it, when it is supposed that the nation born in a day was previously nominally Christian. Nations, we believe, were born in a day, and the prophecy fulfilled at the Reformation, but in Divine Providence all things had been put in train for their birth centuries before. Nations, we firmly hold, shall be born suddenly in the future, but in similar circumstances to those which existed in the past; namely, a silent and unnoticed preparation for the nativity long before it shall come. We demur to the doctrine, that trains slowly and laboriously scooped out and charged within the limits of Christendom, are to be proof against the divinely-directed spark from heaven, while that spark is to explode non-existent trains in the heathen world. There is therefore no reason why the passage, of which the exegesis has now been attempted, should disturb the axiom, for we must call it so, that the standard for measuring spiritual success, should be the same in every land, or establish the strange idea that progress in India, where the obstacles are so much greater than here, should be exceptionally rapid.

There is another passage, misconception regarding the meaning of which has led to disappointment with regard to the results of Indian missions. We refer to the one in Haggai ii. 7,

in which the Messiah is called "the desire of all nations." The idea, which is a somewhat natural one, is taken up, that the further the religion of a nation diverges from the truth, the less satisfying must it be to its votaries, so that when the gospel is presented to men of the most erroneous faiths, they will instantly embrace it, and that with an ardour not often seen in lands irradiated by revelation. This, however, will at once be apparent, that the verse makes no discrimination between one nation and another, but places them all on the same level, so that the idea to which we have made reference has but slender, if any, foundation in the text. The basis on which it is reared is this—the expression, "the desire of all nations," is supposed to involve three ideas: 1, that the men of all nations are conscious of unsatisfied desire; 2, that that desire never can be satisfied except in Christ; 3, that whenever Christ is presented, they instinctively perceive this to be the case. The first two propositions we thoroughly accept. The third we do not believe to be in the text at all, and regard it as set aside by experience. There was a void in the heart of the Jews as of all other nations. They desired a Messiah to fill the void, but when he came who could have done this, that instinct of which the third proposition speaks was wholly at fault. They, therefore, rejected Him with every demonstration of scorn, nay, being exceedingly mad against him, they put him to an ignominious death. There must be an awful void in the heart of some of the thieves in our streets. None but Christ can fill that void. When seized and imprisoned, the chaplain of the jail does his best to impress this upon their minds, yet as a rule they are no sooner released, than they return to their evil courses again. Though Christ is "the desire of all nations" in the sense of being exactly adapted to the want of each, yet no human instinct, but only the Spirit of God, can make them feel this to be the case; and in the heathen world, and markedly in Pantheistic India, the feeling of sin is in most cases so slight as in large measure to deaden the desire for a Saviour. We therefore hold that no exegesis of the passage in Haggai can alter the axiom, that we must have the same rule for judging success in all lands. There is thus no valid reason for expecting more rapid progress in India than elsewhere; nay, we believe that a slower advance should be looked for there than in most heathen lands, owing to the terrible obstacle of caste, which has not been weakened nearly as much, away from the presidency seats, as most people in this country believe. Our space, however, forbids us to enter on this subject; and we proceed at once to inquire what the actual results of Indian missions have been. To answer this question properly would demand a volume, and one too of considerable magnitude; all that we

can do here, is simply to bring together a few suggestive facts, and make them the basis of reasoning.

Many refuse to test the success of Indian missions by any other standard than the number of adult baptisms. This is arbitrary, and will not be imitated by philosophic historians; nevertheless we admit that facts with respect to baptisms should take precedence of all others in this inquiry; and as we could not within the narrow limits of a *Review* article treat more than one branch of the subject adequately, we purpose confining ourselves to this one.

In entering on the question of baptisms, a distinction which we consider very important must be made. The point most carefully investigated should be, not the actual number of the baptisms at any specified time, but the rate of progress in successive periods of equal length. It is strange that this should ever be forgotten; yet we saw once, in a prominent London journal, a sneering calculation as to what it would cost to convert every Jew in the world to Christianity. The writer went on the supposition that the rate of progress was and would continue as slow as at the beginning, which is totally at variance with the experience either of Jewish or heathen missions. Suppose that one calculating the time it would take for a stone to fall from an eminence to the ground, forgot that the motion is uniformly accelerated, and, therefore, estimated the matter thus:

Fall in 1 second about 16 feet	.	.	16 feet.
„ 2 seconds „ 82 „	„	„	instead of about 64 „
„ 8 „ „ 48 „	„	„	154 „
„ 4 „ „ 64 „	„	„	256 „

his error would speedily be enormous; yet this was what the journalist who was sneering at Jewish missions did. Avoiding his error, let us inquire, not simply or even chiefly into the absolute number of native Christians now existing in India, but into their rate of increase, so far as it can at present be ascertained. Dr Mullens, the Indian missionary statist, has become the sole authority on this point, and we cannot too highly appreciate his long continued labours. They commenced as far back as 1847. In a paper of his published in the *Calcutta Christian Observer* of that year, he investigated the rate of increase exhibited by the baptisms, not of India generally, but simply of Bengal. "It is worthy of remark," he says, "that with the first year of the present century the first fruits of modern missions, in the person of Krishna Pál, was presented to the Lord at Serampore." "Feeling," he adds, "that it would be interesting to know something of the rate of progress of conversions during the last fifty years, the writer divided the term into five periods of ten years each, beginning with the year 1793, the time when Dr Carey and Mr Thomas landed in India, and the

result is as follows : In the first period the conversions or baptisms of adults announced are 27 ; in the second period, 161 ; in the third period, 403 ; in the fourth period, 675 ; in the fifth period, 1,045 ; and in the last two years the baptisms have been 485."

Here it will be perceived that, speaking broadly, the rate of progress is analogous to that of the fall of a stone from an eminence ; in other words, it is accelerated, and not as the journalist assumed, uniform. But to return to Dr Mullens. The year subsequently (1848) he continued his investigations, and found that the adult baptisms during 1847 were 388, of whom 160, he believed, were on a lower standard of qualification, and 228 on a higher. His ambition to do service to the church of Christ in this direction still increasing, he not many years afterwards, took a bolder flight, and extended his statistical researches to all India. The method he adopted was such as governments are accustomed to employ, and the results attained were almost as authoritative as those of a modern European census. As is well known, he repeated his inquiries after an interval of ten years, and thus obtained, not merely very valuable absolute numbers, but what, as we stated, should be even more highly prized, the rate of increase at least during one decade. In the year 1852 the native Christians in India and Ceylon were found to amount to 112,491. In 1862 they were 153,816 ; or, taking in the Burmese converts beyond the limits of India proper, 213,182. We dismiss the Burmese statistics from consideration, and limit ourselves to India proper. The numbers of native Christians in 1852 and in 1862 stand to each other nearly in the ratio of 3 to a trifle above 4. Call it 3 to 4, and it follows that if the rate of increase maintained between 1852 and 1862 continue permanently, then the following startling results will follow :—

In 1872	there will be about	205,000 converts.
" 1882	" "	278,000 "
" 1892	" "	364,000 "
" 1902	" "	485,000 "
" 1912	" "	646,000 "
" 1922	" "	861,000 ;
" 1932	" "	1,148,000 "
" 1942	" "	1,580,000 "
" 1952	" "	2,040,000 "
" 1962	" "	2,720,000 "
" 1972	" "	3,626,000 "
<hr/>		
" 1982	" "	4,884,000 "
" 1992	" "	6,445,000 "
" 2002	" "	8,598,000 "
" 2012	" "	11,457,000 "

In 2022	there will be about	15,276,000 converts.
„ 2032	„ „	20,868,000 „
„ 2042	„ „	27,157,000 „
„ 2052	„ „	36,209,000 „
„ 2062	in round numbers about	48,000,000 „
„ 2072	„ „	64,000,000 „
„ 2082	„ „	85,000,000 „
„ 2092	„ „	118,000,000 „
„ 2102	„ „	150,000,000 „
„ 2112	„ „	200,000,000 „

200,000,000 are just about the present population of India. Doubtless it will have increased considerably before 2212 A.D., but if the rate of advance assumed in the foregoing table be maintained, two or three decades more would quite provide for any augmentation of the Indian population. If then Indian missions were simply to “fail” for rather more than two hundred and fifty years yet to come, as by some they are accused of having done during the seventy-seven that are bygone, the evangelisation of India would be complete. We are mistaken if the historians, whether civil or ecclesiastical, of the 22d century will apply the term *failure* to so transcendent a victory. Nevertheless, there are many who will still maintain that progress so slow contrasts unfavourably with the rapid propagation of Christianity in Europe during the period preceding the conversion of Constantine, and will further allege that the Mahomedans, and long before them, the Brahmans, surpassed it in India itself. We, on the contrary, believe that it may be compared very favourably with all these, and shall now bring forward some facts to support the opinion.

Many think that the spread of the gospel in India has been much less rapid than its advance in the world during the first three centuries of the Christian era. In this view, as before stated, we are unable to concur. Gibbon makes an estimate of the number of Christians in the Roman empire at the date of Constantine's conversion. His words are these: “The most favourable calculation, however, that can be deduced from the examples of Antioch and Rome, will not permit us to imagine that more than a twentieth part of the subjects of the empire had enlisted themselves under the banner of the cross, before the important conversion of Constantine.” (“Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,” chap. xv.) Perhaps some allowance should be made for the natural prepossession, which a man of Gibbon's sceptical views must have felt, to under-estimate the success of a religion in which he did not believe, yet he is generally so fair in his statements of fact, that a good deal of weight, should, we think, be attached to his opinion. Besides this, it should be remembered, that very

shortly before the time when Constantine avowed himself a convert to the new faith, Christianity, fiercely persecuted, had, for its own preservation, become almost invisible, so much so, that the three emperors, Diocletian, Maximian, and Galerius, combined to raise pillars on which they boasted of having extirpated it entirely.* Of course, this sweeping assertion was grossly exaggerated, but still, we think that it could not have been uttered at all had not the Christians been afraid to make their existence known; and we do not well see how a few years' persecution, however severe, could have reduced them to so low a position had they been much more numerous than one-twentieth of the hostile community. We think then, that Gibbon's estimate is not very wide of the truth, and shall assume it as one element in judging of the progress of Christianity during the first three centuries. The other element, of course, is the population of the Roman empire itself. Gibbon believes that to have been about 120,000,000 in the time of the Emperor Claudius (*Ibid.* chap. ii.). Considering the incessant and sanguinary wars, which were waged between the times of Claudius and of Constantine, we are of opinion that a reasonable estimate of the increase of population within the empire between the reigns of the two emperors, would be to make it 30,000,000, and say that the total amounted to 150,000,000 at the conversion of Constantine. One-twentieth of this would be 7,500,000. To raise the Christian church from non-existence to this figure, had taken about three hundred years. Compare this with the estimated rate of increase given in the column of figures in a preceding page, and the advantage will be very largely in favour of Indian missions. In the three hundred years elapsing between 1793 and 2092, Christianity in India, if our calculations are at all trustworthy, should have gained 113,000,000, as against 7,500,000 of native Christians in A.D. 313. Even then, if Gibbon's prejudices led him to estimate the Christians of the Roman empire too low, a liberal addition may be made to his numbers without materially increasing the enormous advantage existing in favour

* See Elliot's *Horæ Apocalyptice*, fourth edition. London (Seeley's) 1851, p. 197. Elliot appends this important note on the subject: "The following are the inscriptions found on columns at Clunia, a Roman colony in Spain. They are given by Lardner, vol. vii., p. 548. Also in Walsh's book on Christian medals:—

“1. Diocletianus Jovius et Maximian Herculius Cæs. Augg.
Amplificato per Orientem et Occidentem. Imp. Rom.
Et nomine Christianorum deleto
Qui Remp. evertabant.”

“2. Diocletian. Cæs. Aug. Galerio in Oriente adopt.
Superstitione Christ. ubique deleta
Et cultu Deorum propagato.”

of Indian missions. Perhaps it will be said that the comparison intended is not between periods so long as the first three hundred years of Christianity and the first three hundred of Indian missions, but between the first few years of each. On the Pentecostal evening, for example, "there were added," to the Christians, "about three thousand souls." What have we had like this in India? Nothing, we frankly say. The Pentecostal effusion of the Spirit is in some respects without a parallel, and it is not right to charge it against Indian missions, that our oriental empire has never had a Pentecost, if in this respect, it is very much on the level of all other lands.

It is believed by nearly every one that Protestant missions in India have been much less successful than those of the Roman propaganda. There are various reasons why this view is entertained. London literary men create opinion on almost every subject of thought, which is accepted, often too unhesitatingly, throughout England, Scotland, and other places. The literati now referred to, have mostly been brought up within the bosom of the Anglican establishment, and even if they have cast off its trammels, they still, to a large extent, retain the prejudices of it instilled into them during their early years. Now, between the churches of England and Rome, exists the bond of so-called apostolic succession, which has always made the two churches entertain a fellow feeling for each other. Against the "Puritans" again, and their descendants, the Scottish Presbyterians and the English dissenters, the Anglican establishment has a heartfelt animosity, remembering the antagonism these two classes shewed to English high churchism, during the seventeenth century, and which is not in the least extent, even now. The extent to which these prejudices extend in the case, not merely of Anglican churchmen, but of literary men, brought up within the southern establishment, is vastly beyond what some have the least suspicion of; and when such a subject as the relative success of Protestant and of Romish missions is inquired into, the impartial investigator must allow for the prejudice above described, as a navigator does for the currents in the sea.

A second reason why the relative success of Romish missions in India is exaggerated is, that there are actually a greater number of Romanist than of Protestant converts, for two potent causes, which we shall afterwards explain. Let us, however, first seek after an authoritative statement as to the statistics of Romish missions in India. We find the information which we are in quest of, or at least an essential portion of it, in a Parliamentary blue book. "The humble petition" of the "Catholic chaplains in the East Indies," who, before the

renewal of the Company's charter in 1853, sought for state endowment, thus commences:—

"That the number of Catholics in India may be estimated at above 600,000, exclusive of about 16,000 Catholic soldiers. Independently of the British, there are but few European Catholics, the great bulk of the congregations being everywhere a native population, some of whom are recent converts, but the chief part are descended from the converts of the European missionaries of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries."

In the same petition they say:—"The following table will give an average estimate of the present numbers of the Catholic church in India, both as regards the ecclesiastical divisions, the number of clergy, and of their flocks,"—

Name of Vicariat.	Number of Clergy.	Members in Congregations.
Western Bengal	14	15,000
Eastern Bengal	8	13,000
Madras	21	46,500
Bombay	28	30,000
Pondicherry and Cuddalore	85	96,600
Madura	50	150,000
Hyderabad (Deccan)	4	4,000
Vizagapatam	9	4,000
Verapoly * Latin rite	43	70,000
" Syriac rite	160,000
Guilon	15	20,000
Mangalore	18	18,000
Coimbatore	7	20,000
Mysore	15	19,100
Putna	10	3,000
Agra	17	20,000
Ava and Pegu	18	3,000
Vicariats, 16	808	690,100

As stated before, it is not so much the question of the absolute number of a religious body that is of importance, as the rate of increase. To obtain full materials for judging of this, one would require to know how much the Romish Church in India increased between the years 1852 and 1862. We fear, however, that this has not been ascertained, at least we have never fallen in with information on the subject, so that we are compelled to fall back on the period prior to 1852. Between the landing of the first European Romanists in India

* There are also nearly four hundred clergy of the Syrian rite in this district. [Parliamentary Blue Book for 1852-3, No. 28. Reports of Committee, 21, pp. 242. 243].

and the year 1852, there elapsed in round numbers, about three hundred and fifty years. The Romish Portuguese established their power in that country about a century before we did, and two centuries before the landing of Carey. The 690,100 Romanists in India and the Eastern peninsula, or the 690,100, *minus* the 3000 of Ava and Pegu, who are connected with India proper, took from the year 1498 to 1852, that is three hundred and fifty-four years, to raise up. As the English East India Company did not spring into existence till the year A.D. 1600, Protestants were but two hundred and fifty-two years in raising up the 112,491 native Christians whom they had at that time. We hold that the proper comparison is not between the Romanists in 1852 and the Protestants in the same year, but between the Protestants in 1852 and the latter, as, if the present rate of increase goes on, they will be in 1952. By the table given in a previous page, the probable number of Protestants in 1952 is estimated at 2,040,000. We think then, that it is completely premature to speak of Romish superiority. The church must first wait to see whether the rate of the table, or even one at all approaching it, be maintained.

There is another important consideration which must be taken into account in estimating the relative success of Romish and of Protestant missions. From every station in which the latter are established, there come statements that the main obstacle in the way of progress is the caste system. Now, the Romanists, aiming at a worldly wisdom which we cannot but think foolish, have evaded the caste difficulty, or rather postponed it for the present, and allowed converts to retain that distinctive feature of heathenism. Protestant missionaries, at least in later years, with a few exceptions, have insisted that every convert shall break caste on his baptism day. The Romish edifice is consequently composed of very untrustworthy materials. The bricks are of an inferior character, and its mortar will not permanently hold. The Protestant one is of excellent brick, well cemented. Nor is this simply a prejudiced view. There are historic facts in corroboration of the opinion. When Tippoo Saheb persecuted the native Romanists in his dominion, they, at least for the time, with the most trifling exceptions, apostatised from Christianity. The Protestant native Christians acted quite differently during the Indian mutinies. Dr Mullens was able to make the following very satisfactory report on the subject:—

“ The behaviour of all the converts involved in the mutiny throughout the provinces, excited the esteem and admiration even of many who had viewed them with indifference. Among their friends, judging from the apparent weakness of their character, some had

doubted whether in the day of trial they would stand firm. But the grace of God was all-sufficient, and in the time of need they exhibited a submission, a patience, a constancy, that threw honour upon their profession. Wherever they were joined with the English, they not only sided heart and soul with the Government, but offered a willing service, both in public and in private, of the most valuable kind. In several cases they served as artillerymen and police. In the fort of Agra, when the house servants deserted the English families to which they belonged, the native Christians supplied their places, and proved a real and sufficient help. Everywhere their character received a new impulse, and everywhere they rose in general esteem. *Of the two thousand involved in these troubles, not more than six apostatised, and even they returned when the trouble ceased*" (pp. 23, 24).

In another place Dr Mullens adds some touches more to complete the picture:—

"The effect of these events upon the native Church has been most marked, and in a high degree beneficial. It has already been mentioned that, in the hour of their trial, the faith of the converts and their attachment to the gospel had imparted to them a vigour and decision which they had never displayed before. Drawn to a very large extent from the artificial hot-house system of orphan and boarding-schools,—helped from first to last by missionaries, not only fed and taught, but in a measure having employments created for them,—the community as a whole had grown up in the possession of sound principles, but weak in character, with little self-reliance, and a great deal of the petulance of spoiled children. The mutiny has driven all this away, and they who were thrown headlong into the troubled waters, and had to swim for their lives, without the aid of the corks and bladders on which they had relied, gained health and vigour in the process, and landed not only alive but *men*. The old system has been flung away for ever. When, on the restoration of order, the presses and factories were re-opened, they were not taken up as mission property. The great Secundra press was removed to Allahabad; where the American press also again commenced its work. But in each case the native Christians started as proprietors and managers, and took the work entirely into their own hands. In the same way, the best factory at Futtebhguhr was handed over to the converts of that station, who, with the compensation money paid for their houses by the government, purchased materials, and set the system once more in operation. In all these cases, the missionaries have ceased to be troubled with secular matters; the native Christians are thrown upon their own resources; they have prospered, and are growing wealthy; and pastors and people stand on a much happier footing with each other. Thus has the wise government of God brought to the little church in the provinces great blessing out of great trial" (pp. 25, 26).

We demur to the opinion that Romanism has been more successful than Protestantism in India.

The spread of Christianity in India has sometimes

been contrasted unfavourably with the firm hold gained by Mohammedanism in that land. To us the facts seem to point just the contrary way. One advantage not much known at home must have given the Mussulmans no slight assistance in spreading their faith among the Hindoos. We refer, in at least one respect, to the democratic characteristics of the Mussulman sovereignties. Let us explain what these were and are. There could not, and is not yet, in Indian Mussulman kingdoms, a caste of hereditary nobles like our own, powerful enough to modify the action of the Government, but the aristocratic caste virtually consists only of the Government functionaries, all others, even if wealthy, being regarded as very much on one low level, from which, however, any one however humble, may be in a moment raised by being nominated a government official. A Hindoo convert, even from the Pariah race, was no sooner circumcised than he became the virtual equal of 1/100th of the whole Mussulman community, besides which, he might at any time be appointed to office, and if pre-eminently talented, very likely would be so. Thus there was, and still is, a high premium on conversion from caste Hindooism to the Mussulman faith. If the low-caste and outcast Hindoos had no sincere religious convictions, which, however, it is only justice to them to say that they do possess, they would do a worldly-wise act in going over in mass to Mohammedanism, leaving for their former high-caste co-religionists and oppressors an explanation worded after such a fashion as this:—"You inform us, nominally on divine authority, that you came out of the mouth of Brahma to instruct mankind, and we out of his feet to serve mankind, and especially you. Natural instinct, on the contrary, assures us that there is no such essential distinction between us as you represent. We have found a faith which is ready to grant us an honourable place if we become proselytes to it. This faith then we mean in future to embrace." Now we fear it must in fairness be stated that the Mussulmans grant proselytes to the religion of the Arabian "prophet" a more honourable place than European Christians do to those native converts who solicit baptism. It is difficult to see how it can entirely be avoided, for our own race is in constitution, in energy, in colour, and in civilisation, vastly more diverse from the Hindoos than the Mussulmans are; yet undoubtedly the less honourable place assigned to native converts to Christianity from that which proselytes to Mohammedanism obtain, should cause the latter religion to increase its ranks wholesale, while Christianity makes tardy way. Notwithstanding this, the success of the Mussulmans in India has been far from remarkable. Assuming the whole population of the Indian peninsula

to be 200,000,000, then the Mussulmans number one-eighth of the whole, or 25,000,000. To reach this position has cost them eight hundred years' effort, though they have not had scruple to eke out legitimate efforts by persecution. If our calculation be correct, two hundred and fifty years should suffice to put Christianity in the same position. Nay more, when inquiry comes to be made as to how the Mussulmans managed to mount up to 25,000,000, our estimate of their success still further falls. At first the reader is apt to take up the notion that the whole 25,000,000 are Hindoo converts to the Moslem creed. But a moment's reflection will shew that this cannot be the case. The Mussulmans settled in India in sufficient numbers to hold down the Hindoo masses, and a vast proportion of the twenty-five millions may, nay must, be descended from the original invaders. Investigation shews this theoretical view to be the true one. The Indian Mussulmans divide themselves into four great classes,—Shekhs, Syuds, Moguls, and Pathans. The Moguls, it will be seen at once, are people of Mogul descent; these of course are not Hindoos. What, next, are the Pathans? The word Pathans is simply Affghan, a little changed. The Pathans then, are Affghans, and therefore not Hindoos. The Syuds are, or at least pretend to be, descended from "the prophet;" they, again, are not Hindoos. All the Hindoo converts are relegated to the first class, the Shekhs or disciples, who are very numerous, as also are the Pathans, while the Moguls and Syuds are few. The distinction of physical features in the several races is still so obvious, that in general it is easy to tell a Mussulman from a Hindoo in the streets, and if our observation was not incorrect, a great many of the Shekhs had not Hindoo but foreign faces, and were therefore not Hindoo converts. We entertain the strong conviction that the spread of Christianity in India compares very favourably with that of Mohammedanism in the same land.

The slow and partial conquest of India by Christianity has sometimes been contrasted with the thorough moral subjugation of India by the Brahmins, who, like ourselves, are foreigners in that land, and carried with them to it an alien faith. Recent inquiries, however, have to a large extent dimmed the lustre of the Brahmanic achievements. One great fact unfavourable to them appears on the very surface, and cannot escape the notice even of an ordinary observer. It is this, that though the Brahmins are believed to have first appeared in India about the year 1700 B.C., and have therefore had 3,500 years in which to prosecute their operations, some millions of the Hindoos still remain un-Brahmanic in faith. We refer to the wild tribes of the hills and the jungles, who it is thought still retain

the simple superstitions in which their ancestors believed before the Brahmans were known in India. They will apparently never be converted to the ordinary Hindoo religion now, but will pass directly from pagan notions, worthy of the darkest of savages, to Protestant Christianity. Nay more, it has been discovered that a great part of so-called Brahmanism is not the faith which the original professors of that creed brought with them from beyond the Himalaya mountains, but beliefs and institutions belonging to one Indian religion or other which they had failed to extinguish, and were therefore compelled, with a very bad grace, to adopt as their own. The late Rev. Dr Stevenson, of Bombay, published originally in India, and subsequently in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of London*, a series of papers on this subject about thirty years ago. The conclusions he arrived at have in large measure been accepted by scientific men, and without pledging ourselves to small details, we share the views which he gave to the world. To be precise in his statements, he mostly binds himself to that part of India with which he was best acquainted,—the Mahratta country,—though it may be stated that a similar state of things to that which he describes could be pointed out in every province of India. He shews that Hindooism in the Mahratta country is not as those who have been without opportunities of investigating the subject suppose, a homogeneous faith, but consists of what may be called four distinct religions imperfectly cemented together. First, there is the aboriginal superstition, such as the adoration of painted stones, representing beings which the Brahmans still refuse to acknowledge as gods and denounce as demons. Second, there is Brahmanism proper. Third, there is Jainism, by many supposed to be a remnant of Buddhism, with which its tenets are very closely allied. Nay, more than this, there are remnants of Buddhism itself. Lastly, there are modern hero-gods; in other words, worship is rendered to local great men, who at death were supposed to be elevated to the heavens, on account of their celebrated deeds, very much as a so-called Romish saint may be by a Pope canonised and presented as an object of worship to the faithful. A few illustrations will enable the reader to understand how imperfect in some cases is the amalgamation of the antagonistic creeds which collectively make up Hindooism, even after centuries, nay, millenniums, of efforts to make them one. In some instances, it is required by Hindoo custom that a particular "god" worshipped by the masses should be made of no more dignified material than cow-dung, he being worthy of nothing better, inasmuch as he is not a god but a demon. The officiating priest in such cases is a low caste or even an outcaste Hindoo, while the Brahman cannot forbear laughter when

alluding to such worship. All this is inexplicable on the supposition that the procedure ridiculed is part of Brahmanism, but once admit that the adoration of the "god" or "demon" came down from aboriginal times, and all is plain. The Brahmans doubtless attempted at first to extinguish the aboriginal religion altogether, but after centuries of abortive effort, they virtually gave up the attempt, and, to borrow a phrase recently much in vogue in political circles, resolved to "level up" instead of "levelling down." They declared there was room in the comprehensive Brahmanic establishment for the tenacious body of primitive believers, though they did not tell the real reason, which was, that ages of persecution had failed to extirpate them. Yet, even at the last, in welcoming to their bosom, for political ends, those whom in heart they abhorred as much as ever, they took means to degrade them and their religion, and accordingly legislated for their new brethren on this basis, that whereas the god of the Brahmans might appropriately be made of gold, of silver, of brass, of wood, or of stone—substances, some of them very precious, and all of them at least respectable, their new friends must make their divinities of cow-dung, and of that alone (!) One can conceive the mirth that would go on in purely Brahmanical circles that an insult so transparent and so gross had not been fitly resented. We are inclined to think with Dr Stevenson, that the whole worship of Shaiva, the third person of the Hindoo triad, and especially under objectional emblems, on which it is not needful further to enlarge, was aboriginal. For a long time it was held down by Brahmanism, and by Buddhism, till the death-struggle between those two religions took place in the early centuries of the Christian era, with the result of giving the victory to the Brahmans, yet leaving them so weak that the worshippers of Shaiva, who constituted the lower classes, became irresistible, and had their faith levelled up, though it was vastly inferior, both intellectually and morally, to the Buddhism which the Brahmans had overthrown. To this day the Lingayat priests of Shaiva are not Brahmans, but a low caste order called Jungams, who, though nominally the "brethren" of the Brahmans, hate the latter with a cordiality which is only equalled by that with which the Brahmans regard them in return.

The ordinary opinion in Britain is, that the first Brahmans evolved, from the depths of their own consciousness, the beautiful metaphysical speculation of three persons in its Hindoo triad,—Brahma, the creator; Vishnoo, the preserver; and, Shaiva, the destroyer; and analogies have been drawn between the Hindoo conception and the revelations of the Christian Scriptures. Historic criticism dissipates this view.

Brahma has long since been deposed from his high place in consequence of a flagrant transgression. He is said to have but one temple in India, and, during some years' residence there, we never met a man "so poor as do him reverence." Vishnoo, especially in the form of some of his incarnations, has untold millions of followers in India; so has the levelled up Shaiva, and the two are rivals, not gods working in harmony. In the Hindoo shasters, one book is composed by a Sivaite polemically in favour of his favourite god, the third of the triad, and throws out reflections against Vishnoo, the second. Other books, equally inspired with the former, laud Vishnoo to the skies, and give a very sober estimate of his opponent, and the as yet uncritical Hindoo believes, or professes to believe, both, without having read either. These considerations considerably modify the estimates that used to be formed regarding Brahmanic success in India.

The greatest achievement the Brahmans have ever made in India was that which drove the Buddhist faith from the land; we think they were much more successful against the Buddhists than against the aborigines. And yet even their most remarkable achievement was limited. During the Indian mutinies, it was quite a common termination to the narrative of a hard fought fight between the small number of Christian heroes and the mutinous Mohammedan and heathen hosts, that the sepoys were driven out of the cantonment. This, though wonderful, considering the disparity in the number of the combatants, was really a very unsatisfactory termination of a combat, for it virtually surrendered to the defeated and enraged sepoys the whole open country to ravage as they pleased. The Brahmanic triumph over the Buddhists in the Indian peninsula, was much the same:—They drove their foes from India, leaving the whole trans-Himalayan world open to them, and at this day the votaries of Buddhism are about twice as numerous as the adherents of the Brahmanic faith. But the point to which we wish specially to advert, is the mixture of Buddhism with Brahmanism of the orthodox type. Dr Stevenson enumerates not a few practices which the Brahmans had to surrender in concession to their opponents. These were the oblation to fire, the killing of cows for sacrifice, self-torturing austerities, the use of flesh in the sacrificial feasts to the manes of their ancestors, and the marrying the widow of a deceased brother. There was an enormous concession of yet greater importance. The fundamental basis of all social life, according to the Brahmans, was the caste system, the social body, as is well known, being divided into four—Brahmans, warriors, merchants, and the working-classes—all these, it was said, had been created diverse, and must eternally

remain unmixed. The Buddhists, on the contrary, declared all castes in essential matters one. At two Indian places of pilgrimage, where great festivals are held, the Brahmans have been obliged to concede that caste law may without sin be suspended, and all social grades be permitted to eat together. The reason assigned for this, as will be conjectured, is that those places of pilgrimages and festivals were originally Buddhist, and that they were so firmly fixed in the affections of the people, that the Brahmans could not put them down, and, therefore, felt constrained to have recourse to the "leveling up system." The one place is Punderpore, in the Bombay Presidency, the other is Pooree, in Orissa, the site of the temple of Juggernaut, the place of Hindoo pilgrimages first known and best known to Christians at home, and still regarded as pre-eminently typical of unchanging Hindooism.* Do not the facts which have now been adduced very much diminish the estimate generally formed of the thoroughness and success of the Brahmanic achievements in India? We think they are fitted to do so, and do not fear to bring Christian missions into comparison with the religious efforts of the Brahmans in the expectation that it is not to the latter, but to the former that impartiality will accord the palm of more abundant success.

We would here repeat what has already been stated, that missionary success is not to be tested by the number of baptisms, but by the whole influence, intellectual, moral, and religious, which has been excited by Indian missions. This influence has not been excited simply on the natives of India, but also on its Anglo-Indian rulers. Besides this, as is universally admitted, there has been a valuable reflex effect on the Christian church at home. Not merely would it be impossible within the limits of one article to trace these several influences in a manner to impress the mind, but the effort to do this would, in no slight degree, mar the unity of the article. We have preferred to select one, and that the most important, branch of the subject, and limit attention to it, rather than to aim at a great deal and effect very little.

With one curious and very suggestive fact we would close this inquiry. It is remarkable that while our countrymen generally say that Indian missions have been a failure, the Brahmans, who have had the best opportunities of judging, lament that their success has been so great. The majority of the Indian Brahmans whom we have met regard Hindooism as doomed, while some of them, perhaps naturally of more desponding spirit than the rest of their brethren, believe that

* See *Journal of the Asiatic Society of London*, vol. vii. (1843) pp. 1-8: as also vols. v. vi. and viii. for various papers of Dr Stevenson's.

even already, all is lost. How a religion, which, of course, they regard as divine, should be abandoned by heaven, is a difficult matter for the faithful to determine; but they have succeeded in settling the point, and this is the explanation they give: there are four ages in the sinful world's history. The one in which we live is the fourth of these,—that which a Greek or a Roman would have termed the iron age. In the age at which we have arrived wickedness, as was long ago predicted, shall every where abound, *Caste distinctions shall be abolished*, and general confusion take place. The frequency with which Hindoos break their caste to obtain Christian baptism is simply fulfilling old prophecy, and will bring the predicted reign of social anarchy on. Let not, then, the Hindoo think that any strange thing has happened. Let him rather submit to the inevitable, assured that, as his sacred books tell, after the universal spread of casteless anarchy a new incarnation of a divinity shall be granted, who will sweep all heresy and infidelity from the earth, and reinstate the good old orthodox faith anew. This conviction that fight is hopeless, is fitted, we believe, to be of incalculable service to Christianity, since it must needs tend to make those who hold it (and these, we believe, are to be counted by millions) less hearty in defending a system which they believe to be, for the present at least, doomed. Nor need the missionary feel the least discomposed by the prophecy about the future restoration of Brahmanism, for before it becomes due for fulfilment, India will have ceased to believe in Hindooism, and taken to its affections another and a better creed.

For the reasons assigned in this article, and many others on which we have not entered, we demur to the statement that Indian missions have been a failure, and hold, on the contrary, that they have been a decided success.

R. H.

ART. IV.—*The Dead Sea.*

THE Dead Sea, at least since the early Christian centuries, has been an object of deep and somewhat awful interest. In the fancy of past generations, and in the eyes of old pilgrims to the Holy Land, it was a black and seething pool, sending forth deadly fumes in which neither man nor beast could live. Birds attempting to fly across, fell suffocated into it. No vegetation clothed its shores, and nothing lived in its waters. These were so dense, that nothing would sink in them, and so salt that everything near was encrusted with white crystals. A mysterious darkness, besides, overhung the place. This extended to Jericho and the surrounding country. Not merely was it a sea of death, but it was itself a grave.

Deep down in its accursed waters had been distinctly seen the splendid ruins of the wicked Cities of the Plain.

The Arabs still call it *Bahr Lût*, the Sea of Lot; connecting it, like the Christians, with that black page of sacred history, on which is scored the lowest ebb-mark of social and domestic morals.

Physically, the Dead Sea is no less interesting. On its banks, the traveller stands on the lowest ground in the world.* It lies like some mythical monster outstretched on his belly, and with open mouth swallows up the living stream of the Jordan. Steadily the river pours its volume of fresh water into this strange sea. Steadily the sea receives it, and, like the lean kine of Pharaoh's dream, is not a whit the sweeter or the larger for it. And yet it has no outlet. Did a communication exist between it and the Red Sea on the south, or the Mediterranean on the west, the waters of these seas would flow into it, and not its surplus into them.

The object of the present paper is to give an outline of what is known of the Dead Sea, physical and historical; and I begin by sketching it as I saw it myself.

The start for any such excursion as that to the Dead Sea, never fails to be a lively and picturesque scene. Under a low arch spanning the street, a short flight of stone steps leads to the paved court of the Damascus Hotel in Jerusalem. From this court, doors open into rooms on the ground floor, and outside stairs lead to rooms on upper stories. From these, again, you may gain the flat roof with its low dome, and look over hundreds of other flat white roofs, relieved by precisely similar domes of well-hewn, carefully adjusted, blocks of limestone,† the housetop view of Jerusalem, beautiful by day, enchanting by moonlight. Across the court, roofed only with a blue patch of Syrian sky, on the morning of which I speak, gaily dressed dragomen hurried on endless errands to their employers' bedrooms. There we, among others, were busy packing the things necessary for a few days' excursion, and preparing the baggage to be left till our return. At last we got down, and found our horses standing saddled in the street under the arch. Here was a ragged beggar of so filthy and plague-stricken an aspect as to scare rather than to soften the charitable *Howadjî*. There a lady traveller was being hoisted into a palanquin borne

* Its surface is 1316 feet below the level of the Mediterranean. Its length is 46 miles, its greatest breadth, 10 miles. Its greatest depth is 1308 feet. Its southern end averages only 12 feet. These figures can be taken only as approximations however.

† Mr Disraeli, in the third volume of his "Lothair," persists in calling this *freestone*.

between two mules, whose bells kept up a perpetual tinkling as she righted herself in her lofty seat, and finally moved off to the grave delight of a group of turbaned onlookers. Our *mukarry*, or head-groom, was there, of course, in due state, in charge of the horses belonging to our party, his own special beast of burden being a sturdy mule, bearing a capacious bag on either side of it, filled with plaids, books, and luncheon. Two or three dogs, by whose sleeping forms I had picked my cautious steps, by the aid of a lantern, in the gloom of the night before, watched the proceedings from a little distance.

At last we started, a party of five, headed by the dragoman, and followed by the *mukarry* poised on the back of his mule, the carpets and baggage beneath him spreading out his legs to an angle in ludicrous contrast with the solemn dignity of his bearded visage. Scrambling and clattering over the ill-paved streets, we rode out by the Damascus gate, and soon left the city far behind us.

We approached the sea from the convent of Mar-Saba. For a little time the gorge of the Kidron was our companion. At the bottom of it was a shingly water-course, with a chain of patches of white silt marking the pools in which the water had lingered longest. Indeed it was difficult to decide that the shining silt was not water, till we saw it in a different light, when we perceived that what we had fancied to be pools were really patches of sun-baked sediment. The perpendicular rock-faces of the gorge were pierced with the caves of the early hermits. The morning sun was already burning on the white and barren slopes close to us. The hills of Moab, as yet in shade, were of a pale but exquisite blue. A little bird, deep down in the gorge, sang sweetly, and its notes came up to us with a strange but powerful echo. Brilliant flowers, scarlet, and purple, and yellow, and white grew among the limestone fragments from the hillside above. Farther on, the flowers were not so numerous, but they still peeped out from between scanty tufts of a prickly plant (*Poterium spinosum*), which revealed but too plainly the dry, white soil beneath.

The descent became more and more rapid as we neared the plain. We kept a good deal to the bottom of deep, but dry water-courses cut by the winter torrents through the thick slopes of earth and gravel at the foot of the hills. The sides and bottoms of these water-courses were frequently feathered with tall shrubs, and in one of them an immense yellow *Orobanche* was growing, sometimes as a solitary stem of great thickness and three feet in height, sometimes in bunches of from three to nine stems, each bearing its complement of splendid flowers.

When we reached the plain, we rode for some distance over a level tract of dry mud, dotted with clumps of bushes and

forests of feathery reeds (*Arundo donax*) ten to fifteen feet in height. A beautiful shrubby *Statice* (*S. Thouinii*) stretched out to us straggling sprays of pink flowers, and here and there the broom of the desert shewed its straight delicate shoots dotted with white blossoms (*Retem*, *Genista monosperma*), the "juniper bush" of Elijah.

At last we reached the shore of the sea which had long lain under our eyes. It was not, indeed, that patch of exquisite blue at the foot of the mountain wall of Moab, as I had often seen it from the Mount of Olives. The sky overhead was gloomy, and toward the southern end of the sea there hung a bluish black cloud, giving an unearthly hue to a large part of the landscape. The cloud blurred the outlines of the near tracts of the mountainous sides of the sea, and completely hid its lower extremity. Still it was beautiful. Compared with the hill country of Judea, which is a tract of rolling uplands intersected by valleys, for the most part neither very narrow nor very deep, the scenery of the Dead Sea is striking. At your feet you have a fine expanse of water stirred by the wind into fresh and vigorous wavelets; on your right, the rugged and varied chain which forms the western edge of the hill country of Judea; and, on your left, the dark and forbidding face of the Wall of Moab.

A line of foam, made by the breaking of the waves on the shore, was working slowly outward in long curves. This, perhaps, was the first sign of any marked difference between the waters of this and those of any ordinary sea. The foam was evidently of an oily and persistent nature, so that the term "scum" might fairly have been applied to it. The melancholy array of water-logged and worn drift wood* along the crest of the beach, certainly added to the impression of strangeness already produced by the unbroken line of foam. Still, in the finer *debris* in which the drift was embedded, there were various plants growing, notably, a lovely *Linaria* in full flower, strangely similar to the Alpine form; here, as on the Alps among the icebergs, daring to come to the very verge of the kingdom of Death.

Below the drift wood was a clean pebbly beach, among whose finely rounded stones (many of them black), I found some small pieces of bitumen and a dead fish. The bitumen floats up occasionally from the sea bottom in pieces of various sizes, especially after earthquakes. There is a fine slab of it (cracked, however, in the cutting), let in to the front of the Mosque el Aska, which occupies the southern end of the

* Barkless dicotyledonous trees, so far as I saw it; but palm trunks in abundance have been observed.

Haram enclosure in which the present Dome of the Rock or Mosque of Omar stands.

The bed of pebbles slopes rapidly down to the sea, and each shining stone is seen clearly through water of decided transparency; not, however, to compare in this respect with the water of Tiberias. We soon prepared for a bathe, and plunged in. Speaking for myself, I can say I never enjoyed a bathe more. The body seemed gifted with a new buoyancy. Drawing up my knees, I clasped my hands in front of them (Lynch's experiment, apparently), and sat in the water, toppling slowly now to this side, and now to that. I was not conscious of any pricking sensation except at the lips, round the edge of the nostrils, and at the eyes. The taste of the water was more bitter* than salt, though indeed very salt, and thoroughly abominable. But it was quite without smell. I cannot say that I felt the clammy, oily feeling on the skin after dressing complained of by some travellers.

Greatly refreshed by our bathe, we lunched, and visited the alluvial plain through which the Jordan flows to the sea. Over a part of this we had indeed already ridden, in order to gain the northern end of the sea, from a point so much to the south-west as Mar Saba. We now saw it, however, at a point much closer to the actual bed of the river. It was a great stretch of brown, apparently rich, earth, not clothed with grass or bushes, but literally naked soil. Where we first struck it, near the sea, its surface was undulating, and here and there it was coated with a white clay. A few plants, indeed, did dot it, but they were few and far between, and of species which indicate the presence of salt in the soil. The heavy rains through which we had ridden during the second half of our morning journey from Mar Saba, and the two or three days' rain which preceded, seemed to have made to disappear the white crust of salts described by most writers as coating the surface of this barren alluvium. At least I did not observe it. A number of camels and horses had passed along the path to the fords of the Jordan, and in many places their track was deep in mud and water. This alluvial plain falls suddenly down, perhaps fifty feet, to a lower terrace, and so on, terrace after terrace, the plain of each better clothed than the last with low vegetation and bushes, till the bed of the Jordan itself is reached, and you get glimpses of a narrow but rapid and muddy stream, flowing in the heart of a dense

* The bitterness is caused by the great quantity of magnesia in the water. In a gallon of the water, about $3\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. weight of mineral matter are held in solution; of this, nearly 2 lbs. are chloride of magnesium and 1 lb. common salt. An imperial gallon of drinking water may contain about 20 or 30 grains of solid matter in solution; ocean water, about half a pound; Dead Sea water $3\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. or a fourth of its whole weight.

jungle of tall reeds, feathery tamarisks, trailing plants, and poplar trees (*Populus Euphratica*, its western limit). Such, then, is the bordering plain formed by the Jordan at the northern end of the sea and the actual beach.

The western side we now know well from the explorations of various travellers, and especially from the graphic account of a journey made in 1863-4 by the Rev. H. B. Tristram and party along its entire length. On the lower face of the bounding hills, there is very distinctly seen, as you stand on the northern shore, a whitish band. This is formed of chalky limestone diluvium and gravel mixed with shells of existing species. It appears at various places, and is often seamed and riven by water in every direction, till what has been a continuous bank of tertiary marl is cut up into a pack of isolated and fantastic flat-topped mounds. These are continuous with the flat-topped mamelons of the higher plateau of the Jordan valley, and probably mark the level of the sea, at the close of the tertiary period, when it must have stood about 230 feet above its present level. Higher still, on the face of the reddish secondary limestone hills, Tristram marked the distinct terraces of still more ancient beaches, and on the shore proper he counted at one point as many as eight low gravel terraces, marking different levels of the sea of comparatively recent date. The highest of these was 44 feet above the present level.

At many places the deposit from the water was binding together unrolled fragments from the rocks above into a conglomerate, many of the fragments themselves being an older conglomerate, in its turn made up of unrolled stones. At various places he found deposits of bitumen with pebbles embedded, or bituminous shale ("stink-stone," "stone of Moses"), which burned freely when thrown on the fire. Thrice the party came upon sulphur hot springs surrounded by absolute desolation, and coating the rocks and shingle with a yellow efflorescence. They found also many balls of sulphur, traceable apparently to these springs. At many points, dead bushes stood on the shore glistening with salt crystals.

The rock was chiefly hard crystalline limestone, and this hardness of texture accounted for the bold and varied forms of the hills on the western shore of the sea, as compared with the soft and rounded forms of the Judean uplands. The lie of the strata seemed to be similar to that of the hills of Moab on the eastern side, and was seldom much disturbed from the horizontal. The fossils got by Tristram's party on the west, were the same as those got by Lynch's party on the eastern side. But the sandstone which forms the base of the eastern range is omitted entirely, so far as is known, in the western.

The fresh water springs, Ain Feshkah, and Ain Jiddy (Engedi, of the sacred record), like the sulphur springs, had a

high temperature. But with the exception of pieces of sulphur, accounted for by the sulphur springs and pumice-stone washed ashore by the sea, and brought down probably by the Jordan from the upper volcanic region, there were no appearances of recent volcanic action; the sulphureous sand and calcined bitumen of the Wady Mahauwat, being evidently a subaerial deposit. At one or two places only did they find even the old trap rock appearing in dykes through the limestone.

Around the fresh water springs, animal and vegetable life was abundant. At places, a thick belt of cane-brake fringed the shore. The fresh water, and even the salt springs at the southern end of the sea, were full of fish; but even those of the salt springs died if put into the water of the Dead Sea. The only living things Tristram ever saw in the sea were the larvæ of a gnat; and yet ducks and wading birds were often observed to all appearance feeding in it.

Whatever conclusions we may come to, are to a certain extent provisional. They affect, it must be distinctly understood, only the general physical history of the district. They seem to me to render certain sites for the cities of the plain, which assume that the position of Zoar is known, either at Um Zoghal at the south-west end, or near the promontory at the south-east end; and that Jebel "Usdum" is a reminiscence of "Sodom," improbable or impossible (see note on p. 729). But they do not commit us to any views of a special kind as to the destruction of the cities of the plain. They do not exclude, for example, the favourite and probable hypothesis that an earthquake was the natural cause of the overthrow. Holy Writ informs us that a rain of fire and brimstone (sulphur) was the visible agent. Sulphur being insoluble in water, the analysis of the Dead Sea water presents no trace of it. But it is present in the district. And a better acquaintance with the geology may result in the discovery of beds or masses of the substance, as *e.g.*, at Bex in Switzerland, in analogous salt-rock, limestone, and gypsum formations.

So far as the facts already collected are concerned, we are warranted, I think, in coming to the following conclusions:—

The gigantic fissure which runs from the roots of the Lebanon to the southern end of the Gulf of Akabah, and, slightly changing its direction, stretches as the Red Sea to the Indian Ocean, can scarcely have been otherwise formed than by volcanic action, the remains of whose unextinguished fires still heat the springs on the shores of the Dead Sea and the Lake of Tiberias, and shatter with occasional earthquakes such towns as Tiberias and Safed.

In so far as the geology of the northern part of this great fissure is known, that in which the Jordan and the Dead Sea

lie, the action seems to have been that of fracture of the crust, and separation of the edges, without large removal or displacement of the strata relatively to each other. And so far as can be gathered from a comparison of the comparatively horizontal stratification of the sedimentary rocks of Tiberias and the Hauran, the vent and greatest external activity of the volcanic force seems to have been at the upper rather than the lower end of Jordan village. However this fissure* was first formed, it has remained in the state in which we see it for a period of time much greater than the human period. The channels of extinct waterfalls, to cite a single proof, are visible over the face of the western cliffs. In order to wear these channels, streams must have fallen for ages into the sea at or near its present level.

The ancient beaches visible one above another on the mountain faces, point to a time when the Dead Sea stood at the present level of the Gulf of Akabah. It must, therefore, at one time have formed an arm of the Red Sea. However the separation took place, the level of the Dead Sea has been sinking, and is now lower than it ever was before. In no way, therefore, can the Dead Sea, as a sheet of water formed or enlarged at the time, be associated with the destruction of the cities of the Plain, except in so far as they must have stood somewhere not far from its shores. The lower end of the Dead Sea, which has sometimes been supposed to be the site of those cities, shews no trace of subsidence, and has evidently been steadily silting up during a long period of time by the deposition of alluvium from the northern slopes of the Arabah (the elevated southern extremity of the great fissure in which the Jordan and the Dead Sea lie). The southern slopes of the Arabah are drained into the Red Sea. Indeed, there is not the slightest trace of the subsidence of any portion of the basin of the Dead Sea during the historic period.

The present aspect of the basin must be referred to the action of water, as already implied, and not to that of fire. Not to speak of the ancient beaches formed by the Salt Sea itself, at its successive levels, the extinct waterfalls referred to, must have

* The present floor of the fissure in which the sacred river finds its tortuous way due south to the Dead Sea, first dips below the level of the Gulf of Akabah, after the Jordan has left the jungles of Papyrus which fringe Lake Huleh (Waters of Meron). At the Lake of Tiberias it is 650 feet, and at the Dead Sea over 1300 feet below the level of the sea. At the southern end of the Dead Sea, the Ghor, there called the Arabah, rises again till it reaches an elevation of 1800 feet above the Dead Sea, and 500 feet above the Red Sea. The Dead Sea occupies the remains of the deepest part of this depression. It is being constantly shortened at the northern end by the alluvium of the Jordan, and at the southern end by the alluvium from the large area of drainage (stated at 6000 square miles), constituted by two-thirds of the area of the Arabah, and the districts drained by such Wadies as Mahauwat on the south-west, and Es Safieh on the south-east.

been fed by a rainfall on the Judean hills, very different in amount from that which annually sends down the dry water courses shortlived winter torrents, the "deceitful brooks" of which David and Job speak. At the same time the high temperature of the springs indicate the neighbourhood of volcanic forces, wherever their vent may be.

The saltness of the sea cannot be traced directly to the range of salt hills called Jebel Usdum, as its waves seldom or never rise so high. But the salt formation, of which Jebel Usdum may fairly be held to be an ejected fragment, impregnates salt springs which run into the sea. Something may also be put to the account of the winter drainage of the eastern side of Jebel Usdum. It is far from unlikely that there are similar sub-marine springs coming through the same formation.

As the level of the Dead Sea at any moment is simply the point of balance between the water which the Jordan, the smaller streams, and the springs pour in, and what evaporation draws off, and as evaporation is the only mode of escape for the water, all the mineral ingredients (except a small but appreciable quantity lost by evaporation)* remain in the Dead Sea, whose saltness must be steadily increasing. The mineral ingredients held in solution, are in the proportion of one pound of mineral ingredients to three pounds of the water. The salt alone is as twenty-six to a hundred, while in common sea water it is only four to a hundred.

Whatever the birds seen on it may have been doing, none of the ordinary forms of fish or molluscs live in its waters. There can be no doubt that the coral of the Marquis d'Escolopier is a mistake. The *Infusoria* Ehrenberg found in the mud, it is surely natural to conclude, had been washed down from the Jordan, as that river gave the very same species. And the fish living in springs close to the sea, prove as little with reference to the possibility of life in the sea, as the active little crabs and swarming molluscs busy on the fallen figs at several hours' distance from the sea in the fountain of Elisha at Jericho.

While in itself it still refuses to be anything but a Dead Sea, animal and vegetable is able to exist, and does flourish luxuriantly on its shores wherever there is water; and the gloom under which it was supposed to lie, if it ever existed except in the imagination, can be accounted for only by the immense evaporation from its surface. While the climate at the northern end, and about Jericho, is damp, and not healthy like that of the rest of the Jordan valley, Tristram and his party found that of Engedi singularly dry and invigorating, though the Arabs of

* This was first discovered by Pallas the famous naturalist, who found that the dew in the neighbourhood of the salt lakes of Russia in Asia tasted salt.

Engedi said that in summer the heat became so great that they had to retire to the hills behind.

On the shore of this strange sea, plants and animals occur which belong, not to Asian, but to African groups of life. *The Osher* (*Calotropis procera*, *Asclepias gigantea*, *A. procera*) to take a single example, whose inflated peach-like fruit, with its mass of silky haired seeds within (the "apple of Sodom" of Holy Writ), is a plant which belongs to Nubia. Its stout stems and large grey leaves soon become familiar to the traveller when his boat has left the wider valley of the lower Nile, and enters on the sterile upper valley in the approach to Assouan, the Syene of Scripture. Many of the birds which Tristram found, seemed to belong of right to the African Sahara, and to link the Dead Sea with the ancient salt-lakes (and the still more ancient ocean of which they are the remains), which have left behind them in that belt of desert, deposits of rock-salt similar to that of which the ridge of Jebel Usdum is an ejected fragment.

It is strange, too, to think of the camphire blooming to-day by the fountain of Engedi, the lineal descendant of that which loaded with its perfume the air Solomon breathed as he walked in his gardens; stranger still, if these tropical African flowers and birds, mingled with the flowers and birds of the Levant province and of the Asian continent, carry us back to a past infinitely more distant than the time of Solomon, if they carry us back to a time when there was a different distribution of land and water, of which the living witnesses are these forms of life which mark the overlapping of the flora and fauna of those continents we now call Asia and Africa. Generations, races of men, have come and gone. It has required but a short time to exhaust their vital energy. Generations of stone and lime have lingered only long enough in their decay to attest that on these shores the Jews built in their way, the Romans in theirs, the Saracens in theirs, the Crusaders in theirs. While all these have come and gone, is it not a suggestive, is it not a humbling thought, that a few delicate flowers and birds, whose little life you might crush out between your fingers, have lingered among these deserted traces of man, not one whit less beautiful in their triumphant vitality than when in the morning of the world, they came from the hand of their Creator?

The Dead Sea comes into connection with written history chiefly at two points. It was used, indeed, as a land-mark in the division of the soil of Palestine. Its bitumen was carried to Egypt for embalming, and its water to Rome for baths. The baths of Calirrhœ and the fortress of Machaerus stood near it on the eastern side.

The two points of greatest interest, however, are the Engedi

of sacred writ, and Masada of the post-sacred period, both on the western side.

Engedi is associated with the first war on record. When the earliest armed bands of which we have any account emerge from the countries to the east of Jordan, we find them sweeping like a thunder storm over the district to the south of what was afterwards Judah, descending to the shores of the Dead Sea, and lingering for a moment to "smite" the Amorites who dwelt at Hazazon Tamar. Hazazon Tamar, we are afterwards informed in the second book of Chronicles xx. 2, was Engedi. Keeping still a northerly direction towards the upper end of the Dead Sea, they met and overcame the kings of Sodom,* Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboim, and Zoar in the vale of Siddim, which was full of "slime pits." Many in the headlong flight were entangled and lost in these shafts, sunk to the beds of bitumen, and those who escaped, fled to the mountains which hem in the Ghor on either hand like mighty walls, secure refuges from marauders already heavily laden with spoil. The victors then fell on the cities of the plain, and having sacked them, continued their march right up the flat valley of the Jordan, till encamped on its upper waters at Dan, they were overtaken by Abraham and his allies, who attacked them in the darkness, routed them, and recovered the captives, among whom was Lot, and the spoil.

Engedi comes again into view in the first period of the Hebrew kingdom. It was among the hills and ravines of Engedi that David and his men found shelter for a while from the enmity of Saul. It was in a cave near this spot that David was hardy enough to cut off a part of the flowing skirt of Saul. Following the king with this in his hand, he waited till Saul had got to a safe distance, and addressing

* The three arguments of greatest weight against the hypothesis that the site of the cities of the plain was at the southern end of the sea are, (1) Lot's view of them at his feet from near Bethel. Had they been at the south end of the sea he could not have seen them. Of this any traveller may convince himself by making the attempt, as the writer did. (2.) The order of events in the campaign alluded to above. The defeat of the kings, and the sacking of Sodom, and the rest of the cities of the plain coming after the smiting of the Amorites at Engedi. And (3.) The view of Moses from an eastern peak, probably Pisgah, from which it is said to be likewise impossible to see the southern end of the sea. The cities were not destroyed by water but by fire. And the physical considerations already adduced, shew how useless it is to seek the site in the sea itself. The southern end is utterly barren, glittering with salt incrustation. The northern end and all around Jericho is rich (though under the curse of thorns), except the part already described, and there are abundant traces of later human inhabitation between Jericho and the Jordan. The whole stage of the sacred history is small, and it would not be out of proportion to place all the five cities of the Plain with their bitumen shafts in the "circles of the Jordan," near its falls into the sea. The barren part, with the common economy of eastern city building, would be occupied by the five cities, if not within the overflow.

him, pointed to the piece of the royal skirt as an evidence of how safe the king's life had been in the hands of one unjustly represented as a conspirator against it.

The enamoured bride in the Song of Songs says of her spouse, "My beloved is unto me as a cluster of camphire in the vineyards of Engedi." Engedi was once such a spot of fruitfulness and fragrance as water can create only in the East. To this day, by its scanty rill there struggles up into the splendid day, if not in quantity, in kind, a tropical vegetation. Higher on the hillsides, the traces of the ancient vine-terraces are still seen by the traveller. Tristram found at Engedi the "camphire" of the English translation, that white-flowered Henna (*Lawsonia alba*, natural order, *Lythraceæ*) whose powdered leaves were employed in early Egypt to dye the nails yellow, and are still so employed, and whose fragrant blossoms are still sold in the streets of Cairo to the cry, "Oh! odours of Paradise; Oh! the flowers of the Henna!" The Eastern women still perfume and decorate themselves with it.

The last mention of Engedi is that already referred to in 2 Chron. xx. 2, in which the place then known as Engedi is said to be the place formerly known as Hazazon Tamar, or the "Cutting of the Palm Trees."

Tidings were brought to Jerusalem that the invader was on his way to overrun Judah. Gathering from the south and east, the heterogeneous bands of the enemy were encamped at Engedi, where water and forage could be found for so large a force. Jehoshaphat, who occupied the Jewish throne at the time, at once proclaimed a fast, went with all the people to the temple, and, following the example of Solomon, led the public devotions in person. It was a terrible moment. The kingdom lay at the mercy of a vast and pitiless horde. The king, it is said, stood in the congregation, and there audibly offered his prayer. From the theocratic king downwards, "all Judah stood before the Lord, with their little ones, their wives, and their children." In answer to the king's prayer, the Lord turned the arms of the various tribes of the enemy against one another, and Jehoshaphat reigned the rest of his days in peace.

The ruins of *Sebbeh*, the ancient Masada, like the spring of Engedi, link the desolate shores of the Dead Sea with human history. The story of Masada as related by Josephus ("Joa. Jewish War" vii. c. 8) is as follows. The prophecy of the 24th chapter of Matthew's Gospel had been fulfilled. After one of the most terrible sieges on record, Jerusalem had been taken by the Roman army. The curtain seemed to have fallen in blood and fire over the last act of the long tragedy. But it was not so. The indomitable spirit of the Jew was yet to have an illustration not inferior to anything in the annals of that singular race.

A band of Sicarii, Hebrew zealots who, in the disturbed state of the country, made revenge on the Romans, and on those who submitted to their rule, the cloak of a succession of acts of pillage and murder, had seized the strong fortress of Masada, whose ruins still crown a well-nigh inaccessible crag standing out from the line of mountains which form the western lip of the deep basin of the Dead Sea. The fortress had been greatly strengthened by Herod the Great, who, fearful of some reverse of fortune, either from the Jews, or from Anthony, from whom Cleopatra often besought Judea as a present, selected Masada as a last stronghold, and stored up there vast treasures, and a supply of provisions and arms sufficient for the longest siege.

When the Roman general invested Masada, his first care was to surround it with a wall, so that no one within might escape. He then began to throw up an immense mound at the low neck by which the cliff was joined to the main line of mountains. At last the siege engines could be advanced close to the walls, and in due time a breach was made. But the breach only revealed an inner rampart of beams of wood laid crosswise, and earth, which the besieged had thrown up behind. On this fresh rampart, from its yielding nature, the battering ram could make no impression. Perceiving this, the Roman general ordered his soldiers to supply themselves with torches, and to fling them lighted against the rampart. When the rampart took fire the wind blew the smoke and flames in the face of the Romans, threatening to destroy their battering engines. The wind, however, changed, and the rampart was soon a mass of smouldering ruins. When the last hope of the besieged was destroyed, there were 967 human beings within the fortress. The Romans postponed their attack till the following morning, meanwhile redoubling their vigilance lest any of the besieged should escape in the darkness.

When the morning dawned, the Roman soldiers advanced to the breach. But no one appeared, and there was a dead silence over the place. Raising a shout as they stood gazing in through the blackened gap, two women appeared, who, with five children, had hidden themselves in some underground recess. These seven were the only persons left alive of the 967 who were within the walls when the Romans drew off the night before.

The amazed soldiers rushed in, and found the treasures of Herod's palace piled up and on fire. Quantities of provisions were left untouched, in order to shew that the garrison had not been reduced by famine. And 960 human forms, men, women, and children, lay dead on the bloody ground.

Eliazar, the leader of the Sicarii, after it was evident that further resistance was hopeless, had summoned the garrison,

and in a speech which, as given by the historian, is full of the noblest sentiments, pointed out to them that God had forsaken their nation, that the struggle for land and liberty was now over, and that in a few hours the Romans would be in possession of the last stronghold of the race. He reminded them of the cruelties which had been perpetrated in various cities in Palestine on the Jewish inhabitants, and told them that if they resolved to see the light of another day they would virtually resolve to behold, without being able to resist, their wives ravished and their children enslaved.

It was enough. Each man embraced his wife and children for the last time, and killed them with his own hands. Twelve men were then chosen by lot who slew the rest, each man having lain down by his dead wife and children, and the twelve chose one who slew the eleven, examined the prostrate bodies to see that none breathed, and then slew himself.

There still remains to be considered one fact with reference to the Dead Sea, which lends it an interest still deeper than that of its connection with past history. Its employment in the picture of the future of the gospel kingdom (Ezek. xlvii. 1-12) links it with some of the highest hopes of the Christian heart.

Ezekiel stood in vision on a very high mountain, the moral summit of the world. On this mountain there was a glorious temple, which he describes minutely. From under the temple, into which the glory of the Lord had previously entered by the east gate, the prophet saw a strong flow of water issuing. Taken round to the outside of the temple wall, he found that these waters ran out at the east side. His guide, who had a measuring line in his hand, going with the stream eastward, measured a thousand cubits, and made the prophet wade the stream. At this point it reached to his ancles. Again the guide measured a thousand cubits, and brought the prophet through the stream, which reached to his knees. Again the same thing is done, when the waters of the stream reach to the loins; and still again, when the prophet has to struggle back to the brink, finding that they were waters to swim in, a river that could not be passed over. This river goes eastward till it reaches the "desert" or barren district already described, near the banks of the Jordan at the northern end of the Dead Sea, and after passing through this, falls into the sea itself. Let us regard for a moment the framework of this remarkable vision. It is evident that in the main it is founded on the physical features of the plateau on which the actual temple stood,—the barren end of the Ghor, and the anomalous character and low level of the Dead Sea. But it departs from physical possibility in one important point. The waters, instead of turning southwards for a short distance, and then

turning eastward, as they must have done had they followed what is now called the valley of Jehoshaphat, or upper end of the valley of the Kidron, which, be it remarked, is the natural road for waters issuing from the east side of the temple area, go from the first eastwards till they reach, not the Dead Sea, which alone they could have reached by the gorge of the Kidron, but the salt land, the land not inhabited at the mouth of the Jordan, and then, but not till then, the sea itself.

On the banks of this river the prophet saw trees growing, indeed its whole course was marked by life and fertility; and finally its living waters triumph over the death of the sea. The scene changes. The waters of the Dead Sea teem with fish. Its desolate shores start into life and activity. A line of fishermen plying their trade occupy every available spot from Engedi to Eneglaim, and everywhere their nets are seen hung up to dry.

We are now in a position to estimate the singular power and suggestiveness of this prophetic vision. The waters issue from the throne of God and of the Lamb, and it is in this form that John lifts Ezekiel's vision into the still clearer atmosphere of the New Testament. The blessing they confer is received by contact with them. They fertilise where they go. The trees are by their brink. And how true this is to the physical conditions of the natural district referred to, is best understood by him who has ridden long over desolate, whitened uplands, when he comes suddenly to the brink of a watercourse, and looks down on the tops of the trees which flourish by the brink of the stream. The necessity of actual contact with these gracious streams is rendered, if possible, clearer by the solitary exception to their benign influences. The marshy places which, though close to the edge of the sea, had elevated themselves slightly above its level, and refused an entrance to the waters, were not to be healed, they were to remain under the blighting power of salt.

These blessed waters come from the highest point on the earth's surface in the old vision, the point at which earth was in contact with heaven; from heaven itself in the new. They go to the lowest point on the earth's surface, a fact which science has established with regard to the actual sea. The "salt land," the land not inhabited, once the blooming site of Sodom and Gomorrah, is to be reached by the life-giving waters, impossible as it might seem, and the desert is once more to blossom as the rose.

In closing this paper, let us resume in a single paragraph the main points which constitute the human interest of the Dead Sea.

In the very dawn of history we see a cloud of shadowy warriors sweep down on its shores to smite the Amorites at Engedi. Over the same spot the adventures of David the outlaw cast all the charms of romance. In more peaceful

times, David's son, Solomon, walked among the groves of Engedi when the time of the singing of birds was come, and vine and camphire sent forth a pleasant smell. In the story of Masada the same shores are linked with one of those dark deeds of savage bravery of which the passionate heart is sometimes capable in its last extremity of suffering. And as we turn away, we see the subject of our study lying in a light which never was on sea or shore, a light which comes from within, where God sits with the destiny of his church in his hands. The glorious future of a world wherein dwelleth righteousness, is painted by the hand of prophecy with materials drawn from the scenery of the Dead Sea.

J. J. M., Jersey.

ART. V.—*Jerome Savonarola.*

1. *The History of Girolamo Savonarola and of his Times.* By PASQUALE VILLARI, Professor of History in the University of Pisa. Translated from the Italian by LEONARD HORNER, F.R.S., with the co-operation of the Author. 2 vols. London: Longmans. 1863.
2. *The Life and Times of Girolamo Savonarola, illustrating the Progress of the Reformation in Italy during the Fifteenth Century.* Collected from Original Sources. 1 vol. London: Whitaker & Co. 1843.
3. *The Triumph of the Cross.* By JEROME SAVONAROLA. Translated from the Latin, with Notes and Biographical Sketch by O'DELL T. HILL, F.R.G.S. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1868.

JEROME SAVONAROLA was born at Ferrara in the year 1452. His father was physician to the ducal court, and the son was destined by his parents for the same profession. He was accordingly introduced early to the scholastic philosophy, which was then regarded as a necessary preliminary to the study of medicine. The youth took great delight in the writings of Thomas Aquinas; he became an expert dialectician; and the influence of these youthful studies was manifest in his future writings. He seems to have had no liking for the profession which he was expected to enter. Poetry and music, classics and philosophy, had for him far more powerful attractions than the study of the healing art. Naturally of a grave and melancholy disposition, prone to look on the dark side of things, life was even then to him a very serious thing. This constitutional tendency was strengthened by the circumstances in which he was placed. The ducal court of Ferrara was distinguished, even in that rude licentious age, for its pomp, luxury, and disgraceful revelries. He shrank back with loathing from all share in its vain and guilty pleasures; his soul mourned over the godlessness, immorality, and misery of the world. He more and more shunned intercourse with his fel-

low-men, and sought rest in communion with God. In this frame of mind, the seclusion and peace of the monastic life seemed the most desirable of all, and in April 1475, he stole away secretly from his father's house and entered the Dominican convent at Bologna. In a letter to his parents written the day after his arrival, he informed them of what he had done, and the motives which had impelled him to a course which blighted their hopes. He could not endure, he said, to look upon the wickedness of the people of Italy, the widespread misery, the rapes, adulteries, robberies, the pride, idolatries, and fearful blasphemies which everywhere prevailed. He had sought divine guidance, and he believed that it had been granted. "You have no reason," he afterwards wrote, "to be ashamed of me; I have become a knight-militant of the King of kings, an honour greater than earthly monarch could have conferred, had he called me into his service, and girt a sword by my side. The more should you rejoice in the step I have taken."

Once within the convent walls, having left the world, with its discord, revelries, and impurities behind him, Savonarola devoted himself with a wondrous zeal to the duties of his monastic life. He counted no task imposed upon him to be mean or burdensome. In his devotions he was fervent to a degree that amazed his brother monks. He subjected himself to fastings and vigils so protracted that his body wore away, and he became more like a walking spectre than a man. His superior soon discovered his learning and ability, and appointed him to instruct the novices in philosophy and scholastic divinity. To himself this was more a recreation than a task, his real work was fasting, prayer, and study, and in these he found a measure of peace to which he had long been a stranger. But he could not banish from his thoughts the miserable state of the world and the church. In a poem composed about this time, he laments the disappearance of the love and purity of former ages; he asks the pertinent question, "Who has brought things to this state?" and answers it, "A proud, deceitful harlot;" even thus early pointing to Rome as the impure fountain whence flowed this universal corruption.

In 1483, Savonarola became connected with the convent of St Mark at Florence, with which his name is henceforth closely associated. Belonging to the order of preaching friars, he was ere long called to occupy the pulpit, but his early appearances were coldly received, and gave little promise of his future eminence. Popular preachers carefully imitated the style and method of the ancients, and spiced their sermons with frequent quotations from their writings. It was of little consequence that the matter was trifling, provided the voice was well modulated, the action graceful, and the language choice and

pure. Savonarola had little of the popular academic polish; his voice was harsh, his gestures awkward, his language often vulgar; he sometimes spoke disrespectfully of learning, denounced iniquities in no measured terms, and quoted no book but the Bible. As a lecturer, Aristotle had been his chief textbook; as a preacher, it was the Bible alone. With that book he became wonderfully familiar. He is said to have learned it all by heart, and his luxuriant imagination, throwing round every statement and fact its own fantastic colouring, presented them in the strangest forms and applications.

The preacher felt the coldness of his reception, and as some say, devoted himself to the study of the art of oratory. He resumed for sometime his work of lecturer, and gave himself earnestly to the study of the Bible, to communing with his own heart and sad thoughts on the state of religion and the church. Gradually he became convinced that he had a special mission assigned him, from the fulfilment of which nothing should turn him aside. What though the people treated him coldly, that was nothing more than the ancient prophets had experienced, because they would not prophesy smooth things to degenerate Israel. Nay, why might not he also enjoy some direct revelation from God? Such a thing was not at variance with the prevalent philosophy of the time, and was not altogether repudiated by the church. He earnestly desired it, and gave himself more rigorously to fasting, prayer, and meditation. Resulting, as these austerities did, in a state of highly wrought nervous, mental, and devotional excitement, we are not greatly surprised that he should persuade himself that his desire was granted, that he should regard himself as the messenger and prophet of Jehovah, and that strange visions should flit before his disordered fancy, and celestial voices ring in his ears, calling on him to go forward, and denounce the judgments of the Lord, sparing neither people, prince, nor priest. Under the influence of this delusion, by the stimulating effect of his supposed special work and peculiar honour, more than by any study of the art of preaching, his sermons very soon arrested public attention. At first he did not speak as one who had received a special revelation; he reasoned out his conclusions from the Scriptures, especially from God's judicial dealings with Israel. But his strong convictions soon carried him beyond this point, and while ever and again returning to Scripture ground, he distinctly claimed to be a prophet of the Lord. There is no ground for supposing that in doing this he was only bidding for popularity. We grant that he believed it true, though he sometimes did waver, and try to modify and explain his position, and that it gave him, for a time at least, a greater influence over the people. But that herein

he was the victim of a sad delusion, that the course he now entered on was perilous in the extreme, that this monstrous claim detracted seriously from the nobleness of his character as a witness for truth and righteousness, and ultimately recoiled with terrible force on his own head, the subsequent history of his life too plainly attests.

It was at Brescia, in 1486, that he first openly put forth this claim. Entering on the exposition of the Apocalypse, he revelled amid its grand and mysterious imagery. His whole soul was fired with a strong enthusiasm; his countenance, gestures, and language, bore witness to his earnestness. Fearlessly he denounced the sins of Italy; with a voice of thunder he proclaimed that the church must be scourged and regenerated and that quickly. Upon Brescia, in particular, he announced the approach of terrible calamities. Twenty-five years afterwards, when the city was pillaged by the French, and six thousand of the inhabitants slaughtered, the solemn warnings and threatenings of Savonarola were not forgotten. For a few years longer he continued to preach among the cities of Lombardy, and his fame as the greatest preacher of his time was fully established, when at the suggestion of Lorenzo de Medici, his superior recalled him to St Mark's. Thus, fifteen years after he had become a monk, having made full proof of his powers, and being fully aware of his special mission, he finally settled in Florence. No one could have foreseen the nature and extent of the influence which he was destined to exercise there; little did he himself anticipate the career before him, and as little did Lorenzo dream, that in securing this famous preacher, he had brought to the city the most powerful enemy of his house. Leaving him there meanwhile, let us glance briefly at the state of matters in Italy, and especially in Florence, when Savonarola took up his abode in the beautiful Tuscan capital.

Broken up into a great number of petty principalities, the Italian peninsula was the scene of almost ceaseless strife. The reigning princes were effeminate, scheming, tyrannical, and intensely jealous of each other. In some States the forms of republican government were preserved, while the people were borne down by a real despotism. Political life was almost extinct, and the spirit of freedom had nearly disappeared. By splendid pageants and costly entertainments, the rulers sought to dazzle and amuse the people and make them forget their former liberty. In the civil commotions which desolated the country, the popes acted a conspicuous part. They sanctioned conspiracies and assassinations, they provoked ruinous wars, anxious mainly to gratify their ambition and provide principalities for their children and favourites. The Florentine

republic was among the most ancient and important of the Italian States. Not only in extent of territory, but in wealth, commerce, and the liberal arts, it was far ahead of most others. Lorenzo, styled the Magnificent, the third ruler of the house of Medici, had held the reins of government since 1469. Of this prince very different opinions have been formed. In the pages of Roscoe we have a very flattering account of him ; but it is too manifestly one-sided to be accepted without very serious deductions. Undoubtedly he was a talented and accomplished man, and an astute statesman, who secured for Florence a high place in the political dissensions of the peninsula. He was no mean poet and philosopher, he delighted to gather around him the most learned men of Italy, and under his fostering care the Platonic academy attained great fame. While giving him all due honour as a great patron of literature and the arts, it can hardly be questioned that he was a tyrant, and was guilty of many acts of cruelty and oppression. Preserving many of the ancient forms of liberty so dear to the people, he artfully disguised from them the real bondage in which they were held. He led a most profligate life, and by his licentious carnival songs helped to lower the tone of morality already lamentably corrupt. He ruled over a people educated after a manner, and of refined tastes, but in morals sensual, and in matters of religion cold, frivolous, and sceptical. What else could be expected as the fruit of the philosophy which then reigned in Florence ? There were discussions enough regarding the opinions of Plato and Aristotle, but no teaching of godliness. The Bible was an unknown book. In the academy the anniversary of Plato was celebrated as a religious festival, his statue was crowned with laurel, adulatory addresses were delivered, and hymns sung to his honour ; it was even suggested that the Pope should be requested to canonise him. Many a worse name figures in the Roman calendar.

The papacy was about this time in a most deplorable condition. Those who claimed to be the representatives of the meek and lowly Jesus scandalised the world by their pride, arrogance, and impurity. Paul II. seemed to live only to amass wealth ; Sixtus IV. only to squander it in prodigality, carnal pleasures, and efforts to satisfy his licentious nephews. Innocent VIII. obtained the pontificate by the most scandalous bribery. He no longer called the objects of his affection his nephews, but openly acknowledged them as his sons. And when, shortly after Savonarola was settled in Florence, the notorious Borgia ascended the papal throne as Alexander VI., the world, deep sunk in corruption as it was, stood aghast at the spectacle presented by the church. It seemed as if under such a state of things society must be dissolved, and religion be altogether extinguished. There were priests and friars innu-

merable ; prelates rolling in wealth and luxury ; magnificent edifices, gorgeous ceremonies, altars, images, paintings, music—but the preaching of the Cross was forgotten ; piety, faith, love, and holiness, seemed to have forsaken the earth. Lust revelled in the high places of the church ; tyranny was seated on the throne ; ignorance and sensuality marked the priesthood ; paganism was taught in the schools ; frivolity, indifference, and reckless ungodliness prevailed among the people. The age needed a preacher of righteousness, one who, without fear of priest or prince, would lift up his voice like a trumpet against the abominations with which the earth was filled, and such a preacher Savonarola proved himself to be—proved it to his ruin.

When Savonarola resumed preaching, which he did shortly after his return to Florence, he had no reason to complain of the indifference of the people. His first sermons were delivered in the open air, amid the beauty and fragrance of the convent garden. He takes his stand in the chequered shade of a damask rose tree, which the veneration of succeeding generations has renewed to the present day,—a man of no very imposing presence, of middle stature, somewhat slight in frame but firmly knit. His countenance possesses no charm of peculiar comeliness. The lips are somewhat full, but closely pressed together, indicative at once of deep emotion and firmness of purpose. The nose is aquiline. The eyes are dark and lustrous, deep set, and shaded by long dark lashes. The forehead is ample, lofty rather than broad, and already notably furrowed. In repose, his countenance has an expression of melancholy tenderness about it, but it is very mobile, and reflects with rapidity and distinctness the varying and intense emotions of the inner man. At first only a few citizens are present, but the number rapidly increases, and in their anxiety to see and hear this singular man the monks cluster round the convent walls. He has the Book of God in his hand, and is about to expound the Apocalypse. His discourse is by no means methodical ; it is very discursive ; but he is now master of the power of effective speech. His manner and words are, at the beginning, calm, slow, and measured. Then, and occasionally in the course of his address, he perplexes himself and his hearers by scholastic subtleties. Breaking from these trammels, his eye kindles as with full rich voice he vividly narrates some strange vision. It may be that it presents a picture of the blessedness of true religion, its happy influence on men and nations ; then, with affectionate earnestness and winning tenderness, he pleads with men to turn from their evil ways. Or it may relate to the fearful degeneracy of the church, and to the certainty that the righteous wrath of God shall be poured forth ; then, with sparkling eye and quivering lip, his cheeks tinged as with a hectic flush, and with uplifted hand—

a hand so fleshless that it seems almost transparent against the vivid blue of heaven—he gives full vent to the torrent of indignant condemnation, and announces the approaching desolation of Italy and the church. It is a solemn awe-inspiring scene, and the people separate, wondering what sort of man this is. Such oratory they had never heard before ; it violated many of their conventional rules, but they were forced to confess its genuineness, and acknowledge its power. On the 1st of August 1490, he entered the pulpit of St Mark's, and delivered what he himself described as a terrific discourse. He speedily took his place as the foremost preacher in the city. His fervour and fearlessness, his eloquence and weird imaginative power, created a profound impression. His voice fell like a thunder-clap on the mass of cold philosophic scepticism around. For a season Plato and Aristotle were neglected ; the friar and his sermons became the chief topics of conversation. The crowds that attended soon necessitated his removal from the convent church to the Cathedral of Florence, which was fitted up for the accommodation of the vast audience, and from that place he continued for nearly eight years to exercise an immense influence over the people. The enthusiasm created by the preacher was not altogether pleasing to Lorenzo. Though he had not yet touched on political topics, yet it was not hard to see in what direction all his teaching tended. The prince loved not to hear the higher powers in Church and State so openly arraigned before the people for their immorality ; it savoured too strongly of a spirit of manly independence, and he dreaded the effect of such harangues on an excitable and oppressed people. Savonarola disliked Lorenzo on several grounds, and soon shewed that he was neither to be terrified by threats, nor conciliated by flattering attentions. Only he did try to avoid exciting topics, and confine himself to the statement of doctrine, and the enforcement of morality. But it was too much for him. So strongly did he feel the miserable state of the church, and its need of renovation—so firmly persuaded was he that the visions conjured up by an excited imagination were direct revelations from heaven, and that it was his mission to proclaim the coming woes—that when he was in the presence of the people he could not restrain himself. And so he continued week after week to pour forth torrents of bitter satire, and burning invective, and terrific denunciation, mingled with bursts of tender pathos and yearning entreaty, with accounts of visions, dreams, and celestial voices, and with subtle scholastic reasonings. The whole singular harangue he based on Scripture interpreted in such a way as enabled him to find support for any opinion or whimsical conceit. Far from being satisfied with the literal sense of facts and events, or the natural meaning of imagery, parables, or doctrinal statements,

each of these unfolded under his luxuriant fancy into a great variety of meanings, and was capable of manifold applications ; each verse had meanings—natural, literal, analogical, allegorical, and anagogical. He mused on them in his cell, he wrote them on the margin of his Bibles, and poured them forth before the people with amazing fervour, in bewildering profusion, and with the fullest conviction that each and all of these fanciful interpretations was equally authoritative and divine. Indigested as the matter often was, yet, invested with the charm of a natural eloquence, and burning with the force of strong conviction, it carried the people along with him. In 1491 he was made prior of St Mark's, and soon afterwards obtained the erection of the Tuscan convents into a separate congregation, by which he secured greater independence for himself in Florence.

The following instance of his boldness, though questioned in some particulars by the biographer of Lorenzo, yet seems to rest on abundant evidence.* In the spring of 1492, it became evident that Lorenzo's days were near an end. He retired to his villa of Careggi attended only by a few faithful and cherished friends. All the resources of the medical art failed to afford any relief. Death seemed to him very near, and wore a stern and terrible aspect. The last rites of religion were administered, but they brought him no comfort. Accustomed to be implicitly obeyed in all things, mingling with a philosophic and sceptical society, he had almost lost faith in man ; he could not trust even in the sincerity of his confessor. He resolved to send for Savonarola ; he had never cringed. "I know no honest friar but him," said the dying man. Lorenzo had just taken farewell of his son Piero, and his dearest friend the accomplished and gentle Mirandola, when the Prior of St Mark's entered the chamber over which death was hovering. He approached the bed, and the prince expressed a desire to confess three sins to him, and requested absolution. He made confession,—the friar striving to calm the agitated prince by

* "Villari," vol. i. 158-162.—This is the latest and best biography of Savonarola. It is the fruit of many years of patient study and research. The author is evidently master of all the literature connected with his subject, familiar with all the writings of the friar, published and unpublished, as well as with his whole surroundings—social, political, and ecclesiastical. He has discovered several interesting documents, which are turned to good account in illustrating some important points. The result is this able biography, clear in style, well-arranged in its matter, fair and candid in tone, and possessing that amplitude of detail which enables us to form our own estimate of the character and work of the great Dominican preacher.

[On the point to which this note refers, the late Dr M'Crie in his brief but interesting notice of Savonarola, in the Introduction to his History of the Reformation in Italy, agrees with Villari. Till near the close of last century it was never questioned.]

repeating frequently, "God is good, God is merciful;" but this was not absolution. It was now Savonarola's turn to speak, and he said calmly and firmly, "three things are required of you." "And what are they?" said Lorenzo. "First, that you have a full and lively faith in the mercy of God." "That I have most fully," was the reply. "Second, it is necessary that you give back that which you unjustly took away, or enjoin your sons to restore it for you." After some hesitation, he assented by a nod. "Lastly, you must restore liberty to the people of Florence." Terror-stricken by the solemn, commanding look and voice of the friar, but too proud to renounce with his last breath the cherished aim of his life, he turned himself on his bed, and answered not a word. Savonarola soon withdrew, having refused absolution, and Lorenzo breathed his last on the 8th of April 1492.

Meanwhile his fame and influence rapidly extended. His sermons were printed and circulated throughout Italy and far beyond it; and the deplorable state of matters, now that Alexander VI. was Pope, predisposed many serious persons to accept his conclusions, and anticipate approaching woes. Unhappily, Savonarola became more and more the victim of delusion regarding his prophetic character. Coming fresh from the renewed study of the old Hebrew prophets and the Apocalypse, with his mind full of their fearful threatenings and images of woe, the imagination, unnaturally excited, dominated over the judgment, and his waking thoughts gave a vivid colouring to his midnight dreams. When addressing the people, he never hesitated to ascribe these visions to God; but when he sat down calmly to write about them, he betrayed some doubts as to their origin, he wavered in his assertions, and strove, by the aid of scholastic distinctions and sophistries, to vindicate his prophetic character, but never seemed wholly satisfied that he had succeeded. His sermons in Lent 1494 are said to have produced an extraordinary impression, aided probably by the fact that a crisis was approaching in Florence through the growing unpopularity of Piero de Medici. With greater boldness and freedom of speech than ever, Savonarola attacked prevailing abuses, and did not now avoid reference to political matters. In terms glowing with indignation, and startling from their very truthfulness, he denounced the vices of the clergy, and the despotism and immorality of the princes, who were sent of God as a punishment on Italy. As he passed in review the lamentable condition of the people, religion, and the church, his fervent appeal to God to pour forth his judgments rang through the vast edifice, and made the people cower and tremble before him. But his preaching was not wholly denunciatory. Mingling with these awful utterances,

there were expositions of doctrine, in some parts of which there occur statements which seem very like a Scriptural account of the way of salvation by faith in Christ Jesus. He magnified the grace of God, and distinctly abjured all human merit. And all his prophetic declamation and doctrinal statements were accompanied by powerful appeals to the conscience, and earnest entreaties to personal repentance and reformation. In the course of his sermons on Noah's ark, he had repeatedly intimated the speedy appearance of a new Cyrus to deliver the church from her bondage, and that with a mighty army he would traverse Italy from the one end to the other without opposition,—God's chosen instrument to chastise and reform the people, the princes, and the church. Intense was the excitement in Florence when, on 21st September 1494, news arrived that the armies of France were pouring over the Alps, bent, however, not on the liberation of the people, or the reformation of the church, but on the personal aggrandisement of the king, who laid claim to the throne of Naples. It sufficed, however, to raise Savonarola still higher in the estimation of the people, for was not this the Cyrus, and this the beginning of the judgments which he had predicted? Yet it required no prophetic gift to foresee such an event months before it took place. It was no secret that it had been long talked of. The princes and governments of Italy had repeatedly invited the French king to invade the peninsula; and since the accession of the weak and irresolute Charles VIII. these solicitations had been renewed, and at length successfully. It was the beginning of sore calamities to Italy, and caused no small trouble and disappointment to Savonarola.

Partly, no doubt, owing to the preaching of the friar, and not less, perhaps, to the hope of being able to rid themselves of the rule of the Medici, the Florentine people were prepared to welcome the French as friends and allies. Matters were brought to a crisis when the pusillanimous conduct of Piero exposed them to the danger of being treated as enemies. A revolution accordingly took place in Florence, and the Medici were expelled. The French king entered the city in peace on the 17th November, and with some difficulty, a treaty was concluded with the republic. On the 28th, the French left Florence, to the great joy of the inhabitants, who liked their allies the less the more they knew them. The mollifying of Charles's anger before he entered, and the securing of his speedy departure, were both largely owing to the influence of Savonarola, who did not scruple to lecture the king very plainly on his duty as the predicted scourge and reformer of the church, and threatened him with the judgments of God if he declined the task. Freed from the presence of the invaders, there was urgent need

for an immediate reconstruction of the government. The people were perplexed and divided, industry and commerce were at an end, the shops were closed, and the populace, being without employment, were in danger of being carried by any sudden impulse into violent excesses. At this point Savonarola appears in a new character, that of legislator and statesman. The community was divided into different parties: the friar on entering the field of politics took the popular side; and the supremacy of his influence was manifest in the whole course of events, till the new government was fully established. His conduct in this matter has been severely censured by his enemies; and anything of the kind would be unpardonable in our day. Yet it is plain that it was not so much his interfering in politics at all, as that he so strongly and successfully maintained the cause of popular government, that provoked the anger of his adversaries. He never mingled in the discussions of the people; he was never seen among the councillors in the palazzo; yet he was fully informed of every scheme and movement. The pulpit became for a time a tribune, from which he forcibly expounded the principles of government, exposed the purposes of the aristocratic party, and advocated popular rights. He was animated by a strong love of liberty; he claimed divine origin and approval for the reforms which he urged; he spoke as the oracle of God, but was ever ready to furnish adequate reasons for his proposals. The government was organised on a wide popular basis; Savonarola extolled it with great fervour, comparing the steps in its formation to the process of the work of creation. A sort of theocracy seems to have been his ideal. Now that Florence had a good government, it needed only that the fabric be perfected by submission to a new head; for he maintained that the government of *one* is best when it can be obtained without tyranny. "The new chief," he said, "is Jesus Christ, he will be your king." Under his sway, what may not Florence become? rich in all temporal and spiritual good, prosperous in all undertakings, the leaders of reform,—all, if Florence will follow no other king. Hence the party-cry so often heard in coming years, *Viva Christo*; hence the claim to be an ambassador going from the people to this king, which the friar put forth. A coin or medal is said to have been struck at the time, having on one side a cross, with the words, *Jesus Christus noster rex*.

Savonarola had now reached the height of his influence, and for a considerable time maintained almost undisputed sway. The Grand Cathedral of Florence must have presented a magnificent spectacle when the pulpit was occupied by the friar. Day after day it was filled with an immense audience of all classes from the city and surrounding districts. When the

preacher entered, every eye turned eagerly towards him. He was grave and solemn in aspect, as befitted one whose soul bore the burden of the Lord. His body was enfeebled by his labours and vigils. Frequently he introduced his theme in a familiar conversational style, but never coldly or flippantly. He was possessed by his subject, and was troubled with no misgivings regarding the righteousness of the cause which he defended. His thoughts surged up from the depths of his own fervid soul, and found adequate expression in his burning words. According to the character of his subject, his voice fell on the ear in low sweet cadence, or rolled in mighty volume through the vast edifice; his eye melted in tears, or flashed with indignation; his attenuated arms were stretched forth in remonstrance or entreaty, and his whole frame trembled with intense excitement. His very soul seemed to shine through the frail tabernacle in which it dwelt. The pulpit was his throne; and there he wielded a power greater than the Medici had ever possessed. The enthusiasm of the people was extreme. To them he was a divine oracle. The intense excitement of which he was himself the subject, communicated itself to them; his solemn tones, his animated gestures, the recital of his astonishing visions, the startling pictures of approaching woe, the pleasing predictions of rest and prosperity which he glowingly unfolded, together with his touching, fervid appeals, completely carried them away. The sobs and wailings of the vast auditory oft filled the whole house, and those who took down his sermons were sometimes forced to write, "At this point I was so overcome by weeping that I could not go on." And yet in the hour of highest popular enthusiasm he was not lifted up. Times there were when a strong and sad presentiment of his own death, and that a violent one, pressed heavily on his spirit. Thus, having described how he had been led on step by step to his present position, and realising the dangers which he saw gathering around him, he broke forth, "And what is the reward in the present life? The servant will not be greater than his Master, is the answer of our Lord. Thou knowest that after I had taught, I was crucified; and thus thou wilt suffer martyrdom. O Lord, Lord, grant to me this martyrdom, and let me quickly die for thy sake, as thou didst for me! Already I see the axe sharpened. But the Lord says to me, Wait yet a while until that be finished which is to come to pass, and then thou shalt shew that strength of mind which will be given unto thee." This conviction never left him; again and again he refers to it. Was it the consciousness that Rome, when once her attention was directed to his career, would not bear his preaching, and possessed both the power and the will to destroy him, that

gave strength, vividness, and very being to this sad presentiment?

Political reforms, however good, did not satisfy Savonarola. His aim was a moral renovation, better in itself, and essential to the stability of the other. He had already begun in his own convent. He brought the monks back to the original simplicity of their order. The property which had been acquired was renounced; all superfluity in dress, furniture, and books was given up, the prior himself setting the example of rigorous self-denial. He encouraged learning, having purchased the Medicean library for the convent. The lay brethren were employed in useful occupations according to taste and capacity. Idle monks were not to be tolerated in St Mark's. This done, he laboured to bring about a reform of manners among the people. He enforced the necessity of laying aside party feelings and prejudices. He urged them to love and fear God, to repentance and a holy life. He encouraged the study of the Bible, tracing the ignorance, immorality, and corruption which prevailed to the neglect of the sacred oracles. Nor were his efforts without much apparent success. Externally, the whole appearance of the city was changed. The shops were not opened till after the friar's morning sermon; religious chants took the place of lewd songs; women cast aside their immodest dresses, and clothed themselves in becoming attire; licentious young men became sober; alms were freely given; and tradesmen who had become rich through injustice, voluntarily restored what they had thus acquired, sometimes to the extent of thousands of florins. By and by he entered on what he called *the children's reform*. He put an end to the unseemly and wicked practices, including the game of stone-throwing, with which the carnival had been celebrated. Having gathered them together, arranged under leaders, he sent them to beg as usual; and on the last day of the feast they marched through the streets, singing hymns instead of obscene ballads, and deposited the money, which they had been won't to spend in revelry, in the hands of those who dispensed it to the poor.

In a city so noted for its frivolity and gaiety, all this made for Savonarola many bitter enemies. As the ablest advocate and great bulwark of popular liberty, he incurred the anger alike of the aristocracy and the partisans of the Medici. As the fearless denouncer of iniquity, he became the object of hatred to those who were restrained in their immoral courses by his influence, while they detested his doctrines; and especially was he regarded with implacable enmity by the licentious young men of good families, who formed themselves into a party to effect his ruin. He had awakened, too, the jealousy of the other monastic orders in Florence, and they spared no

efforts to destroy his influence. With these various sources of opposition and danger Savonarola was well acquainted, and he set himself bravely to resist them all. If political foes sought to introduce injurious changes, he fearlessly exposed and thwarted them; when Piero de Medici attempted to return to the city, he roused the people to resistance; when the republic was hard pressed by its enemies, his voice revived their drooping spirits, and urged a vigorous prosecution of the war. Statesman, patriot, preacher, reformer, he acted on the whole a fearless, noble, disinterested part, albeit some of his schemes of reform have an air of unreality about them. It soon became manifest, however, that of all his enemies, Rome was most to be dreaded. Alexander VI. was pope, and the different party opposed to Savonarola, combined to turn him against the friar; and it would not require much pressure to induce such a man as Borgia to take up this position. The main interest of the closing years of Savonarola's life depends on that contest with Rome which issued in his death. To this we now chiefly confine attention.

As early as January 1495, the attention of the Pope had been directly called to Savonarola, by a sermon on the renovation of the church. The necessity for such a reform was proved from the notorious facts of the case, from visions granted to himself and others, and from the analogy of Scripture. This sermon produced an order from the Pope, that the prior of St Mark's should preach at Lucca during Lent. For various reasons, this order was withdrawn, and he was permitted to remain in Florence, where his presence was greatly needed. During this year, other three briefs were sent; in one of them he was denounced as a heretic and sower of sedition among the people, and in the third, he was discharged from preaching. All this marked the Pope's growing dislike of the friar, and forcibly directed Savonarola's attention to a subject on which he had hitherto bestowed little thought, and led to those clear convictions and strong utterances regarding papal authority which henceforth characterised his preaching. The difficulties of his position rapidly increased. He had not only to contend with political adversaries who desired the extinction of Florentine liberty, but he felt that he was now engaged in an unavoidable life and death conflict with the corrupt head of a corrupt church. He was content to maintain his cause, and abide the issue. Yet as his mind was not fully made up on the question, and anxious to avoid every cause of scandal, he resolved to abstain from preaching till he should obtain sanction from Rome; nor had he at this time very long to wait before it was obtained for him.

Meanwhile, he busied himself with other matters, in writing

letters to his friends, and in composing some of his smaller works. About this period, the Pope submitted the writings of Savonarola to a learned Dominican bishop, who, in his report, declared that he could not find anything heretical in them. He advised the Pope to make the prior of St Mark's his friend, and on a suitable occasion, to offer him a cardinal's hat. Rome can bribe as well as threaten, but neither would avail in this instance. After a few months' silence, Savonarola was permitted to resume preaching. The Pope offered him the dignity of a cardinal on condition that he would alter the tone of his sermons. Indignant at the scandalous proposal, he only replied to him who brought it, "Come to my next sermon, and you shall have the answer I send to Rome." The answer was a refusal, and fresh denunciation of Rome's iniquity, "I will have no hat but one dyed with my blood." And the tenor of his preaching did not change, but his position was altered. He had bid defiance to Rome, he must now vindicate his doctrine, and defend his position. He was prepared manfully, fearlessly, to do so. He maintained his soundness in the faith, yet strongly asserted the rights of the individual reason and conscience, and rejected blind submission to the orders of a superior: "When it clearly appears that the commands of our superiors are contrary to those of God, and especially to what charity demands, no one in such a case ought to obey them." One of his sermons preached at this time, greatly provoked the Pope, and offended some of the Italian princes, who imagined that they were personally referred to, and held up to the scorn of the people. It was placed on the *Roman Index*. Controversy waxed hotter at Florence. His enemies charged him with being heretic, false prophet, and tyrant, with dictating the laws, and ruling Florence with despotic sway, under the pretence of acting under divine inspiration. Against these charges, his followers, whose devotion had culminated in sheer fanaticism, zealously defended him. His personal safety was endangered, and it was needful to escort him with an armed band to and from the cathedral.

The Pope did not conceal his anger. In September 1496, he despatched a brief to the friars of St Mark's, in which he described Savonarola's prophetic claims as insanity, recalled his own clement dealings with the prior, ordered the re-union of St Mark's with the Lombard congregation, and prohibited Savonarola from preaching in public or in private. To this mandate the latter distinctly refused obedience, and assigned his reasons in a letter to his Holiness. The proposed union was not pressed, still he was required to abstain from preaching, that he might have time to care for his spiritual health. The hollowness of this reason was apparent, but distracted

between the claims of the people and the fear of causing scandal in the church, Savonarola resolved thus far to obey. But his silence did not continue long. The affairs of Florence were in a very embarrassed condition. The French alliance had plunged the republic into conflicts with the neighbouring states. Pisa had revolted, and the war against it made little progress. Leghorn was besieged, and the Pope's army was on the frontier. The city was torn by contending factions; the people were greatly disheartened; enemies were asking, Where is the prosperity which the friar promised to Florence? and to crown all, famine and pestilence were desolating the country. In these circumstances, Savonarola, at the request of the magistrates, again mounted the pulpit, and succeeded in imparting fresh vigour and hope to the people. But, in doing so, he had disobeyed the papal injunction, and his Holiness speedily shewed that he at least was not indifferent to that. Accordingly, in November, another brief was sent, addressed to all the Dominicans in Tuscany, commanding the union of all the convents of that order with the Roman, in a new congregation, the Tusco-Romano, with the Cardinal of Naples at its head. But neither to this would the dauntless friar agree; he saw that its design was to weaken his influence, and accomplish his removal, and he resolved to maintain the independence of St Mark's, in spite of threats and excommunication too. So he continued to preach with increasing boldness and deepening solemnity, withal clearly discerning that his contest with Rome had assumed such a phase, that reconciliation was impossible.

The carnival of 1497 came round, and the prior and his followers proceeded to greater extremes of fanatical excitement than ever. The children were sent through the city to collect *vanities*, gay dresses, pictures, statues, &c., everything which could be supposed to be offensive to the ascetic morality of St Mark's. They knocked at every door with the message, *Vanities, or the Anathema*. On the last day of the festival, a pile of combustibles was erected in the great square, and around it was arranged a vast quantity of *vanities*. At a given signal, the torch was applied, and the whole was speedily destroyed, amid the singing of the children, the shouts of the people, and the trumpets of the signory. This was called a religious service, an act of piety—to most it will seem rather a burlesque on religion; it only substituted a sort of religious revelry for that which usually distinguished the carnival; it aimed at weakening sensuality by fostering fanaticism. It was most unwise; it strengthened the reaction which had already begun, and gave occasion to many grievous charges against Savonarola, as the enemy of learning and the fine arts.

During Lent, he continued his sermons in spite of papal prohibition, and the threatened excommunication. More than ever, Rome in her luxury, pride, and ungodliness, was the object of assault; for with Rome unreformed, he could have no peace. Fearlessly he denounced her as the harlot church, flagrantly immoral, rotten to the core, corrupted and enfeebled by her wealth and temporalities. Gladly, so he affirmed, would he lead the way in that renovation, by scourging, which was certainly approaching. What though the excommunication should be sent, he would give an answer to it which would make many turn pale and tremble. He was as undaunted as ever, but his influence was now on the decline, and certain changes in the great council gave his enemies greater power to injure him. On May 4th, being Ascension day, while he was preaching in the cathedral, his most violent enemies, the Conpugnacci, created a tumult, and in the confusion, endeavoured to murder him; but his friends gathered around him, and bore him in triumph to St Mark's, with the old and impious cry, *Viva Christo*. Savonarola immediately wrote an account of the affair to the Pope in order to anticipate exaggerated reports. But it was to no purpose. On the 12th May 1497, the decisive step was taken. The sentence of excommunication was launched against Savonarola, and he was cast out of the church as one disobedient to apostolic admonitions and commands, and suspected of heresy. After some delay, it was published with great solemnity in the cathedral in the presence of the monks of all orders except the Dominicans. How the friar treated this sentence will be seen immediately, but its influence on the people appeared at once. As in a moment, the spell was broken, and profligate manners began to revive. A vast number of sonnets and ballads, insulting the friar's doctrine, and breathing a licentious spirit, were published. The monks were disturbed in their services by singing, shouting, and throwing stones. The churches were emptied, the taverns were filled, and indecent dresses, ornaments, and revelry became as rife as ever. It was painfully evident that the outward morality which had prevailed, sprang from no radical change in the people, but had been originated and maintained solely by Savonarola's personal influence. Now he was silenced and laid under excommunication by the head of the church. His friends made strenuous efforts to have the sentence recalled, but enemies were equally busy, and with greater success, in inflaming the Pope's anger against him. Nor would the letter which Savonarola wrote on the occasion of the murder of the Pope's son by his own brother, tend to mitigate it. It was meant to be one of condolence, but it reads rather like a solemn rebuke for his

wicked life, and an exhortation to repentance. And so matters continued for some months. During this time the prior of St Mark's was not idle. He was occupied in the composition of his principal work, "*On the Triumph of the Cross*," which he designed to be an answer to all who accused him of having erred from the received doctrines of the church. It is a compact and able treatise in defence of the Christian religion. He rests nothing on mere authority, but sustains every point by reasoning. It does not enter largely upon what may be called distinctive papal doctrines, but in so far as it does, it is in harmony with Romish teaching in its more moderate form. Many statements in it would be rejected by extreme theologians of that church, but as a whole, it could not be prohibited.

Wearied by his long silence, Savonarola, excommunicated as he was, administered the sacrament, and, at the request of the magistrates, resumed preaching in the cathedral, and afterwards at St Mark's, during Lent, 1498. This was his last course of sermons, and not the least remarkable of his wonderful orations. Placed under the ban of the church, he flinched not from the full reassertion of his convictions. Anew he arraigns prelates and priests at the bar of God's Word; anew he hurls terrible denunciations against an apostate church. As confidently as ever, he holds that he has been doing the work of God. No power on earth will make him retract. If all the world should be against him, he would stand firm, for his doctrine was from God. Filled with a blind faith in the supernatural, he expected some miraculous attestation of his doctrine. On the last day of the carnival, which was closed with another *bonfire of vanities*, standing before the people with the sacrament in his hands, he uttered these awful words, "O Lord, if I do not act with sincerity of mind, if my words come not from Thee, strike me dead this very moment!" From the circumstances in which he was placed, papal authority and the excommunication were principal topics of discourse. The latter he declared to be invalid, and he was not bound by Christ's authority to submit to it. It was contrary to truth and charity, and he that issued such a brief was himself worthy of excommunication. It was called forth by hatred of doctrine, good morals, and liberty, therefore it came from the devil. In issuing such a brief he was no longer pope, but a man and a sinner; no more the instrument of the Lord, but forsaken of God, a broken rod of iron. The preacher held that he was bound to consider whether the commands of his superiors were in harmony with the Word of God; if they were not, then he was bound in conscience to refuse submission. All this was understood at Rome to mean that he acknowledged no authority over him, but God and his own conscience. It was no new

doctrine in the Romish church, but was very unpalatable to Alexander VI. Savonarola believed that the election of this Pope was null, and he expressed his earnest desire to see a General Council assembled to consider this and other pressing matters. In his view a council was above the Pope. Soon after, he prepared letters to the principal sovereigns of Europe urging them to take steps to have a Council convened. One of these missives fell into the hands of the Pope, and greatly exasperated him. He addressed several threatening letters to the magistrates, commanding them to silence that son of iniquity, disseminator of pernicious doctrine, and despiser of papal authority, Girolamo Savonarola. In vain the magistrates pleaded the good that Savonarola had done to Florence, his zeal and soundness in the faith and purity of life. His Holiness was inexorable. Could he shew favour to one that threatened him with a General Council, that spoke of his brief as proceeding from the devil? He threatened to lay the city under an interdict, and otherwise injure its interests unless they entirely prohibited his preaching, and sent him to Rome. For some time Savonarola had foreseen the issue, and now he addressed a letter to the Pope, in which, after expressing his disappointment at the course pursued by the Pontiff, he says, "I can thus no longer hope in your Holiness, but must turn to Christ alone, who chooses the weak of this world to confound the strong lions among the perverse generations. He will assist me to prove and sustain, in the face of the world, the holiness of the work for whose sake I so greatly suffer, and He will inflict a just punishment on those who persecute me and would impede its progress. As for myself, I seek no earthly glory, but long eagerly for death. May your Holiness no longer delay, but look to your salvation." On the 17th March the magistrates issued the desired edict, forbidding the friar to preach, and on the following day he entered the pulpit of the cathedral for the last time. It was a sad and solemn occasion. For eight years he had laboured for the good of Florence, and this was his recompense. It seemed as if he had spent his strength for nought and in vain. The hour of trial was come, and bravely and alone he met it.

Events now hastened rapidly to an issue. Popular feeling had decidedly turned against Savonarola, and the failure of the ordeal of fire a few weeks later gave the finishing blow to his influence. It originated not, as has been said, with the followers of the friar, but with a Franciscan who, in his zeal against Savonarola, declared himself ready to pass through the fire in confirmation of the truth of the charges he made, provided one of the opposite party would submit to the same trial. The Prior of St Mark's had led the people to expect

some miraculous attestation of his claims, but now he hesitated and declined this test. One of his most devoted followers could not be deterred from accepting the challenge, and he was enthusiastically joined by most of his brother monks. Savonarola had to submit, foolishly imagining that such resolute determination must be from God. So it was arranged that Domenico should take the place of his master, and Rondinelli, another Franciscan, that of the original challenger. On the 7th April, a vast crowd assembled to witness the spectacle, swayed by varying emotions, but all wrought up to a high pitch of excitement. The Franciscan and his friends were in close conference with the magistrates. He shrank from the actual trial; possibly it never was intended that he should be called to submit to it. One objection after another was started. Perhaps Savonarola had charmed his follower's dress; it was laid aside for one belonging to the opposite party. Domenico must not enter the fire with the cross in his hand, and he gave it up; nor with the sacred host, but this he will not part with. There was discussion in the council; there was scholastic wrangling among the monks. The people gave signs of impatience, which was not lessened by a sudden, drenching shower of rain. After some hours' delay, the magistrates issued an order forbidding the ordeal altogether. So far, the purpose of Savonarola's enemies was attained; the people dispersed in the worst possible humour. Why did not the friar, who had ever been talking of a miracle, enter the fire alone, and thus confound his detractors? The whole blame was laid on him, and it was with difficulty that he reached the convent in safety. His enemies were elated; they taunted him as a discovered impostor, a false prophet; and letters from Rome praised those who had thus exposed him.

The following day being Palm Sunday, the prior delivered a discourse at St Mark's, and in deep sadness took farewell of the people. Ere the vesper services were ended, a furious mob reached the convent, the gates of which, and of the church, were instantly barred; then began the assault. Anticipating this, some of the friar's friends had, unknown to him, provided a small supply of arms, and now remained to defend the place. Some of the monks also took up arms, and ran through the cloisters shouting their old cry, *Viva Christo*. Savonarola, anxious to prevent bloodshed, offered to surrender, but his friends would not hear of it. The signory sent their guard to assist in the assault, commanded all within the convent to lay down their arms, and pronounced all those to be rebels who did not withdraw within an hour. The clang of arms and the sound of musketry rang through the building, the cloisters resounded with the cries of the combatants, and the groans of

the wounded and dying. Fire was set to the door, and burst into the church, and ere long the assailants were masters of the place. Savonarola took the host in his hand, and, ordering all to follow him, passed into the Greek library, where he gave his final testimony: "My sons, in the presence of God, standing before the sacred host, and with my enemies already in the convent, I now confirm my doctrine. What I have said came to me from God, and He is my witness in heaven that what I say is true. I little thought that the whole city would so soon have turned against me, but God's will be done." Having received a promise of protection to his person, he surrendered himself. Accompanied by Domenico, whom, along with another friar who was shortly after found, the signory had demanded, he passed without the convent gates. Nothing could exceed the furious joy of the mob when they saw him. Holding up their lanterns they cried in mockery, "This is the true light." They struck him on the face with their flambeaux, they beat him, they twisted his fingers, and insultingly asked, "Prophecy who it was that beat you." Only by crossing their arms and shields over him could the guard prevent the mob from tearing him in pieces. How terrible the change that a few months had wrought. In the gloom and silence of his prison cell, Savonarola had time to recal the strange events of the day, and prepare for those severe trials which he had so long anticipated, and which were now so close at hand.

Instant preparations were made for his trial. The Pope wished him sent to Rome, but this the magistracy would not agree to. They appointed a special commission which included many of his bitterest enemies. A fair trial could not be expected, but as he was no longer a popular favourite, they might do what they pleased with perfect safety. His examination by this commission lasted from the 11th till the 22d of April. During this period he was repeatedly subjected to excruciating tortures, which had a terrible effect on a frame naturally delicate and sensitive, and rendered more so by his monastic rigour and abundant labours. When examined as to his doctrine, he stood firm, maintaining what he had preached to be in entire harmony with catholic faith. On the subject of politics he was equally steadfast. He denied having obtained State secrets through the confessional. His sole aim had been to aid in the formation and defence of a free government. Only when questioned as to his prophetic claims did he waver. On this point he was something of a monomaniac. Start it, whether in the pulpit or before his judges, and he seems no more amenable to sound reasoning. He boldly affirms his claim, and under torture denies it. Set free, he reasserts it, and labours, by allegories and illustrations, to vindicate it, but

only succeeds in losing himself and bewildering his hearers. Notwithstanding, his adversaries failed to obtain what they desired, and actually falsified the record of his examination, that it might seem to tell against their victim.

While in prison, Savonarola occupied himself in writing a commentary on the thirty-first and fifty-first Psalms, which formerly he had passed over, reserving them in all their fullness of consolation for this trying hour. In this, his latest composition, his humility and entire self-renunciation, his simple and joyful reliance on the merits of the Saviour, are more manifest than ever. Luther republished the treatise, though not approving of it entirely, as a testimony in favour of the doctrine of justification by faith. Savonarola had need of all the strength which meditation on these high themes could afford. His troubles were not yet over. By and bye papal commissioners arrived. They were bent on his destruction, and boasted that they would make a famous blaze. Examinations by torture followed with much the same result as before. It came to this, that his ecclesiastical judges, without giving definite statements, condemned him as a heretic and schismatic, a disturber of the peace, an enemy of the true church, one not worthy to live. His two friends were condemned along with him. An effort was made to save one of them; but on its being represented that he would preserve his master's doctrine, one of the commissioners said, "A vile friar more or less, what does it signify? let him die." Savonarola listened to his sentence with perfect composure; it did not find him unprepared.

On the 23d May 1498 a scaffold was erected over a pile of combustibles in the great square, where the bonfire of vanities had been consumed, and the ordeal was to have taken place. A vast crowd gathered round it, and a solemn stillness reigned. He who was so recently the idol of the people, was about to be sacrificed to gratify the hatred of the Pope and of the enemies of popular government. The first step was the degradation of the friars. This was done by the Bishop of Visano. Greatly agitated he took Savonarola by the arm and said, "I separate thee from the church militant and triumphant." "Militant, not triumphant, yours is not," calmly interposed the other. They were then handed over to the secular power, and condemned to be hanged and their bodies afterwards burnt. They were taken to the foot of the gibbet, the rude mob insulting them in most offensive language. One person, moved with compassion, whispered words of comfort; Savonarola answered, "In the last hour God alone can bring comfort to mortal man." A friend asked, "In what state of mind do you endure this martyrdom?" He replied, "The Lord has suffered as much for me." These were his last words. His two companions

suffered first. Savonarola calmly surveyed the vast crowd; the stillness was awful. One voice alone was raised, "Prophet, now is the time for a miracle." The executioner did his work, and the spirit of this singular man passed away. The pile was lighted; for a moment the wind swayed the flames away from the bodies, and a faint cry arose, "A miracle!" The ropes that bound the prior's hands were burned, and the heat caused them to move slightly; to his devoted followers it seemed as if he were about to raise his hands and bless them. Varied were the feelings that animated the assemblage in that solemn hour. Deep was the grief of many, and eager were their efforts to obtain some relic of their revered teacher. Ladies, disguised as servants, mingled for this purpose with the rude mob around the scaffold. But even this could not be permitted; might not his very ashes have a charm in them? and so they were gathered up and thrown into the Arno. But there was joy among the friends of tyranny and patrons of immorality, for now the great hindrance to a return to their old ways was removed. There was joy in the palace of the Vatican, for a dreaded enemy has perished. May we not well hope, that there was joy in heaven as these souls, coming out of great tribulation, having washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb, entered the mansions of bliss for ever beyond the reach of human rage and the malice of devils?

Thus perished, at the age of forty-six, this remarkable man, worthy, notwithstanding the notable defects in his character, of being held in honourable remembrance. We are bound to judge of him in the light of his own age, and of the circumstances in which he was placed; and viewed thus, he is entitled to no mean place. His natural gifts were of a high order, and they were well cultivated after the manner of his own day. He was not the barbarian that some would represent him to have been, one who hated learning, and could find no pleasure in the arts. Abused learning he did condemn,—the substitution of philosophy for the Bible, of the fine arts for Christian culture. Learning and arts divorced from religion he did not encourage; when made the ministers of licentiousness, he fearlessly denounced them,—and hence his sanction of the bonfire of vanities. But when pursued in a Christian spirit, in a right relation to revealed truth, he did not frown upon but foster them. He was himself a philosopher and a poet, though his later years were too much engrossed with sterner work to admit of much attention being given to these. It was through his influence too that the splendid Medicean Library was preserved from being utterly lost.

That he was a man of singularly pure life has never been

called in question. From the vices of the age, and the impurities which stained the great body of the Romish priesthood, he kept himself free. The great characteristic of his preaching was his utter detestation of sin,—his soul shrunk from it,—he unsparingly denounced it wheresoever it was found. His great aim was the revival of morality ; he devoted all his energy to resist and drive back the strong torrent of evil which was desolating the world. As a preacher of righteousness, he stood without rival in his day. The century produced better theologians, men such as Wesel and Wessel, who understood and taught more fully the doctrines of salvation by faith in Christ. But none since the days of Huss exposed with such unsparing severity the enormous iniquities of the times, and the fearful corruptions of the church. He felt that this was his vocation ; and from its prosecution no danger could deter him, no opposition turn him aside. The morality which he practised, and the reform after which he aimed, were doubtless in some measure tinged with asceticism. In all the work to which he so vigorously set himself, he never wholly threw off the spirit of the cloister ; it hung around him as certainly as the monkish dress he wore.

We cannot refuse to acknowledge the directness and singleness of his aim. He was no schemer for personal aggrandisement. Had he sought honour and worldly ease, he might have been a prince of the church. In the church, as it then existed, he would occupy no other position than that of a preacher. He was ambitious, in one sense, but it was an ambition that sprang from the very singleness and intensity of his life-aim. He coveted the honour of inaugurating a moral reform ; he declared himself ready to plead the cause of God and truth and righteousness before the congregated authorities of Christendom, and to head the crusade against the abominations of Rome. The great aim of his life was to roll back the dark flood of iniquity, to raise the people from their debasement, ignorance, and immorality, to cast down from their lofty station the proud and shameless rulers of the church, to bring men back to the practice of a holy life, to obtain pastors and doctors who would cease to be the retailers of heathen philosophy, who would feed men with the word of God, and live more as worthy ensamples to the flock,—in one word, to secure an internal moral reform, accomplished by the church itself. In his writings and preaching, in his advocacy of civil liberty, this was still his ultimate aim. Yet with all his hatred of abounding evils, his love of righteousness, and desire of reform, he did not penetrate to the root of the evils that oppressed the church. He looked at it too exclusively as a question of discipline and morals, and overlooked the connection of these with

Christian doctrine. He sought to infuse new life into the church, and yet left untouched many of those principles and practices which had crushed out its life. Still it was no mean, selfish, unworthy object which he strove to attain even at the cost of life.

We are not careful to deny that he may justly be spoken of as a religious enthusiast. Naturally of a highly excitable temperament, his ascetic life, his protracted devotions and meditations, gave impulse to his fancy, and too often and too largely it dominated over his judgment. He lived under a vivid sense of nearness to God—communion with the Unseen was to him a solemn reality. But he was an enthusiast when he imagined that God spoke to him by dreams, and visions, and celestial voices, pointing out the path of duty, or approving of the course which he pursued, when he claimed that his words and his works were, in a special sense, those of God; and when, in the assertion of prophetic gifts, he virtually placed himself on a level with the old Hebrew seers. The manner in which he introduced the name of the Saviour as the peculiar King of Florence, and his offer to go to him as special ambassador, can hardly be otherwise characterised than as profane. He cherished the expectation of some supernatural interposition for the confirmation of his doctrine and claims; he taught the people to look for it, and the hope of it encouraged him to sanction, though unwillingly at first, the ordeal of fire. And this religious enthusiasm was associated in him, as with others of the class, with a degree of vanity and boastfulness which never shewed itself in the true prophets of the Lord. He gloried in his assumed position and claims, he longed for the opportunity of bidding defiance to the Pope, by whom these were challenged, and seemed ardently to covet martyrdom. And yet withal, he was a brave and noble man, who quailed not before the terrible issue which he clearly anticipated.

Of his doctrinal position it is not necessary to say much. During his whole life, Savonarola maintained that his doctrine was in harmony with the teaching of the church, and that he had no intention of departing from her communion. He declared that many eminent doctors had taught even more strongly the same truths which he preached, and without any censure. In confirmation of this is the fact, that no distinct charge was brought against him during his life,—the papal excommunication spake only in general terms of his being suspected of heresy. For a little while only were his works placed on the *Index*,—with the exception of his book on Prophecy, and a few sermons, their publication was sanctioned. This is not at variance with another fact, that many sentiments and opinions to which he gave utterance, are very similar to

those afterwards set forth with such power by Luther. That he held the doctrine of salvation wholly by grace,—that he often spoke slightly of ceremonies, and declared that their increase was the sign of a decaying church, that good works have no merit whatever, and are performed through grace alone, and that he maintained the supreme authority of Scripture, and the right of private judgment,—shew how far his opinions were in sympathy with those of Protestants. That he held such opinions in some measure inconsistently, that he did not recognise their opposition to the whole genius of the papal system, nor carry them out to their proper application, is true. It is also to be borne in mind, that while the spirit and practice of the church were opposed to such doctrines, yet they had not then received anything like formal condemnation; and Savonarola declared himself ready to submit to the authority of the church, even though he refused to acknowledge the Pope to be the infallible repository of that authority. Long after his day, some of the leading doctrines of grace were held firmly by men, such as Cardinal Pole, who were high in office in the Romish Church.

Why, then, did the Pope so intensely dislike the great Dominican preacher, that he could not rest till he had brought him to the scaffold? The answer may be given in a few sentences. We would not exclude, in the first place, Savonarola's ardent love of civil liberty. He was the great obstacle to the restoration of the Medici and of tyranny. Such devotion to liberty Rome does not love. Then there was his scathing exposure of the corruption of the clergy, from the highest to the lowest. Savonarola specifies this as a main reason why the Pope disliked him. The contrast which he was wont to draw between the priests and prelates of his own day, and those of early times, was too trenchant and true to be palatable. Again, his mode of speech towards the Pope personally, must have been very distasteful. In the friar's view, he was no true Pope, only a broken rod of iron, a man, a sinner stained with gross immoralities. Further, his opinions regarding papal authority must have been very offensive. He held it up to contempt—set limits to it—placed it in subordination to a council. This view has been largely maintained within the Romish Church, but the popes do not favour it, as witness the present so-called Œcumenical Council. Then Savonarola openly defied his authority; he trampled under foot the papal excommunication, characterising it in no gentle terms. This open disobedience was an offence which Rome never fails to avenge when she has the power. And not least displeasing must have been the general tone and tendency of his teaching. It savoured too strongly of a manly, independent spirit, which

should it become general, would overturn the papacy to its foundations. He boldly maintained the rights of individual reason and conscience. He asserted his right and duty to bring the commands of his superiors to the test of Scripture, for that was his ultimate standard. His principal work is distinguished by an entire absence of appeal to human authority. He put conscience above the commands of the Pope, subjecting it to God's Word alone. The ground which he assumed in his opposition to the Pope, would equally have served him against the claims of a council, and would doubtless have been so employed had it decreed contrary to his convictions of truth and right. Surely in all this, done and spoken openly, enforced with all his impassioned earnestness and power, there is sufficient to account for his condemnation. He was dangerous to the peace of Rome. His bold and fervid utterances were heard, not only throughout Italy, but Europe, and tended to increase the discontent, and intensify the disgust which already widely prevailed on account of the scandalous conduct of the clergy. Savonarola was a warning prophet in the ears of Rome. His sin was not that he pretended to have received revelations from God,—for Rome was not averse to having a few prophets or prophetesses, if only they will speak according to her mind,—but that his prophetic utterances were so uniformly condemnatory of her. His labours and writings were a prophecy of hope to the world and the church. His failure served to shew that not from within could the foulness of Rome be cleansed,—that if religion is to spread and triumph, as he believed it would, it must be by those who love it coming out of the mystical Babylon. It was another step preparatory to a reformation, greater and better by far than the great Dominican ever contemplated, a reformation in which Italy,—the leader in the great revival of letters, the pioneer of modern civilisation, whose poetic sons had most loudly denounced the crimson sins of Rome,—should not occupy the first place. From the northern land a voice would, in due time, be heard, equally solemn, and vastly more powerful and distinct,—a voice that would shake the throne of the Vatican, and arouse the slumbering nations, and which would give permanent shape to the nascent discontent by an open revolt from Rome. The renovation sought by Savonarola was an abortion,—that in which Luther was honoured to occupy so distinguished a place, based on clearer, firmer, broader ground, became a glorious fact. The former thought to have civil liberty and pure religion under the wing of Rome, the latter, by God's blessing, emancipated religion, and laid the foundation of lasting freedom, by renouncing allegiance to the papacy. Yet, imperfect as were Savonarola's conceptions and aims, to these he was a

martyr. In his life and in his death he was a witness against the wickedness and usurpations of the Roman antichrist; a witness for truth, righteousness, and spiritual religion, for political liberty, for the rights of conscience, and the supreme authority of the Word of God.

M. H.

ART. VI.—*The Church and the Age.*

The Church and the Age: Essays on the Principles and Present Position of the Anglican Church. Edited by ARCHIBALD WEIR, D.C.L., Vicar of Forty Hill, Enfield, and WILLIAM DALEYMPLE MACLAGAN, M.A., Rector of Newington, Surrey. John Murray, London. 1870.

ONE of the questions that seems to be practically coming up from many different quarters in the present day, requiring a clear understanding and sound decision, is that of the true nature of the church of Christ, and the principles by which it ought to be governed. Almost every section of Christendom is at present led or forced to reconsider the position that it occupies, and the grounds on which that position may be justified. The Church of Rome on the one hand has to deal with such questions in her so-called (Ecumenical Council; the Presbyterian Churches in Scotland, on the other hand, must fairly face them in order worthily to dispose of the proposal for Union either one way or the other; while the Church of England, which occupies a dubious, if not a middle position, is distracted by wider and more radical differences than either of them. There have been times in the history of the Church, when its various parts have been able to go on quietly, holding their once fixed relations one to another as definitely settled, and following each its own traditional course of action, without direct or fresh inquiry into the principles of their position or policy. In such circumstances, there is ever a danger of ecclesiastical bodies drifting gradually and imperceptibly away from their original anchorage, and coming to hold positions which must be justified, if justifiable at all, by very different principles from those maintained at first. It is well, therefore, that circumstances occasionally arise which compel all thinking men to look beneath the mere outside form and appearance of things, which are often so deceptive, and to penetrate to the real truth that lies beneath. This seems to be specially needful in the present times; and any thinkers who give a clear

view of the ultimate questions that underlie those on the surface, may do us a signal service, even by the statement of views diametrically opposed to our own. This merit the volume of essays before us possesses ; and it is chiefly because it brings out, in a clear and decided way, the radical principles of a certain powerful section of the Church, that we think it may be interesting and useful to direct attention to it. We do not mean to attempt any literary criticism, such as the work would deserve, nor to point out to our readers the various characteristics and excellences of its several parts. Suffice it to assure them, that they will find the various important and interesting topics taken up in the several essays, discussed in a manner worthy of the subject and of the authors' names, with various kinds and degrees of excellence, but on the whole with much learning and ability. We propose simply to consider some of the principles of the section of the Church to which the writers belong, that are brought out with some distinctness in this volume. Nor is it necessary in order to do so, to discuss the question, so much vexed of late, as to the responsibility of the several contributors to such a volume for each other's views. We shall not ascribe the opinions advanced in any of these essays to any other than its own author, or suppose that all the writers ought to be held as concurring in everything contained in the book. Indeed, there are some points on which they decidedly express different opinions. But we cannot read their joint production attentively, without perceiving that there is a certain consistency in it, and that certain fundamental principles, which they all hold in common, are maintained throughout with more or less clearness and strength. From the nature of the case, there is a much greater amount of harmony spontaneously appearing among those who hold definite and positive views, than among the followers of a system, if system it can be called, of vague latitudinarianism or mere negation.

The writers of these essays belong to the school of opinion that is generally known as the High Church party, and their essays indicate, with considerable distinctness, the principles that are held by the ablest and most distinguished men of that section of the English Church. The Introduction of the volume, by Dean Hook, treats of Anglican Principles, and in it he explains "that the bond of union among the writers is a determination to abide by those principles which have distinguished the English from all other Reformers, from the reign of Henry VIII. to the time of the Revolution, since which time the Church of England has remained stationary" (p. 10). He then proceeds to remind us that the English Reformation was not one revolutionary act, but a series of events, covering

the space of a century and a half; and he assumes that, during all that period, the Church of England was providentially guided in accordance with the same principles. Now, it seems to us, that at different times between the breach with Rome and the Revolution, the English Church has acted in very varying ways, and that the changes in its doctrine and ritual towards the latter part of that time have been very much for the worse. But into that question we do not mean at present to enter. Let us see what are, in Dean Hook's estimation, Anglican principles. The first relates to the continuity of the Church: "a belief that the post-Reformation is only a development of the pre-Reformation church, was the distinguishing point between the English and the foreign Reformers" (p. 12). Luther, Zwingle, and Calvin are not, according to him, in strictness of speech, entitled to the name of Reformers; they were the founders of sects, and what they effected was not reformation but revolution. Now, undoubtedly, these great men did something more decisive in the way of separating from the Romish Church than Dean Hook supposes the English Reformers to have done. They protested against, and attempted to reform the corruptions of the pre-Reformation Church; but, finding that the rulers of that church not only refused the reforms they craved, but met their protests by anathemas and persecution, they considered it necessary to make a secession from a body that was incurably corrupt, on account of its heresy in doctrine, idolatry in worship, and tyranny in government, and to form purer independent communions. But these reformed communions were not on that account mere sects, *i.e.*, associations arbitrarily formed by men's will; for certainly, in the mind and purpose of their formers, they were founded on the authority of Christ speaking through his Word, and, therefore, are as much entitled to be called churches, and branches of the true Church catholic, as any others; at least if we take the definition of the church given in the Thirty-nine Articles, as "a congregation of faithful men, in the which the pure Word of God is preached, and the sacraments be duly ministered according to Christ's ordinance in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same." If some of the foreign Reformers went further than the Church of England in the way of removing from religion the accretions that had grown up around it in the course of ages, and reducing its forms and organisation to a more bare simplicity, it was not merely because they personally preferred such austerity that they did so, but because, taking the New Testament Church for their model, they considered that such was its form and constitution. In so doing, Anglicans may think they went too far, and made too radical and sweeping changes;

but it is unwarrantable to speak of this as anything more than an error, if error it be, in the application of a principle, on which all the Reformers alike acted. If Dean Hook means to assert that the Anglican Church rests upon any principle essentially different from this, he removes it from the foundation of the Protestant churches altogether, for he thus virtually repudiates the principle that the Bible, and the Bible alone, is the religion of Protestants.

Indeed, this is done more than virtually when there is laid down as another great Anglican principle, "deference to old catholic doctors" (p. 21 foll.). To shew that this is a principle of the Church of England, Dean Hook quotes a number of statutes and official declarations, in which the Reformed Church is spoken of as catholic, and the early fathers and councils are appealed to as well as the Bible. As far as these official statements are concerned, they may quite fairly be understood simply as asserting, as a matter of fact, that the Protestant doctrine was in accordance with the old catholic doctors as well as with Scripture; and this, as Dean Goode has shewn in his valuable work on the Rule of Faith, is all that is proved by a great number of the passages confidently alleged by tractarians as evidence of their theory of tradition. But undoubtedly the extracts given with approbation from Bishop Cheney (p. 23) do go much further than that, and set up catholic and universal consent as the rule for the understanding of Scripture. Dr Hook goes on elaborately to explain that the reason why deference is to be shewn to the early fathers, is that they are to be regarded as witnesses of the oral teaching of the apostles; and that this is needful, not indeed to supplement, but to interpret the teaching of Scripture; that the bishops at the first four general councils met, not to argue or discuss, but simply to bear witness to the faith of their respective churches; and that an ecclesiastical tradition existed in the ancient church, deference to which made the distinction between catholics and heretics. We cannot here enter into a discussion of the passages in the fathers to which he refers, but whatever may be their true meaning and bearing on the question, it is manifest that Dean Hook regards the voice of the Church, not merely as an important subsidiary aid in ascertaining the historical import of Scripture, but as an authoritative rule for its interpretation. This is evident, not only from the way he speaks here, but from a very offensive note on a previous page (p. 12), in which he says, "A Catholic in the primitive Church was one who accepted in the interpretation of Scripture the tradition of the Church Universal. He was opposed to the Heretic, who, as the word *apostolic* imparts, instead of deferring to the Church, exercised in regard to any

dogma or practice his private judgment. The right of Private Judgment is a tenet of Protestants from Luther to Socinus, and for a Protestant to call any one whose private judgment differs from his own a heretic, is sinful, because it can only be done for the purpose of giving pain. In the mouth of a Catholic the word has a definite meaning." As if the word had not acquired, in modern theological language, the distinct and definite meaning of one who holds an error on a fundamental doctrine of Christianity ; and might not be used in that sense by those who allow their brethren to exercise their own private judgment on their own responsibility. The Protestant principle of the right of private judgment does not imply that there is no objective standard to decide between truth and falsehood, or that whatever a man believes, that is true for him ; it simply means, that there is no earthly authority, civil or ecclesiastical, that can decide for others, so as to bind their consciences and relieve them of their own individual responsibility, and that each man may and ought to judge for himself, as answerable to God alone for his opinions. Protestants hold that Socinus was undoubtedly as much justified, and as much to be commended, for exercising his own private judgment as Luther was ; but that does not hinder them from asserting and proving that, in the use they made of their private judgment, the former erred fundamentally, while the latter was in all essential points a teacher and defender of the truth. It is the Word of God, and not the private judgment of men, that is the standard of truth ; and that Word is sufficient to decide controversies without the authoritative explanation of catholic tradition or universal consent. It is melancholy to find one who professes to expound the principles of the Church of England, repudiating and reviling the principle of the right and duty of private judgment, which lies at the foundation of all religious liberty ; but it is at least something to observe that Dean Hook has the honesty to renounce the name Protestant entirely ; for indeed his views as to the Rule of Faith symbolise exactly with those of the Church of Rome, with this single difference, that he restricts the authority ascribed to the church to that of the first few centuries of our era, while the Church of Rome more consistently extends it to all times, and therefore to the actually existing church of the present day.

It is no wonder that, such being Dean Hook's view of the principles of the Anglican Church, he should state, as a sort of corollary from them, the entire disconnection of the English from the Continental Reformation. He admits, indeed, that this was not at first openly declared, and thinks it would have been well if it had been ; but we should think that most students of church history will consider it a simple and suffi-

cient explanation of this unfortunate circumstance, that in the first generation, at least, of the Reformers, such a disconnection did not exist. There were indeed differences of more or less moment between the English and the foreign Reformers, as there were also between Luther and Calvin, and between him and Zwingle; but that there was any such fundamental difference in principle as our essayist supposes, is hard to believe; when we remember the constant and confidential correspondence between the English and the Swiss reformers, and the fact that Cranmer brought Peter Martyr and Bucer to the divinity chairs in the two universities; that a bishopric was offered to John Knox; and that the Confession of the Church of England was incorporated in the *Harmony*, the publication of which was zealously promoted by the English prelates, to illustrate the unity in faith of all the Reformed Churches. This state of things was no doubt changed to a considerable extent in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when under that queen, who, as Mr Froude has shewn in his history, never was really a Protestant at heart, the close and intimate relations between the English and other Reformed Churches to a large extent ceased, and the cause of Protestantism suffered not a little from the isolated position and vacillating policy adopted by England. Then, doubtless, in still later times, Laud and his followers at the Restoration, did much to make the Church of England something like what the Anglicans of the present day maintain it to have been all along. Even in these later times, indeed, the highest churchmen did not go nearly so far as their modern successors; for the whole of them, including Laud himself, acknowledged the foreign reformed communions, destitute as they were of episcopal government, as true churches of Christ with valid ordinances, while Dean Hook and his party unchurch them altogether. But we cannot enter into the historical question as to the principles of the English Reformation. To do so in a way worthy of the subject would require far more space and far deeper research than we can at present give to it. For it is to be regretted that there is no good and trustworthy history of the English Reformation and Church; so that the student is obliged to have recourse to the original authorities, or to works of general history, that only treat of it incidentally. Surely this is not as it ought to be. The theme is a noble one, and the task would be most inviting for its own sake, to do for the English reformers and their work, either in the shape of history or biography, what M'Crie has done for Scotland by his lives of Knox and Melville. Indeed, the bold and strong assertions of the modern Anglicans impose it as an urgent necessity on those who hold their confident assertions to be groundless and false, to vindicate their

church from such calumnies, as we believe them to be, in the eyes of those who have neither leisure, inclination, nor call to investigate for themselves the ancient documents. Though not of its communion, and not approving of all its institutions, we admire the Church of England for its valuable services to the cause of truth and sound learning, and we sympathise with its evangelical members, and would rejoice in a worthy historical vindication of its position as a reformed church, and of its noble reformers and martyrs. Is there none of her own sons who has the ability and the will to render her such a service? For really the Anglican principles maintained by Dean Hook are in substance and principle, though not, of course, in their full extent, popish. When once the appeal is made to the Church as the authoritative teacher of truth and interpreter of Scripture, the essential principle of Protestantism is given up, and that of Romanism is admitted. The limitation of this authority of the church to primitive times, as represented by the first four general councils, forms the sole important difference between the Anglican and the Romish theory; and while we are glad to see that these English divines reserve their deference to the church for that time of its comparative purity, we are afraid that this will avail them but little as a safeguard against the natural and logical consequences of the general principles they have admitted.

These so-called Anglican principles are stated most plainly and broadly in the introductory essay of this volume; but though they are not brought out so prominently in any of the subsequent essays, and in some of them not at all, they appear in many of them more or less clearly as the underlying principles of the writers. They appear even where we should least of all have expected to see them, in the essay of Bishop Ellicott, which seems to us decidedly the ablest and one of the most interesting in this volume. It is on modern religious thought, and traces the course of opinion on theological subjects in England during the last thirty years, describing in a very interesting way the Oxford movement and its results. It is distinguished by a thorough acquaintance with the various expressions and tendencies of opinion; by a philosophical power of appreciating these in their various bearings, and discussing them in a profound, lucid, and interesting way; by an ability to enter sympathetically into the various forms and phases of opinion described; and by the fine spirit that pervades the whole discussion. Many portions of this essay are exceedingly valuable as defences of the truth. We especially prize and admire the discussion of the question of future punishment. It seems to us a very fair and candid statement of the arguments on both sides in this dark and painful subject, a careful

and reverent, yet decided estimate of the teaching of Scripture and the inferences of speculative reason, conducted in that spirit of reverence for divine revelation and sympathy with human feelings in which so delicate and tender a topic should be treated. We are glad to hear, thus wisely given and feelingly, the testimony of one so competent, both as a biblical critic and as a philosophic thinker, to form a judgment upon it.

But while cordially appreciating its merits, we cannot be blind to the defects and one-sidedness of this essay, which are to be traced, we think, to the subtle working of those Anglican principles of which we are exceedingly sorry to find a man like Bishop Ellicott a follower. He begins his survey of the course of modern religious thought a generation back, at the time of the great Oxford movement, which he regards as deserving the gratitude of every high-minded thinker, for bringing back men's minds to the great objective truths, as a corrective of the excessive subjectivity into which the evangelical movement that preceded it had degenerated. We will not pause here to remark on the truth or falsehood of his estimate, either of the evangelical teaching of a former age, or of the movement led by the Oxford Tracts for the Times, but will follow his own historical sketch, as he goes on to notice, as one of the beneficial results of the latter, that the interpretation of Scripture was placed on a better and surer basis than formerly. "It was impossible," he says (p. 44), "for a movement which rested so much on primitive antiquity, and appealed so much to patristic teaching, not also to introduce many of the results of patristic interpretation. After the utter license of subjective interpretation that hath prevailed in the Church previous to the Oxford movement, men turned with thankfulness to every indication of generally received principles, and especially to every statement of generally admitted results. The idea of a sort of *interpretatio recepta*, of which traces were to some extent discoverable in the leading Greek interpreters, was as welcome as it was timely." Such statements really surprise us not a little. We were not aware, as a matter of fact, that the progress that has recently been made in Scripture exegesis was connected exclusively or even mainly with the Tractarian school; it seems to us that it is to be traced quite as much, if not more, to the learning and research of the German critics, and of those scholars in this country and America who have made use of their investigations, and followed their methods; nor were we aware that the results of modern exegesis coincide with the interpretations of the fathers to any such extent as to warrant the statements we have quoted. Some of the most distinguished writers in this department, such as Alford, Stanley, Jowett,

Conybeare, and Howson, in this country, and Moses Stuart, Albert Barnes, Alexander, and Hodge, in America, are far enough removed from the Tractarian school; nor would we have thought the author himself had so much sympathy with it, but for his essay in this volume. But however these things may be as matters of fact, we must protest strongly against the principle which our essayist lays down as a corollary from them, when he says, "A very important principle had also been almost unconsciously established, viz. this, that as a general rule the most trustworthy method of interpreting was to re-edit, with such corrections as modern grammatical precision suggested, the older current interpretations that were found in the commentaries of men who spoke the language of the original" (p. 45). Against this, we think, we may appeal to the writer himself; for in his essay in the volume entitled "*Aids to Faith*," on "*Scripture and its Interpretation*," in which he discusses the subject professedly and fully, he recommends no such principle, but lays down others that are quite different and inconsistent with it, basing the interpretation to be adopted on grammatical, contextual, and historical grounds. Though it is doubtless to be expected, that in general the interpretations thus ascertained will coincide with the views of older expositors, and this may confirm our conviction of their truth, it seems a preposterous and dangerous proceeding to make deference to patristic interpretations a rule of exegesis.

We are the more careful to note this as of dangerous tendency, because Bishop Ellicott immediately goes on to suggest, that probably ere long the same principle may be as successfully followed in the case of Christian doctrine. This is an idea, which once started, recurs again and again in this essay, and in fact forms its leading idea and practical issue. The Nicene theology, if clearly and philosophically stated, and cleared of these conventional incrustations, which had gathered round it in the controversies of later centuries, is likely to be accepted by most modern thinkers, and to form a rallying ground and defence against the various forms of unbelief that assail the truth in these days. The essayist describes well, and criticises with unsparing hand, the various successive forms that these assaults have assumed, such as the "*Essays and Reviews*," "*Ecce Homo*," and the attacks on the doctrine of future punishment. Still these attacks have in his opinion been justified and successful, as against the theology of the evangelical school of a former age, at least in its popular embodiment, and what he considers its degenerate form in the latter part of the great religious movement of last century. It is indeed just because he thinks that the evangelical theology has been fairly defeated, and is unable to maintain itself

against the advance of Rationalism, that Bishop Ellicott recommends a re-assertion of the Nicene teaching, as the grand safeguard of vital truth. But we cannot but ask the question, Why does he lay so much stress on that particular age, and on the body of truth that was formulated in its course? We are very unwilling to believe, that it is because he regards the early church and its councils as an authoritative rule for the interpretation of Scripture, and the definition of doctrine. This would indeed be quite in accordance with what are laid down by Dean Hook as "Anglican Principles," and maintained by some of the other writers in this volume. But Bishop Ellicott is not to be held as committed to their statements; and there is nothing in his own repeated recommendations of the Nicene theology, that avows, or of necessity implies, such a meaning. If his essay stood alone, it would hardly convey to the reader any idea but that of the excellence and suitability to the present day of the Nicene theology, not an account of its antiquity or catholicity, but simply for the sake of its own intrinsic merits; though forming, as the essay does, part of a collection, in others of which such deference is challenged for primitive and catholic teaching as such, it may be read by those who sympathise with such views in a sense very different from that meant by the author. But is it impossible, or is it uncharitable, to suppose that, though not holding the definite principles avowed by some of his fellow essayists, Bishop Ellicott has been unconsciously biassed in favour of the theology he so warmly recommends, by the charms which the antiquity of primitive times and the majesty of church councils throw around it? For it is to us hardly conceivable otherwise, how a man like him, so full of sympathy with the earnest religion and active thought of later times, could seriously set up the teaching of the ante-Nicene Church as the *ne plus ultra* of theological attainment. We are not wanting in appreciation for the early fathers and councils of the church. We admire the earnest simplicity of the apostolic fathers, the genial philosophy of Justin Martyr, the impassioned fervency of Tertullian, the profound learning and speculation of Clement and Origen, the cogent reasoning and indomitable firmness of Athanasius, and the sweet flowing eloquence of John of the golden mouth. We thankfully acknowledge the wisdom with which the four great councils was guided to those definitions of the Trinity and the Incarnation that have been accepted as in accordance with Scripture by the almost unanimous voice of God's people in after times. But we cannot believe that the ancient Church, great as its services have been, has exhausted the contents of the Christian revelation, or even brought out in their due prominence those parts of them that are of most practical

importance. Have no errors arisen since these definitions, causing controversies that have brought out new sides and aspects of the truth? Has no progress been made during these fifteen centuries past in apprehending and setting forth the truth contained in the Scriptures? Does the Church owe nothing to Augustine, to Anselm, and the Schoolmen; to Luther, Calvin, and their fellow reformers; to the theologians of the seventeenth century, and to the evangelists of the eighteenth. We are convinced that Bishop Ellicott would shrink from such conclusions; he is far too liberal and generous in his appreciation of what is good, wherever it is found, not to do so. But we observe with much regret, that in this essay he seems to depreciate unduly the theology of all other schools but the Nicene, and that of some of them he speaks in language altogether unworthy of him. Does it give a fair idea of modern religious thought to allude to Calvinism as a theory entirely out of date, and all but universally given up? or is it consistent with historical calmness and candour to describe it as "that compact, logical, and, may we not say without offence, cheerless system, that rested for its foundations on the Institutes of Calvin?" The Bishop cannot surely be ignorant, that those who are called Calvinists found their opinions on the word of God, and not either on compact logic, or the authority of the great Reformer; and that there have been thousands of intelligent Calvinists who never heard of Calvin, and never read a page of his Institutes. Or is he prepared to shew that the theology of Calvin is one whit more extreme in those respects in which it has been commonly charged with sternness, than that of Augustine in the ancient Church? Surely, too, it is unworthy of a man like Ellicott, to attach, with whatever apology, the epithet, "cheerless" to the system known by the name of Calvin. It may seem so to its opponents, who for the most part do not understand it; but it cannot be denied, that at least as much that is consolatory in religious literature, has come from the believers as from the rejectors of it; and the articles of the Bishop's own church, in harmony with other Calvinistic Confessions, declare that "the godly consideration of predestination, and our election in Christ, is full of sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort to godly persons, and such as feel in themselves the working of the Spirit of Christ, mortifying the works of the flesh and their earthly members, and drawing up their mind to high and heavenly things, as well because it doth greatly establish and confirm their faith of eternal salvation to be enjoyed through Christ, as because it doth fervently kindle their love towards God" (Article XVII.).

But it is not chiefly the Calvinistic system that we complain

of being unjustly ignored and depreciated, by exalting the Nicene theology; that system has not been universally received by evangelical divines, and is not generally regarded, even by its own followers, as indispensable to the exhibition of the gospel. Then too, it might easily be included within the teaching the Bishop recommends, by a slight extension of his rule, so as to include the doctrines of Augustine and the anti-Pelagian decisions of the western councils. But it would be a much more serious loss to the religious thought of the future, were the Reformation theology to be neglected or cast aside, as apparently it must be on our essayist's principles. It cannot surely be denied, that the great religious movement in the sixteenth century, formed a new epoch in the history of theology, and brought out clearly and emphatically portions and aspects of doctrine that had not had such prominence in the earlier systems. Protestants in general have held, that these are most valuable and important, not only as true in themselves, and filling up a deficiency in the earlier theology, but as fitted to give a safer and more healthy direction to religious thought than it had followed before. The earlier discussions and controversies had, from the nature of the heresies to be met, turned almost exclusively on the high mysteries of the divine nature, such as the Trinity and the Incarnation; so that men's minds were apt to be led away from the practical and experimental side of religion to lofty and abstract speculation. Even the Augustinian theology, which dealt with anthropology much more than the Nicene strictly so called, yet brought out more prominently the divine side of that subject, the decree of God and the grace of God, rather than the condition, the guilt, the forgiveness, the justification of man. It was the special service of Luther and the other reformers to give to theology an intensely practical direction, making it all centre in the *articulus stantis vel cadentis ecclesiæ*, the question, How shall a man be just before God? Now, Bishop Ellicott seems to recommend that the theology of the Reformation, that has this special merit, should be forsaken, or at least thrown into the background, in comparison with that of the early church, in which certainly the practical and experimental elements did not get their due place. For that must needs be the effect of setting up the Nicene teaching, to be, if not a rule and canon, at least a model and example of theological thought. It is very painful to find that such a man as he, not only joins in the common cant about Calvinism being stern and cheerless, but speaks so disparagingly, as he sometimes does in the essay, of evangelical theology, and evangelical religion in general. In describing the effects of modern religious thought on the doctrines of soteriology, he seems to

admit it as a legitimate result of the destructive criticism, that “All the various imputation theories on the first and second periods of our retrospect have been denounced as illogical or immoral, but nothing either logical or reasonable has been advanced to supply their place. We now rarely hear, except from old-fashioned religionists, such terms as imputed *guilt*, forensic righteousness, or those many, or similar, expressions derived from that strange vocabulary which the theology of a past era invented or adopted for setting forth the so-called legal aspects of this holy mystery. We hear also less frequently those startling, and at times even shocking, descriptions in which our dear Lord’s sufferings and agonies were cumulatively set forth by the selfish speaker to his selfish hearers, as affording the grounds for hope that their own would be proportionately diminished. This theology of gloom and wrath has gradually yielded to the almost indignant vigour of the attacks that have been made upon it by the school of free thought” (p. 5, 6). Now we must protest, that no man has a right to use such language without giving references, or making it plain and unmistakable who are the parties and what are the doctrines to which he refers. Such general statements are exceedingly vague, and may very easily be understood by readers in a sense the author never meant, and applied by them to persons and opinions that he had not in his view at all. We are very loath to believe, and will not believe until he says it more distinctly, that he means the above description to apply to the popular evangelical preaching of the last age, of which it is an odious caricature ; but if not, surely he must see that it may be taken by many as so applying, and thus must give intense and needless pain to multitudes of devout Christians, and embolden others to adopt opinions that the author himself would think highly dangerous. But let us look more particularly at the terms or ideas that Bishop Ellicott considers as being well forgotten and left behind. When he italicises *guilt* in the phrase “imputed *guilt*,” he seems to imply that he does believe in the imputation of sin, and only denies that *guilt* is imputed. But can a man of his learning and ability need to be reminded that, according to theological usage, there is no real difference in meaning between these two phrases ; and that imputed sin is only a less accurate and more harsh statement of what is meant by imputed guilt, for it is only the guilt of sin, *i.e.* its liability to condemnation and punishment, and not its sinfulness or intrinsic demerit that can be transferred from one person to others, or has been held by the most logical and juridical of divines to be imputed ? Again, where did the Bishop ever meet with the phrase “forensic righteousness,”

even from old-fashioned religionists? Justification, has, indeed, been held by all evangelical Protestants to be a forensic term and a forensic act; but "forensic righteousness" is an unmeaning phrase unknown to the Reformation theology; and will Dr Ellicott, as a Greek scholar, deny that both in the classics and in the New Testament, *dikaíōō* and its cognates are uniformly used in a forensic sense? That some popular descriptions of our Lord's atoning sufferings may have been startling and shocking to refined and devout minds, from laying too exclusive stress on the mere endurance of pain as an equivalent to the punishment of sinners, is perhaps true; but even that does not justify so offensive a caricature, or the stigmatising of the evangelical teaching as selfish. Does he really think, that the preaching of Wesley and Whitfield, and their fellow-labourers, in the great religious awakening of last century, was of a selfish tendency, because it called on men to consider their personal guilt and danger, and flee from the wrath to come, to save themselves from an untoward generation, and lay hold on eternal life? Surely he must know as an ethical fact, that the desire of personal salvation, which the preaching of such men tended to awaken, is not in any unworthy sense a selfish desire, since it seeks, not mere safety, but the forgiveness and favour of God, not mere happiness, but holiness; and he cannot be ignorant that these great preachers and their successors, while they press with all earnestness, as the first and most urgent question on each individual, his own reconciliation to God, do not encourage him "selfishly to merge every thought in the salvation of his soul," but represent that as but the indispensable preliminary and preparation for that labour and struggle on the Lord's side, to which they, as earnestly as the preachers of any other school, exhort the children of God. And that these exhortations have not been entirely in vain, has been abundantly proved by their fruits; for has it not been from the evangelical revival of religion that missionary enterprises abroad, and evangelistic and benevolent efforts among the ignorant and degraded at home, have been so zealously carried on during the past hundred years? A kind of teaching that has produced, and still produces, such results as these, surely does not deserve to be characterised as selfish; and brought to the test of actual fact, it may stand comparison with what the Anglican or High Church party has done for the cause of Christ and the good of mankind. We regret, therefore, that Bishop Ellicott has allowed himself to use such unjustly disparaging language of the theology of the Reformation; and we suspect it is due to his too great partiality for the less clearly teaching of the ancient church. It may be true, that the Nicene theology is more likely to find acceptance in the present

state of religious thought; but it deserves to be considered with some degree of fear, whether that may not in part be due to the natural tendency of men to shrink from close personal dealing with divine things, and to take refuge in a mass or body of men, as the teaching that gives more prominence to the Church permits them to do. It is not in that direction that the safeguard against the rationalising tendencies of the age is to be sought; and we hardly think Bishop Ellicott would have pointed it out as such, had he not been partly influenced by the principles of the writers he is here associated with, as to the deference due to antiquity.

The second essay in this volume, by Dr Irons, on the "State, Church, and Synods of the Future," does not call for so much remark. It is to a large extent historical, giving an interesting sketch of the origin, progress, and various forms of ecclesiastical councils at different times. We are glad to find in it a fair statement of what we regard as sound and scriptural views of the spiritual independence of the Church in relation to the State. But Dr Irons seems to adopt, in all their essential points, the Anglican principles laid down in the Introductory Essay. He asserts explicitly the doctrine of apostolic succession, and restricts our Saviour's promise to be with his church always to the apostles and their successors the bishops (p. 105). They alone, according to him, are the teachers and guides of the church; and they met from time to time in councils simply to testify what was its faith. In this view of the nature of councils he agrees with Dean Hook; and he also makes an incidental statement that curiously illustrates Bishop Ellicott's essay. He says (p. 117), "The verity which the holy fathers sought to express in the Six Great Councils was objective theology and fact. . . . Thus it is doubtful whether an Œcumenical Synod would ever have thought it right to define the inner life of the kingdom of God as involved in the work of the Spirit and the will of man. Certainly they never attempted it, and such provincial gatherings as those of Orange or Toledo, which made decisions on the doctrine of grace and the condition of the departed, did but exceed their own powers and harm those who recognised them. Whatever guidance as to subjective truth may be given by the church's teachers in Synod, can never be *de fide* as to dogmatic assertion." It is difficult to see on what principle this distinction is made, for surely subjective truths as to the inner life of the kingdom of God are as much matters of fact as objective theology; but it is obvious enough how it fits in to the general theory advocated in this book, and affords a reason for regarding the Augustinian and Reformation theology as comparatively unimportant parts of the Church's creed, if indeed they are to be considered as

belonging to it at all. When we add that Dr Irons expressly and repeatedly declares the essential and vital union of the church to be "sacramental," "through the 'one baptism' and that 'one bread,' and the faith in the one God and Father and one Lord Jesus Christ" (p. 105), we need say no more to shew how thoroughly his system of religion is that which gives the most important place to external organisation and outward rites.

On the third essay, on the Religious Use of Taste, by Mr St John Tyrwhitt, we do not intend to offer any remark at all, as it deals with a subject quite apart from the special point of view in which we have been led to look at the volume; and the fourth, on the Place of the Laity in Church Government, by Professor Burrows, deals too much with the practical details of the administration of the English Church for outsiders to venture to criticise it, further than to say, that we are glad to find within the compass of this work the expression of views of a more liberal kind as to the rights of the Christian people in the government of the Church than the exclusively episcopal ideas of Dr Irons. Neither will we make any remarks on the fifth essay on the Private Life and Ministrations of the Parish Priest, save to say, that it seems to us to set up a somewhat too separate and clerical type for the religious character of the Christian minister, as if it was altogether apart from and above that of the believer in other walks of life. We have more to say on the sixth, by Mr Haddan, on the English Divines of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as that contributes something to the theological principles conveyed in the book. Its object is to set forth the merits and value of that school of divines who have in the period named held Anglican principles, for these alone, it should appear, are entitled to be called English divines. "One school only," it seems, "that of the Caroline divines, has so found a natural home in Church formularies, has become so firmly rooted in the hearts of churchmen, has so thoroughly created Church theology as to have lived on hitherto through all vicissitudes of politics, or society, or thought, and not to have revived only, but made progress after each temporary eclipse" (p. 227). The English divines whose praises he celebrates, are only those of this school. "Its 'catenæ' begin," he goes on to say, "with Elizabeth's reign"; and we must commend his prudence or candour in not claiming for it a higher antiquity, so as to include any of the first reformers. Probably he does not much care to claim them; for he speaks afterwards (p. 237) with the most sovereign contempt of the only time when the Church of England enjoyed anything like independence or self-government, as "the crude unsettlement of some few months of the reign of Edward VI.,"

and describes Hooper, whom we have always considered one of the most illustrious evangelists and martyrs that have adorned the Church of England, as "an obscure bishop." But whatever may be thought of such outsiders, the services of the school of divines of which this essayist treats, have been, according to him, both very many and very great. He enumerates under seven heads what these divines, under God's blessing, have done for us, and then proceeds to give the school still higher praise. "But it has deeper claims than these to our allegiance. It began by freeing us from the domination of Calvin" (p. 231). If this was its beginning, its catenæ can hardly reach even so far back as Elizabeth's reign; for we defy Mr Haddan or any one else to point out a single theological writer before the latter part of the reign of James I. who held anti-Calvinistic views. "It prevented at its outset," he proceeds, "any traces of Calvinism from finding their way into our authorised formulas" (it is a pity it did not do this more thoroughly, by excluding the 17th article), "and saved the articles from being Calvinised by additions, as the Westminster Assembly afterwards tried to Calvinise them by glosses." Probably he alludes here to the Lambeth articles; but it was not the Anglican divines who prevented their adoption, for they were drawn up by Whitgift, the great opponent and persecutor of the Puritans; and it was owing to the opposition of Lord Burleigh and Queen Elizabeth that they were not made formally binding. When Mr Haddan says that the school of theology, "whose views have all along been the orthodox views, the good old Church views," "put away from us altogether such theology as that of the Synod of Dort," who would imagine that the Church of England was represented at that Synod by some of its most illustrious prelates and divines, appointed by the king its supreme governor, and that they all adopted and signed its whole canons and decrees? Another merit here ascribed to this school is, that "it has obtained for us—not indeed the title to an apostolic ministry, for that we inherited—but the belief in such a ministry, and the careful preservation of it, and the consciousness of the gifts which the possession of it bestows" (p. 232). As far as history informs us, the belief in such a ministry was first avowed by Bancroft in 1588; the careful preservation of it is due to the policy of Laud and the acts of uniformity; while the consciousness of the gifts bestowed by it seems to have been fully brought out only by the Tractarian divines of the last generation. In a word, if we are to judge by the description given of its views and achievements, the school Mr Haddan praises is, in a more literal sense than he intends, that of the "Caroline divines"; for it is just the school originated by Laud and his party, which has since appropriated to itself the name

of the Church or Anglican divinity. Now we should by no means disparage the real excellences of that school, or the great names it can boast. We admire as much as any man the gorgeous eloquence of Taylor, the patristic learning of Bull and Pearson, and the devotional poetry of Herbert; but we must protest against the exclusive praise of that one school to the neglect or depreciation of many other English divines, who were not only, as Mr Haddan admits Baxter and Bunyan to have been, more popular and effective as teachers of practical religion, but also, as we believe, more sound and evangelical in their theology. But we are not going to enter upon questions of doctrine. Indeed we cannot undertake to discuss such questions with a writer who indulges in such language as Mr Haddan uses, of views which we hold to be not only true, but most precious. He coolly states, as if they were admitted or notorious truths, that "Calvinism places itself in hopeless opposition to fundamental laws of morality" (p. 230), "that it is scarcely within the power of a rigid Calvinist to escape making God at once the author and yet the punisher of sin"; and "that the strict maintainers of absolute perseverance, following upon instantaneous conversion, have been driven to make sin no sin in the elect, and actual faith, on the other hand, to have been no faith at all wherever the believer subsequently fell away" (p. 233). We will not believe that Mr Haddan has taken the pains to understand the system of which he speaks in such terms, by studying it as it is set forth in the writings of its best and most judicious defenders, else he must have known that these statements are either ignorant misrepresentations or base calumnies. But it is difficult to imagine an excuse, even that of ignorance, for the following sentence, in which he traduces, not Calvinism merely, but evangelical religion in general, "Another school, beginning with a revival of personal piety, has unhappily degenerated now into (mainly) a negation of church and sacraments; and while it limits religion to a purely individual relation between each soul separately and its Saviour, rests the evidence of that relation chiefly upon inward feelings; and in defining what it is, turns justification by faith out of a theological formula denying human merit into an ethical description, logically excluding man's sanctification; and requires in the believer in effect little more than an arbitrary determination to believe that he himself is saved" (p. 257). We must simply decline controversy on the subject with a man who can write thus. In regard to the fundamental principles of theology, Mr Haddan maintains that the *via media* of the High Church divines is not a mere negation or prudent moderation between opposite extremes; but a line adopted on principle, which merely happens to present itself to

onlookers as lying between opposite tendencies (p. 240). That principle, as far as we can gather it from his not very clear exposition, is substantially the same as what is stated most explicitly by Dean Hook, and assumed more or less distinctly by other writers of these essays. The appeal is ever to be made to the dogmas and practices of the primitive and still united church, as having some kind of authority; and the New Testament is to be "read by the light of the actual history of the several books, i. e., by the now thoroughly sifted testimony of the Primitive Church." "Scripture, interpreted with due regard to the authority and testimony of the early church, is in their judgment (the Anglican divines), the one only infallible authority" (pp. 250-1). These statements seem clearly to imply that the testimony and opinion of the primitive church are not only a useful help in many ways in determining the true and historical meaning of Scripture; but that they possess a certain authority as themselves a necessary part or interpretation of the rule of faith. Unless this is meant, we do not see with what reason or propriety the Anglican principle can be called a "*via media*."

The seventh essay, on Liturgies and Ritual, by Mr Sadler, is a very learned, ingenious, and elaborate discussion of the form of administration of the Lord's Supper, designed to shew, that the communion service in the English liturgy is more in accordance with the true nature of the sacrament and the primitive manner of its celebration, than any other. Were it not aside from our present purpose, we might enter into the interesting and important field of discussion which Mr Sadler's essay opens up. We should be obliged to differ from him in his view of the sacrament as being a sacrifice, in which the elements are identified in some infinitely mysterious but real way with Christ's own sacrificial body and blood. We think that his attempt to prove from Scripture the sacrificial character of the ordinance is singularly weak and unsuccessful; and we are astonished that a scholar who pays so much regard to the early fathers, should quote so freely from them the term "mysteries," applied to the communion service, and argue from thence that it is the embodiment of a mystery in the modern sense, as if the word had not, in scriptural and patristic usage, a totally different meaning, signifying in this connection simply a symbolical or figurative ordinance (equivalent to the Latin "*sacramentum*"), and not what we understand by a mystery at all. But without entering into the detailed discussion of the subject, we would notice the general principle on which the whole essay proceeds. It begins by asserting that no directions respecting the celebration of the Lord's Supper are to be found in the New Testament. Now, if this

merely means that we have not in Scripture any such minute and precise directions as are to be found in the service-books of the Roman, Anglican, and some other churches, as to the precise words to be used in prayer, praise, thanksgiving, and distributing the elements, the exact postures and gestures to be used, and the proper vestments to be worn in the service, it is undoubtedly true. But then the natural inference from that would seem to be, that these and such like minutiae do not belong to the essence of the ordinance; and that the Lord's Supper may be duly and properly administered without the observance of any such specific rules, if only the recorded actions of our Lord and his disciples, when the sacrament was instituted, be faithfully imitated. From this it would follow, that the communion is most scripturally observed in those branches of the church which do not prescribe any precise form of words, but only require in general that the Lord's example be followed. Such, however, is not Mr Sadler's inference. He holds that there must have been some outward form prescribed for the celebration of this rite; and that, as we find that there existed in all parts of the ancient Christian world a certain well-defined order of communion service, which can be traced to times long before the rise of any central authority to compel uniformity; the conclusion is irresistible, that the mode in question must have originated with the apostles, and must be taken into account by all who would conform themselves to the will of Christ. This form he finds in the remains of the ancient liturgies, which he holds must have come down by tradition from the apostles, and are to be regarded as authoritative guides for our practice. Here then we have another application of that theory of the authority of the primitive church as the interpreter of Scripture that pervades so many of the essays in this volume. We have seen its application in some of the preceding ones to doctrine and government; now we see how it can be made to bear on the worship of the church.

The eighth essay, by Sir Bartle Frere, contains an interesting account of Indian Missions; then follows a discussion of the Education question, from a Church of England point of view, by Dr Barry; and the volume is closed with essays by the editors, on the Church and the People, by Mr MacLagan, treating the important practical question of the evangelisation of the multitudes that are alienated from the means of grace, and on Conciliation and Comprehension by Dr Weir, dealing in a kindly spirit, though on somewhat exclusive principles, with the relations of the Church of England both to parties within her own pale and to other bodies without. We will enter, however, upon none of these subjects, nor will we criticise the way in which they have been discussed in these

essays. It has been our object to bring out the principle that underlies the teaching of this book, taken in general and as a whole, that the rule by which we are to be guided in theology and religion is the Bible as understood and interpreted by the primitive church; a principle which to our mind is essentially un-Protestant, and tends powerfully in the direction of Romanism. It may seem indeed that, as all these writers admit the Bible itself to be the supreme and infallible standard of truth, and give deference to the teaching of the early Church, not as an additional or supplemental authority, but only as interpreting Scripture, and testifying what its true meaning is, they cannot fairly be charged with giving up the Protestant doctrine as to the rule of faith, or tending in any degree towards the Romish one. Now it may be true that most of them have given no indication of taking the Popish side of the question, What is the rule of faith? and including in it tradition as well as Scripture; though Mr Sadler, at least, seems virtually to make what he thinks is proved by church history to have been the practice of the apostles in the Lord's Supper, an authoritative rule for the Church. But apart from that, it must not be forgotten, that there is another question at issue between us and Rome on this subject, that is as important as that about the contents of the rule of faith, if not even more important, since the error is more plausible and less easily detected. The Council of Trent not only put traditions on a level with Scripture, and included apocryphal books in the canon, and declared the Vulgate edition authoritative, but "moreover to restrain wanton wit, decreed, that no one relying on his own wisdom in matters of faith and manners pertaining to the edification of Christian doctrine, wresting Holy Scripture to his own opinions, should dare to interpret that Holy Scripture against that opinion which the holy mother Church, whose it is to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the Holy Scriptures, hath held and doth hold, or also against the unanimous consent of the fathers" (Conc. Trid. Sess. IV. Decr. 2). Even apart from the other errors of the Church of Rome as to the rule of faith, this of itself forms a serious difference, and virtually places a merely human power in the seat of supreme jurisdiction. For to be the authoritative interpreter of laws comes practically very much to the same thing as to be makers of them. But it may be said, Must there not be a human interpreter of Scripture on any system? Is there not a possibility and danger of failing to understand or of misunderstanding the Bible, even though it be allowed to be the supreme and infallible rule of faith; and if we refuse to admit the testimony and teaching of the Church as its interpreter, must we not just put instead, either

the doctrines of some system of theology, or the criticism of the most learned scholars, or the judgment of our own reason, or else be left entirely in ignorance and uncertainty? Are not these Anglican divines just putting the venerable decisions of the primitive Church in the place of the equally human and less trustworthy guides to which other parties that have separated from Rome are obliged to have recourse? and is not their position thus in the true *via media* between the overbearing claims of Popery and the unbridled license of Rationalism? But those who would think thus forget the provision that has really been made in Christianity for the interpretation of the Word of God, the promise of the Spirit that Jesus gave to his disciples, to teach them all things and lead them into all the truth. We do need a guide and instructor to understand the meaning of Holy Scripture; if left to our own reason, even with an infallible revelation, we could not be sure of not erring fatally. But we are not left to depend on the learning of Greek and Hebrew scholars, or the faithfulness of the early church, or the authority of that of the present day; we have the promise that the Holy Spirit who inspired the Word will also teach us the meaning of it; and the humblest believer, if he seek his aid by earnest prayer, and in the use of the means within his reach, will be enabled so to understand the truth, that he shall not fall into fatal error. This is the great principle of Protestantism; and the maintenance of it is the true *via media* between the extremes of Romanism and Rationalism, and the best safeguard against what is dangerous in the religious tendencies of the present day. It is the forgetfulness of this principle that gives plausibility to the Anglican and Popish systems, and induces many to take refuge in them as the only security against the endless disputings and perpetual uncertainty of the school that disowns all authority: and the reassertion of it is what is needed in order to counteract this tendency, by shewing what is the real ground of certainty which is so much desired by the earnest inquiring soul. The principle of church authority in whatever form, more or less modified, does virtually usurp the place of the Holy Spirit as the divinely sent interpreter of the Holy Scriptures; and it is a striking illustration of this, that in the volume of essays we have been reviewing, and specially in those of them to which we have directed attention, as expressing semi-popish principles, the enlightening work of the Spirit is almost entirely ignored. In some of the essays that divine agent is not mentioned at all, and in others, the references to his work are but slight and cursory. This is, in our view, the capital defect of this whole school, and the source of most, if not of all of their errors. A work that should

set forth the relations and prospects of the Church and the Age in a way really satisfactory and worthy of the subject should, in our opinion, not only distinctly recognise the work of the Spirit, but set it forth prominently as the principle on which the truth as it is in Jesus is to be defended, and the agency on which the hopes of the church for safety in the present and success in the future must depend.

J. S. C.

ART. VII.—*Calvin and Church Song.*

Genevan-French Psalter. 1543 to 1561. With Preface by JOHN CALVIN, dated Geneva, 10th June 1543.

Genevan-English Psalter. 1556.

THE curiosities of history sometimes startle us. Few have the opportunity of examining for themselves the original records and documents which are the sources of history ; but when this is done, it too often appears that many books of history have been written more for the purpose of concealing or perverting, than of recording the truth.

Frequent instances of such treatment of the facts of history have come under our notice. In our school days, all we could find written in the annals of our country regarding Oliver Cromwell or John Knox, impressed our young minds very much with the idea that these worthies should be classed with Draco or Bluebeard. The recent researches of Macaulay, Carlyle, M'Crie, and Froude, have dispelled many clouds of darkness and brought the truth to light.

Musical history has suffered exceedingly from this unfair mode of treatment. In the study of it, nothing surprises us more than the perversions and fallacies we constantly find, arising from prejudice and preconceived notions.

In times of excitement and strong religious or political feeling, it is only to be expected that partizans would express themselves in violent and sweeping language ; but it is strange, that after the lapse of centuries, with their mellowing influences, many should be found who, resting upon mere tradition, take for granted and reproduce such statements in all their untruthfulness and intolerance.

An early historian of Martin Luther gravely writes, that he could not pollute the French language by expressing in it much of the story of his life, and, therefore, records it in Latin.

It is a mercy that such a record can only be found in the libraries of the curious, and in a language which comparatively few can read. In one particular, however, all historians are agreed regarding Luther,—that he was a great musician, and in this respect a perfect contrast to his contemporary John Calvin.

The concentrated essence of musical history regarding Calvin, may be found embodied in the following sentence contained in the History of Music recognised in our Government examinations (See Hullah's Lectures on Musical History, p. 73):—

“Indeed Calvin, unlike Luther, seems never to have recognised music as a means of religious expression, scarcely even to have appreciated it as an aid to devotion, and the music of his followers has suffered accordingly.”

Founded upon such historical statements, so able a lecturer as the Rev. Henry Allon addressed the Young Men's Christian Association, in Exeter Hall in 1862, as follows (see Lectures pp. 286 and 304):—

“Well was it for Germany that Luther could provide for her hymnody. Had he been as unmusical as Calvin, the church song of Protestantism in its entirety would have been as harsh and repulsive as is that of the churches which call Calvin their founder. . . . Calvin was utterly destitute of musical sensibility, as every page of his works, and every element of his character, indicate. He was too much of a theological formula to have much of the genius of song. And this unhappy defect has deprived his writings of the broad human sympathy which so characterises Luther's, and has entailed upon all the churches that bear his name such musical asceticism and poverty. In no Calvinistic country,—American, Scotch, Dutch, and, so far as it is Calvinistic, English,—is there a church song. The musical Luther has filled Germany with rich church hymnody. The unmusical Calvin has so impoverished Puritan and Presbyterian worship, that its rugged, inartistic, slovenly psalmody has become a byword and a needless repulsion, for, surely there is no piety in discord, nor any especial devoutness in slovenliness; our nature craves something better than the traditional psalm-singing of the inharmonious ‘meeting-house.’ Our affinities are with whatever is best, whether in eloquence, poetry, or music. And yet, strange to say, it is to Calvin that we owe the introduction of metrical psalmody into the reformed churches of France.”

Strange indeed! Let us select the leading propositions in the above quotations, and then see how far Calvin answers for himself; first, by giving a brief statement of his labours in the cause of psalmody; and next, by offering a translation of the preface written by him, and prefixed to his psalter, dated

10th June 1543. The leading propositions of the quotations referred to are,—

1st, Calvin seems never to have recognised music as a means of religious expression, scarcely even to have appreciated it as an aid to devotion.

2d, Calvin was utterly destitute of musical sensibility.

3d, In no Calvinistic country is there a church song.

4th, That in consequence, the psalmody of these countries has become a byword and needless repulsion.

The reply to the first of these propositions will be found in a brief consideration of Calvin's labours in the cause of psalmody.

In 1538–40, Calvin, Miles Coverdale, and the Wedderburns found refuge in Germany, and sat at the feet of Luther. His hymnal and psalter was then the possession of the German Protestant churches. Its effect upon the nation was marvellous, becoming, not merely the song of the church, but the songs of the people. Next to the great doctor's preaching, it was the most powerful instrument for overturning the darkness of popery, and for heralding the glorious light of the Reformation.

The singing of praise in the congregations surprised, and made a deep impression on the minds of the exiled strangers; and each set himself to do for his own country what Luther had done for the German speaking people.

In a letter to Farel, dated 1539, Calvin says, that he had begun to translate (versify) the psalms; and adds, that the 46th and the 25th were his earliest efforts. These he got set to music at Strasbourg (presumably by Guillaume Franc), and printed a number of copies, which he brought to his own congregation on his return to Geneva. Here he found that the service of praise in the sanctuary was as highly appreciated by the people as it was in Germany.

Experiencing the difficulty of satisfactorily rendering the psalms into verse, application (believed to be at Calvin's instance) was made to Clement Marot, the most celebrated of early French poets, by the Professor of Hebrew at Paris, with the view of inducing him to apply his great power as a lyrist to the rendering of the Psalms of David into French metre. Marot at once devoted himself to this good work, and soon completed thirty of the psalms, which were published in Paris in 1541, dedicated to Francis the First. The only known copy of this work is in the Royal Library at Stuttgart.

These psalms speedily attained the most extraordinary popularity among the French speaking people. They were sung by all ranks and classes to their own profane ballad tunes; they superseded every other kind of song, and quite took possession of the people.

The Emperor Francis, being fond of hunting, adopted as his psalm, "As pants the hart for waterbrooks"; and one of his cast-off favourites sung as specially suiting her case, "Out of the depths to thee I cried."

The popish historian Bayle, who writes with the greatest *animus* against Luther, Calvin, Marot, and all the reformers, says, that the reception these psalms met with was such as the world had never seen; they were received with acclamation by all ranks and classes,—Lutherans, Calvinists, and Roman Catholics, —they were sung to all the popular tunes of France, and displaced the ballads and songs of the people. The popularity of Marot's psalms raised a storm of wrath against him; even the protection of the Emperor himself could not shield him from the persecution of the Romish Church. His book was not only condemned, but publicly censured, and the further publication of it prohibited under pains and penalties.

Marot had to flee for his life. He found refuge at Geneva, there he added twenty more psalms to the thirty previously published at Paris. He embraced the tenets of the Reformation, and died in 1544.

The fifty psalms by Marot were first published at Geneva, with a highly commendatory preface by Calvin, dated 10th June 1543. So great was the demand for this book that the printing-presses could not meet it. It was printed in Holland, Belgium, France, and Switzerland. The prohibition of the Romish Church only roused the more the interest of the people.

The psalms were learned by heart by young and old, and sung, to all sorts of tunes, wherever the French language was spoken. The incongruity of singing such words to the music of the most profane and wicked songs greatly grieved Calvin's heart, and he at once set to work to remedy the evil. He applied to the first musicians in Europe to furnish him with tunes worthy of the words of the psalms, such as, in his preface referred to, he states they ought to be. The musician who supplied the music, and superintended the publication of the first editions was Guillaume Franc of Strasbourg, of whom all recorded in history is, that he was an "obscure musician of the 16th century." Fétis, in his "Biographie des Musiciens," says, "Guillaume Franc, a musician of the 16th century, set to music fifty of Marot's psalms, 8vo, Strasbourg, 1545. These are the melodies which remain in use among the Protestants of France and Holland, and which have been harmonized in four parts by Bourgeois, Goudimel, and Claude le Jeune." Such is the brief record in history of Guillaume Franc and his work; and yet among these melodies appear for the first time the Old Hundred psalm tune, and many others of the finest tunes in the whole range of psalmody.

After the death of Marot at Geneva, Calvin applied to his great coadjutor, Theodore Beza, to complete the versification of the psalms. Beza writes, "*Instigatus viro magno que illustrissimo, Johanne Calvino,*" that he had undertaken the work and completed it, but that he was only enabled to do so, satisfactorily, by copying so far as was in his power, the spirit and style of Marot. In his poetical epistle to the reader, he passes a high eulogium upon his friend Marot, nobly vindicating his character from the aspersions cast upon it by the priests, in consequence of his having cast in his lot with the reformers. Luther had only translated a few of the psalms into German metre, so we find that to Calvin belongs the honour of being the first man at whose instance the whole book of psalms was ever rendered into the metre of any living language for the use of the people as their song of praise.

The psalms and hymns of Coverdale and the Wedderburns, were written, like many of Luther's, to suit the most popular melodies of the day. To these they were sung, and on referring to the "*Guid and Godly Ballates,*" which constituted the first book of praise known in the Scottish Reformed Church, we can trace a number of the tunes to which the "*Ballates*" were sung, some of which are still familiarly known to us,—such as, "*Wha's at the window, Wha, wha?*"; "*Up in the mornin's no for me*"; "*Johne cum kis me now*"; "*The hunt is up, the hunt is up*"; "*Hey trix, tryme go trix, under the grene wode tree.*"

Dr M'Crie gives us the following information regarding these ballads:—

"The title sufficiently indicates their nature and design. The air, the measure, the initial line, or the chorus of the ballads most commonly sung by the people at that time, were transferred to hymns of devotion. Unnatural, indelicate, and gross as this association appears to us, these spiritual songs edified multitudes in that age. We must not think that this originated in any peculiar deprivation of taste in our reforming countrymen. Spiritual songs constructed on the same principle, were common in Italy, and the same practice was adopted in Holland."

Calvin's soul revolted against this practice. He could not bear to have the words of the Psalms desecrated by such music, and he used every means in his power to have them set to music suitable and worthy of them. Franc, as we have seen, supplied music for the earlier editions.

In 1545 Calvin wrote to Vinet, that he was busy with another edition of the psalter containing the music. This edition appeared the same year at Strasbourg. In it the original German tunes to the psalms which Calvin himself

versified, were improved upon, and these translations were displaced by Marot's versions.

After Franc's death, Calvin applied to Claude Goudimel of Rome, to have the music harmonised, and the work completed. This was not accomplished till about the year 1561, when the "fully harmonised psalter for use in public worship appeared." Thus we find that Calvin laboured during twenty-three years of his life in this cause; and as we found that he was the first who ever provided the words of the whole book of psalms for the use of the people in the praise of the sanctuary, so now we find, in reference to the music, that he was also the first who ever produced a *true and distinctive psalmody*. His psalter is a monument of beauty, which all succeeding ages have used as a mine and a model. The tunes are the common inheritance of the Protestant churches, and are familiarly known to all lovers of psalmody, as unsurpassed for simplicity, beauty, and grandeur, by the music of any country, or of any age.

During the troublous times, about the middle of the sixteenth century, English and Scotch Protestant refugees found an asylum at Geneva. These brought along with them Wedderburn's "Gude and Godly Ballates," which were commonly used in Scotland, and Miles Coverdale's "Goostly Psalmes and Spiritual Songes, with Notes," which had been printed in England without date, probably prior to 1540. The music contained in this most interesting volume was German. Many of the translations of Coverdale and the Wedderburns, were in the same metres, and for the same tunes as they had heard sung in the German churches. These metres were peculiar, and most of the music seems to have been distasteful to the English speaking exiles, who formed the congregation at Geneva.

Calvin, we find, had set his face against adapting sacred words to secular music, and as the custom of singing psalms had become an essential part of the public and private worship of the Protestant churches, it was necessary that a psalter should be provided for the English speaking people which all could approve of, and in the use of which all could join.

Such a psalter was published at Geneva in 1556. Copies of this most interesting work may be seen in the Bodleian; Public Library, Cambridge; and in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. It bears the following title page:—

"ONE AND FIFTIE

"Psalms of David in English metre. Whereof thirty-seven were made by Thomas Sternholde, and the rest by others. Conferred with the Hebrews, and in certeyn places corrected, as the text and sens of the Prophete required.

“Used in the English congregation at Geneva, and approved by the famous and godly learned man,

JOHN CALUYN.

“Imprinted at Geneva, by John Crespin, MDLVI., 10th February.”

At this time John Knox was minister of this congregation of exiles. The common metre psalms of Sternhold and Hopkins, which had appeared in England a few years previously, were adopted as likely to suit all parties, and to be more easily adapted to music.

Few of the tunes of the Genevan-French Psalter could be made available, in consequence of the peculiar rhythms generally used in it. Who provided the melodies for the English psalter, seems to be unknown; but they were published under the express sanction and approval of Calvin. The music is equal to any in the German and French psalters, and in character quite in accordance with the views expressed in Calvin's preface to the French psalter.

The exiles at Geneva added largely to, or completed the version of the psalms known by the names of Sternhold and Hopkins. They were composed as follows:—By Thomas Sternhold in all, 41; by John Hopkins, 37; by William Keith (including the Old Hundredth), 25; by William Whittingham, 15; by John Craig, 14; by Thomas Morton, 9; by Robert Pont, 6; by John Pullain, 2; by John Markant, 1;—in all, 150. A lengthened preface by William Whittingham is attached to the early editions of this work; but it is very similar to Calvin's, and to a great extent is a translation of it.

However pleasant and useful it might be, this is not the place to enter upon a criticism or analysis of the words and music of this most interesting volume. On the return of the exiles to this country, it was brought with them, and became the foundation of the psalters published in London in 1562-3, by John Day, and in Scotland in 1564-5, by Robert Leprevik, Edinburgh. The latter is commonly known as John Knox's psalter. A copy exists in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. In these works appeared for the first time in our country the whole book of Psalms in metre, set to music, for the use of congregations.

This sketch of Calvin's assiduous and long-continued labours in the cause of psalmody, surely demonstrates clearly, that to him belongs the honour, not only of being the first to provide the psalms of David in metre in the living language of the people, but that he was also the first who provided a true and distinctive music to which they should be sung in congregational worship.

If this be so, how with any shew of truthfulness can it be

affirmed in the terms of the first proposition, "That Calvin seems never to have recognised music as a means of religious expression, scarcely even to have appreciated it as an aid to devotion?"

The second proposition, viz., "That Calvin was utterly destitute of musical sensibility," is like the first, of a personal nature, and, therefore, we must seek for a reply to it in the words of Calvin himself. We have fortunately not to seek very far, for every copy of his psalter contains a remarkable preface which fully explains his views of the nature and uses of psalmody. As already stated, it appeared affixed to the first edition of his psalter in 1543, and may be found in all subsequent editions. How this preface can have escaped the notice of historians and critics is a mystery we will not attempt to explain, but will be glad to hear if any explanation can be offered. Let it speak for itself:—

"As for public prayers, there are two kinds of them—the one is expressed in words only, the other with song; and this is no recent invention, for from the first origin of the church, this has been the case, as appears in history. And even St Paul does not speak of verbal prayer alone, but also of singing. And in truth, we know by experience that song has great force and power in moving and inflaming the heart of man to invoke and praise God with more vehement and ardent zeal.

"It should always be seen to that the song should not be light and frivolous, but that it have weight and majesty, as saith Saint Augustine; and also that there is a great difference between the music that is employed for the enjoyment of men at table, and in their houses, and the psalms which they sing in church in the presence of God and his angels. But when the form here given is rightly judged of, we hope that it will be found holy and pure; seeing that it is simply constructed for the edification of which we have spoken, as well as that the use of singing may be greatly extended. So that even in the houses and in the fields, it may be to us an incitement and an instrument or means to praise God and raise our hearts to him; and to console us in meditating on his power, goodness, wisdom, and justice, which is more necessary for us than we know how to express.

"For the first, it is not without cause that the Holy Spirit exhorts us so carefully, by the Holy Scripture, to rejoice ourselves in God, and that all our joy should rest there as its true end. For he knows how truly we are inclined to please ourselves in vanity. Thus while our nature draws and leads us to seek all means of foolish and vicious enjoyment—on the contrary, our Lord, to separate and draw us from the allurements of the flesh and of the world, presents to us every possible means to fill us with that spiritual joy which he commends so much to us.

"But amongst other things which are suitable for the recreation of men, and for yielding them pleasure, music is either the first, or one of the chief, and we must esteem it a gift of God bestowed for that

end. Therefore, by so much the more, we ought to see that it is not abused, for fear of soiling and contaminating it; turning that to our condemnation which was given for our profit and good. Even were there no other consideration than this alone, it ought to move us to regulate the use of music, so as to make it subservient to all good morals, and that it should not give occasion for loosing the bridle of dissoluteness, that it should not lead to voluptuousness, nor be the instrument of immodesty and impurity.

"But further, there is scarcely anything in this world which can more powerfully turn or bend hither and thither the manners of men, as Plato has wisely remarked. And in fact we experimentally feel that it has a secret and incredible power over our hearts to move them one way or other. Therefore we ought to be so much the more careful to regulate it in such a manner, that it may be useful to us, and in no ways pernicious. For this reason, the ancient doctors of the church often complained that the people of their time were addicted to disgraceful and immodest songs, which, not without cause, they esteemed and called a deadly and Satanic poison for corrupting the world.

"But in speaking of music, I include two parts, to wit, the words, or subject and matter; secondly, the song or melody. It is true that all evil words, as saith St Paul, corrupt good manners, but when melody is united to them, they much more powerfully pierce the heart, and enter in: just as when by a funnel wine is poured into a vessel, so poison and corruption is infused into the depth of the heart by the melody.

"What then is to be done? It is to have songs not only pure, but also holy, that they may be incitements to stir us up to pray to and praise God, and to meditate on his works, in order to love him, fear him, honour and glorify him. But what Saint Augustine says is true, that none can sing things worthy of God but he who has received the power from himself. Wherefore when we have sought all round, searching here and there, we shall find no songs better and more suitable for this end than the Psalms of David which the Holy Spirit dictated and gave to him. And therefore when we sing them, we are as certain that God has put words into our mouths as if he himself sang within us to exalt his glory. Wherefore Chrysostom exhorts all men and women and little children to accustom themselves to sing them as a means of associating themselves with the company of angels; further, we must remember what St Paul says, that spiritual songs cannot be sung well but with the heart; but the heart requires the understanding: and in that saith St Augustine lies the difference between the song of man and that of birds, for a linnet, a nightingale, and a jay (*papegay*), may sing well, but it will be without understanding.

"But the peculiar gift of man is to sing knowing what he says. Further, the understanding ought to accompany the heart and affections, which cannot be unless we have the song imprinted in our memory, that we may be ever singing it.

"This present book, for this cause, besides what otherwise has

been said, ought to be particularly acceptable to every one who desires, without reproach, and according to God, to rejoice in seeing his own salvation, and the good of his neighbours; and thus has no need to be much recommended by me, as it carries in itself its own value and praise. Only let the world be well advised, that instead of songs partly vain and frivolous, partly foolish and dull, partly filthy and vile, and consequently wicked and hurtful, which it has heretofore used, it should accustom itself hereafter to sing these heavenly and divine songs, with good king David.

"Touching the music, it appeared best that it should be simple in the way we have put it, to carry weight and majesty suitable to the subject, and even to be fit to be sung in church as has been said.

"Geneva, 10th June 1543."

No more thorough, hearty, comprehensive, and exalted views of psalmody have ever been expressed. And if any candid reader, with such a clear and striking statement of Calvin's views before him, can say, "that he was utterly devoid of musical sensibility, as *every page of his works*, and every element of his character indicate," we would like to know upon what evidence such an extraordinary assertion is founded.

The third proposition, that "in no Calvinistic country is there a church song," contains a charge so general and so sweeping, that it is difficult to know how best to deal with it.

What is a "Calvinistic country?" Would Calvinistic church not better express what is meant? And what is properly a church song?

In considering the music of the churches, the subject naturally divides itself into two branches—the music of the Romish, and the music of the Reformed churches. In music, as in faith and doctrine, these had little in common.

In the Romish Church the music was the prerogative of the priesthood; the people had only to listen to the performance of the musical service. It might be to the droning intonation of the priests, to the artistic singing of a surpliced choir, or to the music of the organ in all its grandeur. The people had no part in it, and, therefore, such music can in no sense be considered a "church song." The genius of the music of the Reformation was quite the opposite. The hearts of the people, delivered from the darkness of popery, must find vent for their joy and gratitude, in song. Psalms and hymns of praise were translated into their own languages and set to suitable music. In these, as we have seen, they found the appropriate expression of their newly-born spiritual light and life.

Luther, Calvin, and Knox claimed for the people their portion in the service of praise in the sanctuary, and supplied them with an appropriate "church song."

The Reformed churches divide into two great branches—the Lutheran, and the Calvinistic.

The claims of the Lutheran branch to a church song, as expressed in the German Psalter, are acknowledged. With it we have at present nothing further to do. The charge of having no church song is directed exclusively against the Calvinistic branch of the Reformed churches.

Looking at the creeds and confessions of the various Protestant Churches (not Lutheran) in Europe, in England and Wales, Ireland, Scotland, America, and generally throughout the world; it will be found that, with the small exception of such denominations as hold Arminian or Socinian views, or some other minor "*isms*," they are all Calvinistic by profession. We are not aware that any of these minor "*isms*" have done much for sacred music; it is the "church song" of by far the larger portion of all Protestant Christendom that is called in question.

As the charges against Calvin personally, contained in the first and second propositions, can only be maintained by ignoring altogether his labours in the cause of psalmody, and his views upon the subject, fully and deliberately expressed in his preface to the Genevan Psalter, so, in like manner, the charge that Calvin's blight has rested upon the "music of his followers," and that churches called by his name have no church song, can only be maintained by such as do not know the Genevan, Scotch, and English, Psalters; or are too full of prejudice to look at them.

Luther's great hymnal and psalter (Valentine Babst's edition) contains about one hundred and forty-seven pieces of music in all. These consist chiefly of the tunes of old Latin hymns,—many of them doubtless come down from the earliest days of the Christian church,—the tunes of popular German songs, adapted to sacred words; and of tunes composed by himself.

The Genevan psalters, French and English, contain a larger quantity of music than Luther's. Some of the tunes are borrowed from the German Psalter, but the great bulk of the music appears for the first time in the Genevan psalters. The tunes of this psalter were universally sung in all French and English speaking churches; they are still freely used not only on the Continent, but many of them have passed into all the psalters of enlightened Christendom. In the early English and Scottish psalters, additional melodies of the same character were introduced, along with tunes borrowed from the early German psalters; and thus the church song of the world has been built upon the foundation of the German, Genevan, English, and Scottish Reformation psalters. The music of these early psalters consisted chiefly of what are called "proper tunes," or a special tune for each psalm. Out of so large a

collection of sacred music as is to be found in the Genevan, English, and Scottish psalters, it is hard to specify any of peculiar excellence where all are so good ; but what lover of psalmody is not familiar with the Old 1st, 29th, 44th, 46th, 68th, 81st, old 100th, 113th, 119th, 124th, 134th, 137th, 148th ; and where in the whole range of "church song" can anything be found to surpass these tunes in all that is excellent and beautiful ?

In the Scottish Psalter of 1635,* appeared, in addition to the "proper tunes" of the earlier editions, a collection of thirty-one "common tunes." Several of these are tunes of English origin, which had found their way to Scotland. Among these common tunes may be found, for the first time, the tunes of French, Stilt or York, Dundee, Dunfermline, Abbey, Martyrs, Elgin, Melrose, Caithness, Culross, and others. No trace can be found to indicate by whom these melodies were composed ; but who can say that a country which has produced such music has no "church song ?"

We close our remarks upon this point by a few extracts from the preface by Dr Mainzer to his Standard Psalmody of Scotland. Edinburgh, 1845. Of Dr Mainzer's judgment and good taste, there can be no question.

"Zwinglius, who at the head of the Waldenses fought and fell, was an accomplished musician, and composed many hymns and sacred melodies. When Beza and Marot's translation of the psalms appeared, with the music of Guillaume Franc, they were sung in all Switzerland and France.

"The Huguenots sang psalms in the streets and public places in the various towns. . . . In the Netherlands, 1562, the Calvinists assembled with similar demonstrations in the streets of Tournay and Valenciennes.

"The Reformation in England manifested itself in singing psalms. Bishop Jewel, in his letter to Peter Martyr, 1560, says, 'A change now appears more visible among the people, which nothing promotes more than the inviting them to sing psalms.'

"Mace, in his work 'Music's Monument,' tells us that, at the siege of York during the great rebellion, 1644, all the knights and lords and soldiers, with whom the cathedral was filled to suffocation, joined in one immense congregational chorus, which made the ground shake under them. 'For myself (he adds) it was the best harmonical music I ever heard, far exceeding all other cathedral music, and infinitely beyond all verbal expression or conceiving.'

"In Scotland, also, psalm-singing was the tocsin sounding the approach of the Reformation. The people having insulted the bishops in the palace of the queen, and, after destroying the statue of St

* A beautiful reprint of this rare book was, through the liberality of William Euing, Esq., Glasgow, issued there in 1864. It was edited (with full critical and explanatory dissertations) by the Rev. Neil Livingstone of Stair.

Giles, 'gathered in such crowds that none of the doers could be reprehended, for the brethren assembled themselves in such sort in singing psalms, that the proudest of the enemies were astonished.'

"During the bloody period of the Persecution, when the people, not allowed to worship according to their conscience, fled to the mountains, their psalms resounded, often in the midnight hour, in those recesses of the wilderness, in those crags and caves in which hitherto the wild fox alone had reigned, and where the owl alone had sung, in hideous accents, her nocturnal lay. Psalms were in those hours of desolation their comfort, their hope; psalms were their call in distress, their cry of liberty. In singing those sacred strains the Covenanters knew no earthly power, no earthly fear; unshaken they looked in the face of the enemy, they looked in the face of death. With exalted self-denial they knelt to receive the fire of their executioners, either upon the solitary moors or surrounded by terrified crowds upon the market-place; and thus at the gates of eternity they sang their farewell to a life of sorrow, their forgiveness to a world of persecutors. . . .

"The musical productions of the Reformation have been analysed, published, and re-published by continental writers; but not one of them has ever mentioned the existence of a psalmody of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, which, had it been known to them, they never would have passed over in silence. In opening John Knox's '*Psalms and Liturgy*,' where the tunes are printed with the psalms, and where almost each psalm has its own tune, we are surprised at the simplicity, the beauty, the spirit which animates Scotland's now-forgotten melodies of former times. What can be superior to the first psalm in John's Knox's collection? What can be more touching, more imbued with meekness, confidence, and piety than the 119th Psalm, '*With me thy servant in thy grace*'? Is there in any collection of any country a tune in which trust, hope, and triumph, after days of grief and calamity, are expressed in more elevating, in deeper felt melodious strains, than the 124th Psalm, '*Now Israel may say, and that truly*'? This tune is nowhere to be found but in the Scottish psalmody. . . .

"As the revival of sacred music has begun in Scotland, as its power and usefulness upon church and school, and its influence upon domestic happiness, have been acknowledged, we are not far distant from the time when music will form a part of popular education, when no teacher, no child, will be a stranger to its principles. Music, from being a companion to children, will be a companion to men, to the nation at large; and it is but right, in days when thousands of voices learn again to sing the harmonies of all Europe, that those sacred melodies of Scotland, the witnesses of all the trials and the triumphs of the Presbyterian Church, should not be forgotten."

J. M.

The fourth and last proposition contains the charge, that in consequence of the malign influence of "the unmusical Calvin," "the psalmody of Calvinistic countries has become a byeword and a needless repulsion." This is another general and sweep-

ing charge, necessarily arising from prejudiced information, or from imperfect knowledge.

It is unfortunately too true that there was for a long time a great deterioration in the psalmody of the reformed churches; but has this been more the case in Calvinistic countries than in others? Where is the happy church or country that has retained the full vigour of its Reformation song? What is the peculiar blight that has fallen on the Calvinistic churches more than on the Lutheran? What charm has there been in any other "*ism*" to preserve the song of praise in the sanctuary? Is it not true that, after long years of persecution and trial, times of coldness and death have passed over all Protestant churches? But, in spite of all, not a few of the sacred melodies of the people have been preserved in constant use for centuries among the hidden ones in many lands.

The tunes of the Puritans, which were carried by the Pilgrim Fathers to the western world, have ever since been cherished there, and still are the chosen melodies of their descendants in New England. The same tunes are still among those in constant use in every parish in Scotland, as well as among the descendants of the expatriated Nonconformists who found a refuge in Ireland.

No more thoroughly national melodies can be found in the world than the sacred songs of the Calvinistic churches of Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. The church songs of these countries, as well as those of the Calvinistic churches of Holland, France, Switzerland, and Piedmont, are associated in the memories and hearts of the people with all that is noblest in the annals of their countries, and most revered and cherished in the story of their martyrs, and consequently these long-loved melodies have a power for good over the minds of the people which the grandest strains that ever sounded through cathedral aisles would be powerless to produce.

No doubt much of this precious legacy of music has too long been overlooked, but it has not been lost. Though it may have fallen into abeyance for a time, it is now rapidly coming into general use again. The great revival of the churches during the present century has been in no way more strikingly manifested than in the remarkable change that has taken place in their church song.

One cause of the decay and too general disuse of the national psalmody of our country, was the outburst of music of a novel and peculiar kind introduced by the rise of Methodism in England during last century.

Here, as elsewhere, music in the church, so far as it could be called a "church song," had fallen asleep. This new vigorous, thrilling music, touched the hearts, and stirred up the sym-

pathies of the congregations. It spread everywhere with the hymns of Wesley and others, and while this work of religious and musical revival was greatly blessed among the people at large, England has not yet recovered from the shock then given to her purer psalmody.

Another cause of the decay of the old national music of the churches, has arisen from the unfortunate treatment that many of the most characteristic melodies received at the hands of musicians, who, not having a knowledge of the peculiar structure of the music, set themselves to improve the tunes, so as to harmonise them in modern forms. On this account, not a few of our finest melodies have been lost to the churches, or so metamorphosed that the strongest choirs cannot induce any congregation to follow, and to sing the tunes as arranged in our modern psalters.*

But though there has been a sad declension in the psalmody of the churches, a great change for the better has taken place within the last twenty years. No one interested in the cause can fail to have been struck by the number of psalters issued within that time by the evangelical churches, and the great improvement that has taken place, not only in the character of the tunes sung, but in the manner of singing them.

As in the days of the Reformation, the then recent invention of the art of printing gave wings to music, so that what had long been an occult science usurped by the priesthood, became the privilege and common property of the people. So in our day, with a cheap press, with a wonderful change in the mode of teaching, and, by recent legislative enactments, the doors opened wide for the introduction of better methods of

* Examples may be found in Luther's "Turk and Pope" hymn-tune and the Scotch "Dundee." Into these tunes a sharpened seventh in the minor mode has been introduced, but no such note exists in the tune in Luther's psalter, nor in Dundee, as sung by the people in Scotland. A curious result has arisen from the endeavour to force upon Scotch congregations the modern form of Dundee as it appears in the English "Windsor." It has led to the introduction of the tune in another form, called "Coleshill," which is very popular, and has long been nationalised in Scotland. The composer, or origin of this tune "Coleshill," has always been a difficulty to psalmodists and editors of works on church music. It is therefore generally stated that the author is unknown, but any one taking the trouble to analyse the two tunes, "Dundee" and "Coleshill," will find that they are in all essential parts the same tune—all the major and minor sevenths of the scale in Dundee are changed into the fifth of the scale in Coleshill, and thus the sharpened sevenths in the cadences are evaded. Such melodies as "Martyrs" and "Bangor" are all but banished from the churches. These tunes are written in the minor, founded upon the second of the scale, commonly called the Dorian mode; they have consequently along with a *minor* third, a *major* sixth, which is a very striking peculiarity, but quite common in the national sacred music of Wales and Scotland. It has, however, been a sore puzzle to modern musicians who, in their endeavour to force the music into what they considered proper form, have destroyed it altogether.

teaching vocal music into all our schools, we cannot fail soon to see such a revival, not only of church song, but of school song, and home song, as will not only equal but surpass all that we read of in Reformation times.

In conclusion, we cannot help remarking upon the spirit and temper which characterise the first quotations made in this article. We only regret to say that they are nothing uncommon, but are quite in keeping with the usual mode of dealing with this subject by the majority of historians and critics, from the days of Bayle onwards. We feel, therefore, satisfied that such views have been adopted without proper examination by many in our day who, we are sure, would not willingly ignore the truth, or write in any spirit of unfairness. It is always to be deplored, that in such matters the unseemly element of "*ism*" should appear with its prejudices and foregone conclusions.

Praise is not the prerogative of any sect, but is the birth-right boon of the universal church of Christ. It is remarkable, that while in Holy Writ we find many instances of simulated prayer, extorted under feelings of necessity or anguish, we cannot find in all Scripture one example of the simulation of praise. We have the prayer of the tyrant and oppressor, of the formalist and hypocrite, the prayer of devils on earth, and the prayer of the rich man from the bottomless pit. The ten lepers *prayed* for the healing of their bodies, but only one returned to *praise* the Lord for his gracious answer, and in doing so found the healing of his soul.

Prayer is the heartfelt utterance of the needy and distressed, praise is the highest exercise of the redeemed, soul; it can come only from the renewed heart, and is the natural expression of the new-born being—the voice of joy and thanksgiving can be heard only in the dwellings of the righteous, and in the congregation of the saints.

With regard to the Rev. Henry Allon, on whose remarks we have found it necessary to animadvert, we have no desire to make any personal reflections. But it does seem strange that this reverend gentlemen seldom omits an opportunity, when writing on this subject, of throwing out allusions more or less disparaging to Calvin and the churches which have adopted his discipline. Our Congregational brethren are hardly entitled to assume boastful language on this topic, or to indulge in slighting terms in regard to other churches. They have certainly achieved nothing very great in the past annals of church music; it is only of late years that they have paid any special attention to the subject; and it is notorious, as we have seen, that they are indebted in a large measure to the treasures of the Calvinistic music which Mr Allon is so fond of depreciating.

We are unable to account for this prejudice, for it is impossible in this enlightened and liberal age to suppose that any small differences in Calvinistic theology or government could induce Mr Allon to ignore our obligations to the Genevan Reformer in the matter of sacred song; nor can it be wholly ascribed to ignorance, for Mr Allon has himself been engaged in effecting a considerable improvement upon the old namby-pamby hymns which satisfied the English Nonconformists of a former age, and on the rather inferior Methodist type of music to which they are accustomed. And he cannot fail to know that the Presbyterian Churches in Scotland have for nearly thirty years been foremost in the work of Psalmody Reform, and that one of the best and most successful of our hymn-books has emanated from the Presbyterian Church in England.

C. B.

ART. VIII.—*The Ethics of Political Economy.*

SCARCELY any science has higher claims on the attention of the theologian or moralist than that which concerns the mode of promoting the wealth of nations, and we do not wonder that divines like Dr Chalmers and Archbishop Whateley have written able treatises on the subject, and themselves taught its lessons from the chairs of universities. Yet, there is danger, lest lamenting, though often with just reason, the extreme eagerness and competition for wealth which are so characteristic of the present state of society,—seeing what a spell wealth exercises over almost every class, how it engrosses their heart and the mind, and how often the care and enjoyment of a whole life are rendered up a sacrifice to its shrine,—theologians and moralists may not be drawn to a general condemnation of the science, and to regard both the motive power and its emanations with great dislike. Not a few are in fact ready to reproach the political economist for his extreme materialism. Making no allowance for the necessity of confining a science within certain boundaries, he is charged with limiting his observations to one class of phenomena only, and those of a purely material character, setting aside, or ignoring, those moral principles and precepts which give direction and impulse to both matter and mind. Mr Ruskin, with great felicity of language, but with utter misapprehension of the design of economic science, makes a parody of its teaching when he puts in the mouth of the economist: “The social affections are accidental and disturbing

elements in human nature; but avarice and the desire of progress are constant elements. Let us eliminate the inconstants, and, considering the human being merely as a covetous machine, examine by what laws of labour, purchase and sale, the greatest accumulative result of wealth is obtainable." It is not true that the political economist ignores the affections as a motive power. All that may be said is, that he leaves to moral science the laying down of the laws for their direction and government. As well should astronomy not be treated as a science because of its incompleteness, without geology or mathematics, or any one of the physical and natural sciences may be considered insufficient and unsatisfactory unless regarded in connection with all the other sciences. Political economy is a science of observation. It finds certain facts affecting the material progress of nations, and teaches the laws which may be deduced from them. Doubtless the facts themselves are the results of human energies, human sentiments, human affections, and these are governed by other motives; but if we are to remount to the origin of our being before we attempt to account for any of the facts within our grasp, we shall never make any progress. It is quite erroneous, moreover, to imagine that political economy ignores or does not provide for the action of social or moral influences. We all know that natural causes act directly on men and things. The geographical distribution of population and the different degrees of productiveness of land, must needs affect their forces and abilities. Freedom and intelligence are well recognised as the parents of industry. Education, whether moral or intellectual, affects the will and directs our actions. Nor is political economy quite isolated from, or independent of, other sciences. What is production but a physical problem? Economic science may not deal directly with the physical nature of things, yet it accepts the prior aid of physics and chemistry. As the object of mechanics is to cause a motive power to produce the greatest possible effect, so is it the object of political economy to obtain the greatest amount of production from any productive force. With mathematics and algebra, political economy is eminently allied, since the science is entirely built on quantities in their relation to one another. Just as moral science purposes to regulate the springs of human action, as the appetites, the affections, and the mental desires, by rectitude and virtue, so it is the design of political economy to seize these affections and desires, and regulate them in their relation to that which is truly good and useful. And is there not an immediate affinity between jurisprudence and political economy, in that the ultimate object of both is the public good?

It denotes an utter misconception of the science to say, that political economy is a science founded on no science, and an

art founded on artlessness. The science of exchange is not founded on the ignorance or incapacity of the opposite person. The person who exchanges what he has of superfluous for what he wants, needs not depend either wholly or in any wise upon the ignorance, powerlessness, or heedlessness of the other for the success of his operation. In truth, any attempt to establish political economy either upon an incomplete basis, or upon ignorance, or avarice, fails the moment we begin to examine any one of the grounds on which the charge is made.

Let us have a distinct idea of what political economy really is. Surely it is unnecessary to say, that political economy and politics are two distinct sciences. Politics treat of the structure of Government and of the distribution of power. They treat of matters which relate to national right and independence, and to the manner of conducting treaties or maintaining peaceable relations with other states. Political economy treats of the production and distribution of wealth, of capital and labour, of money and currencies, of value and prices. The politician examines the principles on which Government is founded, and unfolds the reciprocal duties and obligations of the governing and governed portions of society. The political economist judges of the acts of Government, and examines whether they are in unison with the great principles of economic science. When, therefore, we commend the study of political economy, to theologians and moralists, as well as to merchants and bankers, we do not mean to ask them to learn political, but economic science,—to inquire into matters not connected with war and peace, with Parliamentary or official acts, but as affecting the material welfare of man in his individual or collective capacity. Nor do we use the word economy, in the sense of frugality or parsimony. The words, political economy, are derived from two Greek words, *οἶκος* "house," and *νόμος* "law," or the law which should govern the house, or the mode of managing a house. What economy is in a family, political economy is in a state. And since the word "house" was understood by the Greeks to include the property belonging to the family, so the word "*παῖς*," extends the same to the political family, and thus it becomes the economy of society, or social economy, as it has been called. God has placed us as stewards of a great household. There are riches of a boundless character given to us quite gratuitously, without any labour on our part, which no ignorance or wickedness of ours can exhaust or destroy. But there are riches over which we have a great and direct control, and which may be mismanaged, and have been mismanaged to a fearful extent. Should we regret that political economy gives some lessons for the proper management of such riches?

"Abundance is a blessing to the wise,
The use of riches in discretion lies."

Thankful, indeed, should we be, that we have a science which points out the means by which human industry may be rendered most productive, the circumstances most favourable to the accumulation of wealth, and the mode in which it may be most advantageously consumed.

But the best way to try the worth of political economy as a science, is to examine what it has done, what errors it has removed, what evils it has avoided, what good it has achieved. Let it not be imagined that the science has long been known, or that its teaching has guided the legislation of states for many years. It is of the nature of all experimental and inductive sciences, to be of a slow and gradual growth. They are the result of observation; the work of time. The constant recurrence of certain facts often stir up thought; they force themselves on our consideration, and become the subject of intelligent study. Theories are framed; crude and defective it may be, at first, our notions daily acquire vigour and stability, till at last we are enabled to grasp at some solid and expansive principles, which carry us on to greater and greater development. Built by steps so gradual, it is often impossible to fix the specific date when such sciences have been first discovered, and at what stages they have made the most rapid strides. Who discovered political economy as a science? Does the honour belong to Plato or Aristotle, to the ancients or to the moderns; and if to the moderns, was Colbert, Quesnay, or Adam Smith, the real founder of the science? Is France, England, or Italy, entitled to the distinction of being its birthplace? In some senses, political economy is older than we are disposed to think, inasmuch as in every age, in one way or another, nations have tried to ameliorate their physical and moral condition; but there is great difference in the means used for that purpose. The Greeks were not indifferent to riches, but they indulged in idleness, and were always looking for help from the State. The Romans never thought on the advantages of promoting material prosperity. Their statesmen never descended to the study of industrious details; they did not understand their importance. In the middle ages, when territorial property became the foundation of the new political system, and when the only social classification recognised was that of lords and vassals, land naturally formed the only distinction of wealth. And when, subsequently, the commercial cities of Italy rose to power, it seemed as if commerce was the most powerful engine for the acquisition of wealth. Hence it was, that all the writers who, during the seventeenth and the middle of the eighteenth century, directed their attention to

one or more branches of political economy, came to the conclusion that manufactures and foreign trade were the chief causes of the wealth of nations. The French economists, on the other hand, pretended that manufactures and foreign trade were incapable of producing wealth, and, in their opinion, agriculture was the only real source of the same. A modification was afterwards suggested, on the basis that wealth depended on a profitable exchange of national for foreign products, or on a favourable balance of trade. And thus by degrees the whole structure of the mercantile system was built, which became the fruitful source of evils, misunderstandings, and wars.

It is no exaggeration to affirm, said Mr Stark in his treatise on Political Economy, that there are but few political errors which have produced more mischief than the mercantile system. Armed with power, it commanded and forbade what it should have protected. The regulating mania which it inspired, tormented industry in a thousand ways to force it from its natural channels. It made each nation regard the welfare of its neighbour as incompatible with its own. Hence the reciprocal desire of injuring and impoverishing each other, and hence that spirit of commercial rivalry which has been the immediate or remote cause of the greater number of modern wars. This system stimulated nations to employ force or cunning, to extort commercial treaties, productive of no real advantage to themselves, from the weakness or ignorance of others; it formed colonies that the mother country might enjoy the monopoly of their trade, and force them to resort exclusively to her markets. In short, where it has been productive of the least injury, it has retarded the progress of national prosperity. Everywhere else it has deluged the earth with blood, and it has depopulated and ruined some of those countries whose power and opulence it was supposed to carry to the highest pitch. But why spend our time in recounting the failure of such a system, the disappointments it created, the injuries it inflicted, and the wrongs it perpetrated? Happy it is, that Adam Smith, by his great work on the "Wealth of Nations," exposed the fallacy of the mercantile system, and dissipated all its errors.

Though well initiated in the principles of the French economists, Adam Smith knew how to avoid their errors. Instead of granting that agriculture had alone the capacity of producing wealth, he attributed the same power to commerce and manufactures. He was as opposed to the mercantile system, as he was to the agricultural. He attacked it on its principles and method; he stripped it of its pretensions. He saw in gold and silver nothing more than products similar to any

other products, procurable in the same manner, and concluded that all privileges, bounties, and prohibitions, were useless and injurious. For a time the "Wealth of Nations" remained almost unnoticed, but when the French Revolution burst upon Europe, and when all established institutions were ruthlessly reversed or sharply criticised, any work which advocated freedom of any kind was sure to be applauded, and a work which made all wealth depend upon the unlimited liberty of labour, capital, and trade, could not fail to be received with rapture. The economists themselves, who were at first its worst adversaries, and had treated it with hostility, abandoned their objections, and gave it their entire adhesion; and thenceforth and ever since, the principal writers on political economy in this and other countries, have been unanimous in ascribing to Adam Smith the title of founder of this modern science.

Whilst, however, theoretical writers were thus making slow progress in the knowledge of the laws which promote the increase of wealth, a better and surer method was discovered for arriving at the truth. Hitherto political economists groped in the dark. At best they could advance individual opinions of an empiric cast. Now facts came to their help: the riches of nature came to be estimated with accuracy; the forces of the nation; the instruments at work,—what is produced, what is consumed,—became the subject-matter of carefully recorded experience; and thus by the aid of statistics, political economy has acquired the character of a fixed science; it has ceased to be tentative; it has become experimental. It is not now what economists tell us, but what facts bring before us. Of course, it is easier to lay down *a priori* a law or a principle, than to arrive at it by the observation of facts, but when thus reached, the foundation is much more certain and safe. Haste in drawing conclusions is the greatest cause of all errors in economic science. We are all too prone to generalise, and too unwilling to bring our theories to the test of experience, yet no theory can have any pretension to be accepted as correct which is not supported by general experience.

Would, indeed, that in practice there had been a readier and better discernment of the proper method for promoting national wealth, and that more regard had been paid to the teaching of experience. But, alas, for years, the national policy of this and other countries was regulated by the most erroneous principles, and errors were committed, and wrongs perpetrated, which we might well wish could be obliterated from our national records. Even now we are at an immense distance from the right path, and many stones on the way hinder our progress. But we must have faith in the future. Political considerations may for a time engross the attention of the financier and legislator. National prejudices

may stand in the way of the adoption of great principles. Ignorance may cover and disfigure facts, and even so warp our judgment as to cause us to maintain and defend erroneous and fallacious theories. Still, notwithstanding all these opposing influences, and out of all this chaos, truth will arise in all its majesty. Our own interest will dictate a policy not at variance but in unison with the designs of Providence, and we shall be led to acknowledge that the soundest principles of economic science are the surest guarantee of our safety and prosperity.

As I have said at the outset that wealth is the subject-matter of political economy, it may be as well to state, that by it the meaning of wealth was immensely enlarged. What was the great error of the advocates of the mercantile system? It was to consider wealth as synonymous with gold and silver, whence came the great anxiety to attract the precious metals to the country, and to hinder by every means their departure, as if their importation constituted the only real gain, and their exportation so much substantial loss. By enlarging the conception of wealth beyond this narrow limit, political economy conferred a great service, and in fact gave quite a new turn to national legislation. Doubtless, we might go farther still. If we call wealth, *all* we can desire, as useful and delightful, we should include under it intelligence, freedom, power, influence, and many other possessions which contribute to our happiness; but inasmuch as these qualities or endowments are neither material nor transferable, political economists found it necessary to restrict the idea of wealth to that which is the result of human labour, material and susceptible of change, or, as Mr Senior put it, to that which has utility, limitation of supply, and transferableness. This may be a limited idea, but it has the advantage of being definite, and it is an important matter in every science to have a clear nomenclature, since confused ideas respecting the meaning of words are an effectual bar to every progress. In the sense of utility there is included whatever is useful or affords pleasure. By limitation of supply, it is meant that the article must be obtainable only at the expense of a certain amount of labour, or by the surmounting of some obstacle, be it greater or smaller, absolute or conditional. And by transferableness, we understand that, unless an article is capable of appropriation and transfer, it cannot be wealth to any one. As with wealth so with capital. To avoid confusion, political economy defines it very closely. In common parlance, we speak of a man having a large capital, as contrasted with a man having a large income; by which we attach to capital the idea of wealth; or we call a moneyed man a large capitalist, confusing the idea of capital with that of money.

Mr Senior defines capital an article of wealth, the result of human exertion employed in the production of wealth. What makes an article of wealth capital, is not, therefore, the kind of commodities, but the intention of the capitalist to employ it for purposes of reproduction. Again, however, I must premise that political economy limits the meaning of capital to material objects. Doubtless, the skill of an artist, the genius of a composer, the wisdom of a statesman, the talent of a man of letters, the health and strength of a labourer, are so much capital to their respective possessors. But although these intellectual, moral, or physical qualities may bear the closest analogy to material objects, and might be shewn to be governed by the same laws, they do not enter within the limits of economic science, and they are not included in the idea of capital. With the laws which govern immaterial wealth, the political economist, as such, has nothing to do, but he is not a stranger to the close analogy which the immaterial bears to the material, as the following illustration from the able pen of the late lamented and genial Dr Hamilton in "*Excelsior*" beautifully proves:— "A young scholar is making his first trial of composition, and he fears that this essay will exhaust the sum total of his literary property. He thinks he has a few good ideas, and one or two rather striking illustrations. But if he puts the whole into the present speech or poem, what is to become of him? There will be no assets left; he will be reduced to intellectual bankruptcy. But you say, No fear. An earnest mind is not a bucket but a fountain, and as good thoughts flow out, better thoughts flow in. Good thoughts are gregarious; the bright image or sparkling aphorism, fear not to give it wing, for, lured by its decoy, thoughts of sublimer range and sunnier pinion will be sure to descend and gather round it. As you scatter you'll increase." And it is in this way, that whilst many a thought which might have enriched the world, has lain buried in a sullen or monastic spirit, like a crock of gold in a coffin, the good idea of a frank and forth-spoken man gets currency, and after being improved to the advantage of thousands, has returned to its originator with usury. It has been lent, and so it has not been lost. It has been communicated, and so it has been preserved. It has circulated, and so it has increased.

LEONE-LEVI.

ART. IX.—*Was Goethe a Christian Poet ?*

THERE are two classes of persons to whom the query propounded at the head of this paper will appear a rather startling one. In the first place, it will seem strange to the numerous individuals who turn away with an approximation to a "holy horror" from the writings of the great German poet, and strongly suspect the orthodoxy of those who express admiration of his genius. That many such individuals exist in the world, and especially in our own country, is beyond all doubt; and we would not for a moment question the thorough conscientiousness of their convictions. We respect some of them for their various estimable qualities; but there are two things we would earnestly commend to their attention,—that they should be quite certain they have really read Goethe's works before they pronounce their judgment; and that, if they *have* perused them, they should try to contemplate them as much as possible from the standpoint of the author himself, instead of from that of their inherent or acquired partialities and prejudices. Rightly to understand, and fitly to criticise, the literary productions of any man, it is absolutely necessary that we should at least endeavour to look with the producer's own eye, and lay aside our pre-conceived notions as to how he ought to write and what he ought to write; and this is a rule which, if binding in the case of our perusal of the works of every one, is especially binding with regard to works like those of Goethe. For the idiosyncrasy of the great German was so distinctive, his individuality, notwithstanding his many-sidedness, was so strongly marked and so clearly defined, that justly to apprehend and appreciate him requires no ordinary exertion, no slight projection of ourselves, as it were, while we read his writings, into his own peculiar sphere. Now, it is only the smaller number who are capable of making such an effort in a calm, patient, reflective, large-minded way; and thus, even, if as already pre-supposed, Goethe's works be read at all (a fact which, in the case of no insignificant section of individuals, we greatly doubt), the dense mist of one-sidedness and bigotry rises between the reader and the page, and prevents him from befittingly appreciating the true meaning which pervades the sentences contained in it. We still remember, after the lapse of long years, the offence given to several excessively good, but rather weak-minded persons, when a probationer of the Free Church, otherwise blameless in his orthodoxy, prefixed as motto to a pamphlet which he published on some ecclesiastical subject or another, the famous quotation from the *West-östlicher Divan*, in which Goethe affirms that "the one

peculiar and deepest theme of the world and of mankind remains the battle between belief and unbelief.* It might be supposed that this was a very innocent extract; nay, more, that it was highly laudable, inasmuch as it embodied a comprehensive fundamental truth, at once deeply philosophic and truly religious; but no, it was enough that the quotation was from Goethe; it proved a sore stumbling-block to many, and effectually kept them from reading farther than the title-page. This incident, which occurred in the circle of our own acquaintance, may seem a little trivial; but "a straw shews how the wind blows"; and there can be no manner of doubt that similar strange notions with regard to the general character of Goethe's writings were, at the time referred to, widely prevalent, and do indeed prevail, although not perhaps to so great an extent, at the present day. Now, it is exceedingly plain that persons tinged with these and like opinions will be much surprised,—possibly even shocked,—to find such a question put as the one which forms the burden of our paper.

There is a second class, however, who will, we believe, experience just the same emotions, although from a cause diametrically opposite to that which we have been attempting to describe. We allude, of course, to the readers whose admiration of Goethe's genius is so intense, that it hurries them into a blind, unreasoning, fanatical hero-worship,—a hero-worship which casts such a *glamour* on their vision, that in their idol they see a man without a fault, and in his works creations so perfect that not the slightest flaw can be detected in them. If we are compelled to choose between the two extremes, we shall certainly select the former, because it is better to err on the safe side, and to deny to Goethe the possession of any literary and moral excellence,—absurd though the denial be,—than to set him up, as is done by his frantic worshippers, on a pinnacle of supreme dominion, to be adored as the one model man, the great exemplar of all the talents and all the graces. This latter course, so frequently pursued, is to us simply insufferable; and we never hear his devotees loudly declaiming in behalf of "the great German master," without impatiently and almost wrathfully recalling to our mind the many blemishes in Goethe's works, as well as the many sad and serious defects in his character. But let us, in sober earnest, ask the question, Wherefore adopt either extreme? Can we not choose a *via media*, and while on the one hand we shun the ridiculous hero-worship of certain parties, on the other hand, avoid the bigoted narrow-mindedness which would consign Goethe's

* "Das eigentliche, einzige und tiefste Thema der Welt-und Menschen-geschichte, bleibt der Conflict des Unglaubens und Glaubens."—*Goethe's Sämmtliche Werke*, vol. iv., p. 264.

pages to an expurgatory index, and refuse to attribute aught in the shape of Christian colouring to their contents? Assuredly we can do this, and we are convinced that it is our duty to do it, in accordance with every principle of common justice and impartiality.

But, leaving for a short while the two extreme classes of whom we have hitherto been speaking, and who, we are well aware, will considerably marvel at the bare propounding of the query which forms our theme, let us endeavour to settle a point lying at the very foundation of the aforesaid query, viz., what is it that goes to constitute a Christian poet, in the true and proper sense of the term? Be it noted we enter into no discussion of Goethe's claims to highly exalted rank as a poet simply and solely. His legitimate title to that rank is acknowledged on all sides, even by many of those who call his works immoral, irreligious, and unchristian. In our own estimation, Goethe is one of the three greatest poets of modern Europe, occupying, along with Dante, a throne only second to the royal seat of Shakespeare. His *Faust* would of itself, although he had never written another book, have fitly bestowed on him this exalted honour,—an honour which, we think, can alone be denied to him by those whose intellects are dwarfed, or who are blinded by unreasoning prejudice. What a wonderful range of the noblest poetical creations we find in the grand cycilus of the entire Goethe-literature! Turning from *Faust*,—with its profundity of thought, its penetrating pathos, its unrivalled knowledge of the world, and its mastery of outward form in each variety of style,—and passing, for example, to *Wilhelm Meister*, we have in the *Lehrjahre* the character of Mignon, perfect as a psychological study,—which even our own Scott, mighty master as he was, so poorly imitated in his Fenella, in *Peveril of the Peak*,—Mignon, whose figure haunts the reader like a dream, and whose strange sad tale is traced with so skilful, so delicate a hand.* Whole volumes might be written on Goethe's heroines especially. At the head of them stands Gretchen, the interest of whose tragic story culminates in that last scene of the first part of *Faust*, where the author bears us down with him into an abyss of sorrow, that makes the scene to which we refer perhaps the most pathetic passage in modern European literature; and Gretchen is followed by a host of others, minor, indeed, in point of all-absorbing attraction, yet each gifted with a fascination of her own. It is in this marvellous creative power, this originality in the construction of

* We include Goethe's prose fictions under the common title "poetry," as poetry, in the scientific sense of the word, embraces all imaginative writing, whether rhymed or rhymeless.

character, whether male or female, coupled with the vast versatility of a mind that seemed to have mastered all branches of human study, and all forms of external expression, that the true secret of Goethe's influence resides; and it is on such a foundation that we take our stand when we assign to him the illustrious rank we have already indicated. But, as by general confession he fully enjoys that rank, we will not prolong our consideration of it; to do so, would be superfluous; and we therefore again put the question, without a due answer to which it will be impossible to receive an appropriate reply to our chief interrogation,—the question, namely, What is it that goes to constitute a Christian poet, in the true and proper sense of the term?

This is a question which is more easily asked than answered. So many and various are the views that prevail with regard to the proper definition of the words "Christian poet," that we fear our own interpretation of them will fail to give general satisfaction. It appears to us, however, in the first place, that the mere utterance of rhymed devotion by no means makes a man a Christian poet, else would the most wretched hymn-scribbler justly claim the title. In the English language we have numerous beautiful and noble hymns,—equal to the best produced in Germany and Scandinavia,—and yet we feel that we would scarcely be warranted to call any one distinctively a Christian poet on the strength of his having penned two or three devotional pieces, no matter what might be their degree of excellence. It seems to us that the Christian poet is he whose writings breathe the tolerant and loving spirit which is ever the result of the Christian faith when realized in the soul of the believing man or the believing woman,—the spirit that, without unnecessarily obtruding itself in the expression of external dogma, evinces its vitality by the spell of a gracious presence, impalpable, but none the less both powerfully and delicately experienced. For it must be farther borne in mind that the loftiest truths and the profoundest experiences of the Christian religion are alike incapable of fit embodiment in outward shapes of poetry; they lie altogether beyond the range of weak human words; they are spiritual altitudes and spiritual abysses which are unutterable even in the case of the most gifted of the sons of men. The believer's soul, in the rapt fervour of devotion, soars upwards, and is lost in the blaze of the ineffable glory; the same soul, stooping downwards, plunges into the depths of its own mysterious nature, and is lost again in that strange region of spiritual wonders; but any attempt at the external expression of either of the two experiences is sure to be almost or utterly abortive, just because imperfect humanity, even in its sanctified condition, possesses no means of rightly shewing

forth what is in itself so profoundly, thoroughly emotional. We think that this fact is far too frequently forgotten, and that therefore, strange and erroneous views prevail as regards the true Christian element in poetry. Our noblest, sweetest devotional experience is intensely subjective in its character, and it is impossible, by the very laws of our being, for us to clothe it in external objective form; but the truest poetry is that in which the objective element preponderates, and so we cannot style the effort outwardly to express the mere subjective feeling of devotion,—and the warmer the devotion, the more difficult will be the endeavour,—a poetry which is worthy of the name at all. We repeat that the true Christian poet is he who, penetrated and pervaded by a loving Christian spirit, allows that spirit to radiate like genial sunshine from every production of his pen. It is not necessary that his themes should be purely Christian themes,—far, very far from *that*; they may be themes which have no positive connection with the Christian faith in any way; yet they should be treated so as to convey to the reader the impression that he who handles them has drank deep at the mighty well-spring of Christianity, and that the Divine Belief, destined finally to subdue the world, has conquered the singer's own rejoicing soul. Such is, of course, simply our individual opinion; and we know that there are many who will refuse to accept it in the exact terms in which we have laid it down. Notwithstanding, it is our decided conviction that the definition now given, largely serves to clear away preliminary obstacles, and greatly enables us to return a satisfactory reply to the main question which lies before us.

The query, be it carefully noted, has to do, not with Goethe, but with his poetry,—not with the man, but with his works. An author may be thoroughly religious, thoroughly Christian, and yet exhibit no very marked traces of it in his writings; just as an author may be the reverse, and yet throw an outward veil of religion over the productions of his pen. But the question we set ourselves to consider is one which deals with Goethe's poetry, and not with Goethe's conduct. The great German's personal character, whether moral or religious, is not the point at issue. We all know that, neither as regards the one aspect nor the other, does it claim the unmingled admiration of mankind. As concerns morals, not a few of the actions of his life were highly culpable, and, although we quite agree with his English biographer, Lewes,—who has thrown fresh and favourable light on Goethe's character,—that he possessed a largeness of heart for which the world did not give him sufficient credit, still it is beyond doubt, that in his inmost being he was intensely, supremely egoistic. As concerns religion, although he outwardly conformed to the Lutheran

Church,—hating, indeed, popery with a wrathful hatred, which would have pleased the most zealous Protestant among ourselves,—he was certainly the opposite of what is strictly termed pious, and had but a slight hold of some of the fundamental principles of the Christian faith. His creed bore a strong Pantheistic stamp; although to call Goethe an out-and-out Pantheist, as is so frequently done, appears to us quite unwarrantable. At the same time, with the wonderful versatility that formed one of his chief features, he had intellectually grasped, if he did not spiritually believe, the main doctrines of the Christian religion,—as witness, for example, the striking episode in *Meister's Lehrjahre*, entitled “The Confessions of a Beautiful Soul.” Yet we must again remind the reader that, after all, it is not with Goethe himself that we have to do, but with his writings; and, in order to answer our leading question, it is necessary that we should now devote a little time to the consideration of the tone and spirit of his poetical works.

Let us here at once frankly confess that there are passages, although not numerous, in *Faust* and in some of his other poems, which all sober-minded admirers of Goethe must deeply regret should ever have appeared. Such passages we would not willingly place in the hands of the young and innocent. Yet let us at the same time be just and charitable in the judgment we pass on these things. A careful study of the entire works of Goethe entitles us to affirm that he never pourtrays vice for vice's sake, or gloats over the sin he depicts as if he dearly loved it. We are bound to remember that Goethe was essentially an *objective* poet, that the dramatic element was signally developed in him, and that therefore he was irresistibly impelled by the whole bent of his genius to delineate the most opposite characters, the most opposite circumstances. What he makes the old re-awakened Cretan say in *Des Epimenides Erwachen*, may be fully applied to himself:—

“ With sense serene I longed to comprehend
What eye and ear alike to me presented,
And thus the world transparent grew before me
Like some clear crystal vase with all it held.”*

He took men and women as he found them, and depicted them accordingly; as a born dramatist, his object was not to exhibit them as they *should be*, but simply as they *were*; and so he neither unduly brightened the lights, nor unduly darkened the shadows, but reproduced the exact figures on the canvas

* “ Mit heiter'm Sinn verlangt' ich zu verstehn
Was mir das Auge, was das Ohr mir beet;
Und gleich erschen durchsichtig diese Welt,
Wie ein Krystallgefäss mit seinem Inhalt.”

of his works. His marvellously comprehensive vision embraced all the aspects and forms of life, and his main motive was to represent objectively those forms and aspects, so that as perfect a portraiture of them as was possible might be thereby secured. We may, indeed, say that the limning of lofty ideals is a nobler aim than this; but it is enough for our present purpose that Goethe thought differently, and acted up to his convictions, whether right or wrong, of true poetic art. And so we reiterate, that where any immoral passages are to be found in the works of Goethe, such passages are never immoral in their *tendency*, whatever they may be in themselves. No one who has any ordinary knowledge of the world, and who is aware of the evil that exists in it, will be made worse by the perusal of these passages—although, for obvious reasons, as already mentioned, it would be unwise to place them in the hands of the youthful and inexperienced.

Further, we will confess with equal frankness, that in the strictest sense of our previous definition, Goethe cannot properly be styled a Christian poet. No one will assert that, as a whole, his poetry is interpenetrated and pervaded by a thorough Christian spirit. In the case of dramatic works, nevertheless, it is difficult to perceive how this interpenetration of the Christian spirit can be as distinctly visible as in the case of other kinds of poetry; and seeing that so much written by Goethe must be classed under the purely dramatic rubric, we may exclude to some extent the latter from consideration at the present time. Yet it is only right that we should make an exception in the case of *Faust*, which is not purely dramatic, but a combination of dramatic, epic, and lyric, and moreover, is the work which most faithfully reflects the leading peculiarities of Goethe's genius. Taking up *Faust*, then, we will appeal to it for an answer to our query. The idea which pervades this great poem,—when we contemplate its first and second parts as forming a harmonious whole,—is unquestionably a Christian idea. It is the eternal rescue of Faust's sinful soul, after that soul has passed through many spheres of widest and most varied experience, by the omnipotent power of the Divine love at last. It would be absurd, of course, to affirm that this rescue assumes the true orthodox form which is embodied in ecclesiastical creeds, and contained in the New Testament Scriptures. At the close of the work, Goethe employs a symbolism, borrowed from the mythology of the Romish Church, for the purpose of portraying the final translation of the purified soul of Faust to the glories of the celestial world. But the *idea* is, in its broad general aspect, essentially Christian, and this in spite of numerous pagan elements that are to be found in the previous course of the poem. Mark

again,—if we view the work not as a whole, and just select the first part,—the Christian idea that pervades the last scene of the same, when Gretchen, on the eve of her execution, refuses to listen to Faust's tempting voice, while he urges her to fly with him from prison, and in deep sorrow and repentance is willing to sacrifice her bodily life, that she may enjoy eternal blessedness. Yet, at the same time, her spirit yearns to procure a like salvation for the soul of her guilty lover; and the "Heinrich! Heinrich!" of her final address, is the voice of impassioned Christian affection, which would expend its entire volume in leading him, were it possible, upwards to the glory which she herself anticipates in the world beyond the grave. In these two passages, the direct influence of the Christian faith on the mind of the author, is clearly manifested,—a fact far too seldom the case in the works of Goethe; for although its indirect influence is there frequently discernible, it must be confessed that of the former there is much and significant dearth. This leads us to remark further, that in a large section of the second part of *Faust*,—the scenes in the "Pharsalian Fields," by "Peneios," by the "Ægean Sea," as also in a considerable portion of "Helena,"—the writer was treading on old classic ground—ground exclusively pagan—where there could be no legitimate admission of the Christian element at all; and therefore in such scenes we cannot expect to find it. With regard to other scenes in the second part, and several in the first part, we may confidently asseverate that they reveal the presence of a living indirect Christian influence, i.e., that they could only have been penned by one breathing the atmosphere of a Christian country and a Christian age, and familiar from his boyhood with the outward forms and results of what may be called Christian civilisation, but they betray no deeper *direct* impression, produced by the Christian faith in itself; and it is not therefore on them that we would take our stand, were we inclined to assert that Goethe was a Christian poet in the proper acceptation of the word. But in truth, as already allowed, he was no such thing; he would have been the foremost to affirm that he never intended to be so; and thus we may expect in vain, when carefully examining his writings, to discover corroboration of a fact which had no positive existence. As a farther illustration of our meaning, let us take *Wilhelm Meister*, the greatest of Goethe's prose poems, and here we shall find once more the Christian element curiously intermingled with the pagan, that is to say, in the latter half of the work. For in the first half, the *Lehrjahre*, there is no religious aim, nor even moral aim, at all perceptible; it is an inimitably distinct and vivid picture of the world and life, betraying that clear insight into character, which the author,

beyond most men, possessed ; still, what we may at least call a negative pagan element reigns in it supreme. Of course we except the remarkable episode already alluded to, the "Confessions of a Beautiful Soul." But in the latter part of *Wilhelm Meister*, the *Wanderjahre*, we seem to pass to a different region, and to breathe another atmosphere. We can here trace the direct as well as indirect influence of Christianity. There is abundance, and superabundance indeed, of ethnicism ; yet a warm Christian colouring flushes with genial hues the limbs and features of the cold, clear-cut heathen statue. The indirect influence of the Christian faith exerts itself in the fascinating first two or three chapters of the book, beginning with the one entitled "The Flight to Egypt ;" and we feel that had it not been for the Cross, such chapters would never have been written. Dipping deeper into the *Wanderjahre*, we come to the passages that describe Macaria, one of the most interesting of Goethe's female characters, who, with the subtle spiritual affinities that link her so mysteriously "to the solar system," is virtually the creation of a Christian poet. And in the chapter in which the famous "Three Reverences" are described, the direct influence of Christianity is palpable. Far from orthodox, without question, seems the threefold religion of the "Reverences ;" yet is there much in it which bears the broad distinctive mark of our divine faith. "Christianity," says Wilhelm's guide and instructor, "is the final goal which mankind can and must attain. How much is there required, not merely to let the earth lie beneath us, and to trust in a higher fatherland, but also to recognise lowliness and poverty, scorn and contempt, debasement and squalor, suffering and death itself, as divine. . . . Of this, indeed, we find traces in all ages, but traces are not the goal ; and when that goal has once been reached, mankind can never retrograde ; and so it may be affirmed that the Christian religion, because it has once appeared, can never pass away, because it has once become incarnate in divine form, it cannot through all the future be dissolved." Nay, Goethe goes a step further, and professes, with perfect apparent honesty, to find his doctrine of the "Three Reverences," in the apostles' creed. "Its first article," he says, "is ethnic, and belongs to every people ; its second is Christian, for those who battle with suffering, and in that suffering are glorified ; its third, finally, teaches an inspired communion of the saints, which means all who in the highest degree are truly good and wise. Shall not then the three Divine persons, under whose name and likeness such convictions and promises are enunciated, with justice be accounted the supremest Trinity ?" Sufficiently rationalistic, it may be urged,—and we do not deny the charge ; what we contend for, is

simply that the broad Christian stamp is here apparent, that we have a direct Christian influence operating in the mind of the writer.* It would seem, that as Goethe's life rolled on, and he began to descend into the vale of age, the paganism of his earlier years retreated into the background, and the Christian element assumed a position far in advance of that which it had previously held. At the same time, it must be remembered, that this earlier paganism was at least, in the case of some of his works, in some measure softened down by the indirect influence of Christianity. Take, for example, his *Iphigenia*, published in 1786, of which it has been said with equal truth and eloquence, that "in beauty of language and intensity of pathos, it is a tragedy surpassed by none of Goethe's works, but the calm which overspreads it is hyper-Greek, and Euripides himself appears rugged in contrast to his German rival." *Iphigenia* is a heathen subject, cast in pure old classic mould; and yet its essential paganism,—which was of course necessary in the circumstances,—is qualified in a way that can be felt, although not expressed, by what we recognise as an infusion, however slight and well nigh imperceptible, of the Christian element. A similar remark holds good of several of Goethe's earlier productions, written before the fierce ferment of his youthful spirit had wholly passed away, and given place to the majestic calm, the statuesque repose, which so signally distinguished him in the later period of his life. But it is unnecessary to multiply our instances; enough has been said to prove that, apart from sporadic passages, and when his poetic works are contemplated as a whole, the writings of Goethe have no just claim to be considered those of a Christian poet, in the strict significance of the words.

And now, if the above be correct, we are prepared to hear the question put in a somewhat different shape,—Is Goethe, in any sense of the term, entitled to the appellation of Christian poet? As we have answered the preceding query in the negative, we feel no difficulty in replying to the latter in the affirmative. Goethe, every one of course acknowledges, was no didactic Christian poet, like our own Cowper; nor was he, we have also seen, a poet directly influenced by Christianity, like Felicia Hemans, or her far more highly-gifted sister-singer,

* How far Goethe was from sympathising with the central principle of the rationalists, is evident from what he says in one of his conversations with Eckermann, in 1829. "The Christian religion," such are his words, "is a mighty spiritual lever, by which sunken and suffering humanity has ever raised itself out of the depths, from time to time; and because we ascribe to it this effect, it is exalted above all philosophy, and from it needs no support."—*Eckermann's Gespräche mit Goethe*.

Elizabeth Barrett Browning; but, beyond all doubt, he was a Christian poet in this sense, that he was a ripe product of Christian culture, Christian thought, and Christian emotion, in so far as such agencies could affect a nature that was rather Greek than German, rather statuesque than pictorial, and especially, rather ethnic than Christian, in its inherent principles. Here we must again remind the reader of our definition, in a former page, of the character of the true Christian poet. "The true Christian poet," we affirmed, "was he whose writings breathe the tolerant and loving spirit which is ever the result of the Christian faith when realised in the soul of the believing man or the believing woman,—the spirit that, without unnecessarily obtruding itself in the expression of external dogma, evinces its vitality by the spell of a gracious presence, impalpable, but none the less both powerfully and delicately experienced." Weighed in the balance of this closest test, Goethe, as we have found, is wanting. Nor, indeed, would it be an easy matter to discover any one person who perfectly fulfils the conditions we have thus laid down. But, with regard to Goethe himself, how otherwise stands the case? Is he to be denied all right to the name of Christian poet because he is not a Christian poet in the strictest and truest sense of the expression? Surely no. So far as a broad and tolerant spirit is concerned, he copiously possessed that gift by nature, and, although it remained unbaptised by genuine Christian belief, it was not, we are well assured, unimpressed by external Christian forces, which gave to it a greater warmth and deepness, and redeemed it from the charge of being simply and solely an ethnic virtue. So far, again, as the believing realisation of the Christian faith is concerned, while we of course confess,—and confess it frankly and sorrowfully,—that Goethe possessed little, if any, believing realisation of that faith in the scriptural and, therefore, alone real meaning of the words, we refuse to hold that in no sense whatever was he under its mighty spell. What we *have* allowed is quite sufficient to exclude him from the ranks of strictly Christian poets; what remains, after making every allowance, is enough to secure for him a place among those who owe much of their power and fame to the fact that their minds possessed a large receptivity for the outward Christian influences. By such influences Goethe was environed from his boyhood. Born and brought up in quaint old imperial Frankfort, round whose walls there clustered so many memories of the Christian culture of the middle ages,—for let us recollect that there did exist a mediæval Christian culture, even if, as Protestants, we rightly deem it in many ways defective,—and trained in the midst of external religious observances, gifted, too, with a nature of

abnormal quickness and susceptibility, Goethe could not fail to be impressed, in the years that are most impressionable, by all to which he listened, and by all which he beheld. Nor were their lacking influences of a profounder, directer character. He tells us towards the commencement of his Autobiography,—a careful perusal of which will shew how, both during his boyhood and his youthhood, he was closely accompanied by the outward influences of Christianity,—that he perpetually heard conversations and discussions on religious matters ; there were endless debates about the Lutheran Church and those who had left her pale ; separatism, pietism, &c., were familiar as household words to the ears of the future poet.* Now, although all this was not without injurious results in after years, inasmuch as we believe that such unprofitable religious discussions were partly the means of inoculating Goethe with disgust at the name of piety and driving him into the byepaths of negation and indifference, still it was something to be encompassed by at least the outward Christian atmosphere, and to be acquainted with the forms of Christian life from so early a period of existence. As the years rolled on, the Christian culture at that time prevalent in Germany was brought to bear with deepening power on Goethe's impressionable spirit. It combated there, as on a royal battle-field, with the native pagan element, until finally a truce was concluded between the two antagonists, and they agreed to coalesce. This is the true secret of Goethe's intellectual and moral development, and the only thing that satisfactorily opens to us the exact significance of his works. Hence the wonderful reconciliation which is to be found in them between the real and the ideal,—the first, the pagan element, and the second, the Christian, are there harmoniously fused in one. As the whole matter has been succinctly stated in a single sentence which occurs in a book where we should hardly have looked to meet with it, viz., Krahn's *Internal History of German Protestantism*, "Goethe shaped all the glimpses of light which the richest life threw upon his soul, into a world of clear, distinct, and bright pictures of imagination, which are not, like Schiller's ideals, in morose antagonism to the reality, but have the reality amidst and within themselves."

Goethe, then, was by training and position, emphatically a child of modern Christian culture, which exercised a large influence on the native tendencies of his mind, and which, superadded to his inborn paganish inclinations, made of him what he afterwards substantially became. The Christian faith was not for his soul a felt, indispensable reality,—a reality which

* *Wahrheit und Dichtung. Sämmtliche Werke.* Vol. xx., p. 48.

could alone save it, and work out for it eternal glory,—but a grand well-spring of mental, moral, and spiritual culture, a mystery, indeed,—yet a mystery not to be received into the heart as the principle of life everlasting,—a mystery, on the other hand, simply to be appreciated and revered as the noblest of existing external institutions. Now, it is in this latter sense that we style Goethe a Christian poet. The product of a Christian people and a Christian age, he wrote without the believer's child-like faith in Christ, but with the thinker's deep belief in Christianity,—that is to say, in the vital power it possessed to impart the highest culture to the world. It will serve to make the whole matter more plain to some, if we say that Goethe was a *humanistic* poet; his theme, throughout its multitudinous variations, was humanism, in some points warmly tinged with Christian colouring, in many points very slightly, and in many others devoid of any Christian colouring at all. As a vivid illustration of his strongly humanistic tendencies, we may adduce that remarkable fragmentary poem, *Die Geheimnisse* (The Mysteries), written by him so early as 1785. A young brother of a religious order, named Marcus, loses his way in a mountainous district, but at last discerns a stately building, the appearance of which indicates that it is the dwelling of men retired from the world for some secret and mysterious purpose. He finds there twelve knights, who, after passing through a stormy life, where labour, peril, and suffering encompassed them on every side, have in the end resolved thus to sojourn together, and to serve their God in solitude. A thirteenth, whom they acknowledge as their superior, is just on the point of taking his departure from them,—in what way, is not stated; and during the preceding days he had begun to relate the story of his life, of which a short account is given to the newly arrived stranger, who has been kindly received by the brethren. A mysterious apparition of festive youths, bearing torches, which in rapid course illuminate the gardens, concludes the singular poetic fragment. Now, let us hear Goethe's own explanation of this poem, given by him to the world about thirty years afterwards, in 1816. "In order," he says, "that I may elucidate the further purpose of the poem, nay, its plan in general, and its peculiar object, I may state that the reader was to be conducted through a kind of ideal Montserrat, and, after he had taken his way amid the various regions of the mountains, with their precipices and rocky heights, was at last to reach a territory of broad and fertile plains. Each of the knightly anchorites was to be visited in his separate dwelling, and there, through the contemplation of climatic and mental diversities, the reader was to discover that the most gifted men from all the ends of the earth had in

this locality assembled with the intention of calmly worshipping God, each in his own peculiar way. The reader, thus led about in the company of brother Marcus, will become aware that the most varied moods of thought and feeling which are developed *in*, or impressed *on*, mankind, by atmosphere, region, nationality, necessity, and custom, are here represented in chosen typical characters, whose aspirations after the highest culture are appropriately expressed,—although imperfectly in the case of each individual,—by the one common life which they all lead together. In order that all this, however, may be possible, they have gathered round a single personage, who bears the name of Humanus,—a course they would not have adopted, had they not collectively experienced a similarity, an approximation to him. This common mediator is now unexpectedly leaving them, and they learn, with as much sorrow as instruction, the incidents of his past career. These incidents are not merely related by himself, but each of the twelve, with whom he has from time to time come in contact, can give information with regard to individual sections of that grand story of a life. Thereafter the reader will discover that each separate religion attains a moment of supremest bloom and fruitfulness, when it approximates to the aforesaid superior and mediator,—nay, rather becomes completely united with him. These epochs appear fixed and embodied in the twelve representative knights, so that the reader will find any recognition of God and virtue, whatsoever strange shape it may assume, worthy of all honour, of all love. And now after long intercourse, Humanus may unreluctantly depart from them, because his spirit has incarnated itself in all of them, and has become their property, so that it needs no earthly garment any more. When thus, according to such a plan, the sympathising reader, guided in spirit through all lands and ages, everywhere discerns the most cheering results which the love of God and man has, under forms so manifold, evoked to life, he then experiences the happiest emotions, since neither aberration, abuse, nor disfigurement, which make every religion odious at certain epochs, present themselves to view. As the whole transaction takes place during Passion-week, the chief sign of this knightly society is a cross wreathed with roses; and it may easily be foreseen that the eternal duration—sealed by Easter—of our exalted human state will also here, at the time of the departure of Humanus, be consolingly revealed. And that so noble an association may not be left without a head, the pilgrim Marcus is, in strange supernatural fashion, elevated to the post of superior, who, without extensive knowledge, without aspirations after the unattainable, well deserves, by humility, fidelity, and true activity in the

pious circle, to preside over the beneficent community, so long as it shall exist on earth. Had this poem, when it was planned and commenced thirty years ago, appeared in complete shape, it would have, in some measure, anticipated its time. At present, again, although since that period ideas have been expanded, feelings have been purified, and many views of matters have been cleared up, people may perhaps like to see that which is now universally recognised, arrayed in poetic dress, and may thereby confirm themselves in those beliefs through which alone each person, on his own individual Montserrat, can hope to find happiness and rest."

In this extract we find all the large-minded but latitudinarian humanism that was so eminently characteristic of Goethe, to which is superadded, however, a tinge of the Christian colouring; for, in the "cross wreathed with roses" there is a symbolism which sublimates the mere natural humanistic element, and elevates the entire piece to a higher Christian sphere. Unfortunately we have too seldom such a direct, or even any strongly indirect forth-putting of the Christian influence in the works of the great German poet. *Die Geheimnisse*, among his earlier smaller productions, stands very much alone; and it is when we pass to a subsequent stage in his history, that we come to aught resembling it in its tone of strange mystic religiousness, and of earthly humanism with its soft shadows tempered by the reflected lustre of the Christian faith. That old phenomenon again meets us, with wondrously undiminished opulence, in the pages of the *Wanderjahre* and the second part of *Faust*. Referring as we now are, to Goethe's minor poems, we may take the opportunity of indicating another which is strongly, if indirectly, tinctured with the Christian spirit. We mean the short *Novelle*, translated so admirably by Carlyle, where the boy with his sweet singing subdues the lion, and leads him captive at his will, a suggestive type of the fearless courage of Christian innocence and holiness in the midst of the most appalling dangers.

By way of throwing fresh light on the subject of the present paper, we may now vary the question which forms its title, and put the matter in a shape which is negative instead of positive, i.e., we may ask, Do the works of Goethe, as a whole, and in their general tone and spirit, conflict with Christianity? Here we must necessarily leave out of view the passages in them to which we have already alluded, that may be deemed in themselves immoral, although without an immoral tendency.—and also the passages in which the sceptical or the Pantheistic element may be thought, and thought with justice, to preponderate. Moreover, we must exclude the poems which are classic in their themes, and therefore legitimately pagan in

their character,—such as the *Prometheus* and the *Pandora*,—as well as those which, without being directly pagan, may be understood as the expression of the poet's own æsthetic sorrow that the dominion of the old Greek world of art should have for ever passed away. An instance of the latter class we have in the beautiful but heathenish *Bride of Corinth*,—the counterpart, in this respect, of Schiller's *Gods of Greece*,—in which the writer mourns, assuredly in no special Christian fashion, over the dead divinities of Olympus. Excluding all such productions, we have a large mass of remaining poetry, of which we are warranted with perfect truth to affirm, that neither in letter nor in spirit does it conflict with the great principles of the Christian faith. Our assertion may be doubted ; but it is based on long and close acquaintance with the works of the illustrious German, and we are persuaded that it will bear the strictest scrutiny. Take, as an illustration, the world-famous *Werther*. Everybody now-a-days is aware that to imagine that Goethe intended in the hero of this extraordinary book to depict himself, is one of the absurdest of mistakes. Werther conceives an unhappy passion for his friend's wife, and in the end blows out his brains,—*ergo*, it was concluded in former times that the author would be prepared to follow, in similar circumstances, the same course of conduct ! Surely this is utterly opposed to the whole character of Goethe,—a man whose life-philosophy might almost be summed up in a single word, “*Entsagung*,” resignation, or rather renunciation. Only in one very slight respect is there any resemblance between the author and his hero. Goethe had, shortly before he wrote the book, become warmly attached to a certain young girl, but, on learning that she was already betrothed to another person, he at once and honourably put in practice his favourite renunciation-principle,—whereas Werther does precisely the reverse ; and this simple fact just shews us what was Goethe's object when he penned the work. He wished to portray “the laws of nature in conflict with the bye-laws of society,”—a difficult problem to disentangle ; his solution of the problem was resignation ; for a weaker character like Werther's, the solution was the crime of suicide. The whole book, rightly understood, is a stern and solemn warning ; and to it he prefixed the motto, “*Be a man, and follow him not.*” There is surely nothing anti-Christian here. Of a far posterior production, the *Wahlverwandschaften* (*Elective Affinities*),—published in 1809,—the same may be with truth affirmed. It is perfect as a work of art, and contains scenes of the deepest pathos ; but what renders it chiefly interesting is the circumstance that it deals, under new conditions, with the problem that forms the old theme of *Werther* ; only in the *Wahlverwandschaften*, as has been well observed,

“we are directly taught what in *Werther* we were taught by implication, that the solution of the problem lies in a resignation which recognises the ordinances of society without becoming part of them, and obeys them without incorporating their inhumanity.” In other words, we must obey the command of duty, we must renounce, we must resign ourselves; and, frankly admitting that it is rather on Stoic than on Christian ground that Goethe bases our practice of such a virtue, we still, impartially contemplating the whole matter, fail to see anything antagonistic to Christianity in the doctrine thus laid down and illustrated. On the other hand, we discern in it not a little which may be pressed,—if wisely and impartially dealt with,—into undoubted Christian service. Even in the *Natürliche Tochter*, which we confess we do not admire, and which has obtained little favour with those who may be ranked among the most ardent followers of Goethe,—a work where the refinement of language is carried to so extreme a degree that the meaning embodied in the verses is nearly polished away altogether,—even, we say, in the *Natürliche Tochter*, we find only the abnegation of a Christian element, but discover nothing which is, in itself, and in its tendencies, opposed to the grand principles of our common faith.

Until now we have abstained from making mention of another of Goethe's chief poems, which, although it stood alone among his writings, would amply vindicate his strong claim to the title, in an indirect sense, of Christian poet. We refer to *Hermann und Dorothea*, that exquisite idyllic picture delineated on the dark and stormy background of the great French Revolution, and which, in point of completeness of construction and finish of form, assuredly yields to none of the poet's works. *Hermann und Dorothea* is, moreover, one of the healthiest poems of modern times—as indeed there is never anything morbid about Goethe's poetry, but, on the other hand, it is marked by a sound robustness which favourably contrasts with much of the imaginative literature of the present day. In this production there is a distinct infusion of the Christian element; the natural human virtues which it is designed to illustrate are not merely clothed in a befitting robe of song, but that robe is also irradiated in no small measure with the reflected light of Christianity, so that we feel, while we peruse the poem, as if, in addition to the portraiture of mere earthly graces, there were here a subtle spiritual influence that has its birthplace beyond and above this terrestrial scene. Hence it is that we have always in a special manner indicated *Hermann und Dorothea* as a proof that its author was, at least in the subordinate acceptation of the term, a Christian poet of no slight range and power; and we believe

that no impartial person can peruse the work to which we allude without coming to substantially the same conclusion. With reference to the mass of Goethe's *dramatic* works, it has been already explained that, for obvious reasons, it is greatly more difficult to trace in dramas any distinctively Christian element than in the other kinds of poetical creation. Take tragedy, for example. The only strictly valid difference between ancient and modern tragedy is, that in the former the predominant principle is Fate, in the latter, Providence. But the aforesaid difference opens up a region of speculation, both moral and æsthetic, into which we have neither inclination nor space to enter. Apart from this, we think it must be sufficiently plain, that just because the drama pre-supposes the free exhibition of characters,—characters of every kind, often wide as the poles asunder,—it is vain to expect from it the direct didactic edification which so many persons most foolishly anticipate. You may call, unquestionably, a drama a Christian drama, because its scene is laid in a Christian age and country, and its persons are professedly Christian men and Christian women ; but, in its prevalent tone and spirit, it may be pagan after all. And the reverse alike holds good. In the midst of such over-lapping and intermingling confusion, it is better to hold by the broad general fact, that, inasmuch as dramatic poetry is, beyond every other kind of imaginative composition, charged, so to speak, with the purely *representative* element, it is scarcely possible to affirm of any one drama, this is essentially Christian, or of any other drama, that is essentially heathen in its character.* Therefore the answer to the question which forms our subject,—in both its aspects, positive and negative,—is one which cannot be definitely given, in the case of Goethe's dramatic writings, just as it could not be given in the case of the dramatic writings of any other man. Works like *Götz von Berlichingen*, *Egmont*, and *Tasso*, are from their very nature incapable of accurate definition either as Christian or non-Christian poems, except in so far as their themes are themes selected from a Christian century and a Christian land. *Götz von Berlichingen*, which, with *Werther*, first laid the basis of Goethe's fame, is a drama of the great Reformation century,—a masterpiece in its way,—a wonderfully vivid reproduction of the stirring scenes that were witnessed when the dawn of the new temporal and spiritual morn broke upon the sleep of Europe. *Egmont*, again, is a side-piece, as it were, to *Götz*,—more rounded and artistic, yet at the same

* Goethe himself says:—"True representation (*Darstellung*) has no didactic aim. It does not approve, it does not censure ; but it develops the thoughts and actions in their sequence, and thereby it enlightens and instructs."—*Wahrheit und Dichtung. Sämmtliche Werke*, vol. xxii. p. 173.

time full of life and fire, a worthy introduction to one of the noblest events recorded in history, the Revolt of the Netherlands. *Tasso*, finally, is a work of altogether different complexion; it depends for its interest, not on action, but on the subtle development and play of character, in which respect it is unsurpassed by any similar production in any language. In reading it we are surrounded by the rich atmosphere of the sunny south,—

“Where the lemon-trees bloom,
Where the gold-orange glows through the deep thicket’s gloom,”

—and a sweetsense of harmony and rest is the prevalent emotion we experience. Now, these three dramatic poems have, of course, nothing especially Christian about them; and yet we cannot help instinctively feeling, as we peruse their pages, that they could only have been bodied forth under the outward influences of Christianity. Of Goethe’s other dramas we do not speak; we have selected these three as, next to *Faust*, admittedly the foremost.

Let us, before we close, briefly recapitulate. Our line of argument has led us, in the first place, to conclude that, in the stricter sense of the term, Goethe cannot claim the title of Christian poet. This, in fact, we allowed from the very commencement. But, in the second place, we have also seen that, in the laxer acceptation of the words,—as signifying one whose productions have been wrought upon by the external influences of the Christian faith, one whose authorship is to a large extent the ripe result of Christian *culture*, as distinguished from Christian *belief*,—this appellation may with perfect justice be conferred on Goethe. And, thirdly, we have seen that, whatever may be the opinion entertained with regard to not a few isolated passages occurring in his works, it cannot be affirmed, as a general rule, of their prevalent tone and spirit, that they are,—even when, as is often the case, they evince but little impression produced by indirect Christian influences,—positively antagonistic to the fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion. These are points which, it appears to us, we have succeeded in establishing; and we have just to add, that we should be truly grieved to think that, with reference to the previous remarks, there were any danger of misconception on the part of the reader. Some may imagine that we have unduly lauded Goethe; our sole object has been to steer the safe middle course between the extremes of exaggerated censure and exaggerated praise. Let it be remembered, that the view-point from which we have all along written, is not the view-point formally and exclusively of the Christian believer; had this been the case, our language would often have been very different.

As *believers*, we prize such a noble hymn, for instance, as Toplady's "Rock of Ages" far beyond the entire forty volumes of ethic and poetic wisdom which the great German has bequeathed to succeeding ages; but, as impartial literary *critics*, we are constrained to contemplate otherwise his works. Now, it is in the latter capacity,—honestly endeavouring, without prejudiced favour or disfavour, to pronounce a just judgment,—that we have put the question discussed in the present paper; and the answer we have given to it expresses the sum and substance of the clear convictions of our own mind. And, of a truth, none more profoundly regret than do we ourselves that,—as there is too much reason to fear, the most illustrious of modern European poets remained a life-long stranger to the deeper and alone-saving significance of Christ's glorious gospel,—he should never have bowed down his colossal intellect, like other grandly-gifted believers, in lowliest reverence before the blood-stained cross of Calvary. J. J.

ART. X.—*Tholuck's View of the Right Way of Preaching.**

ALTHOUGH it is true that of late the churches are here and there somewhat better filled than formerly, especially where zealous preachers proclaim the Word, yet in many places we find them more and more deserted. The services of Sunday afternoon and of the week-day have been given up for want of hearers. Of entire classes, such as public officers, military and professional men, there is often seen only a single individual, like some relic of antiquity, in the old cathedrals.

In numerous cities and villages, church attendance is almost wholly confined to the middle and lower classes. And even among these, many think it sufficient if they do not forbid the attendance of their wives and children. Unless there is a change, it will soon be the case in some sections of the country, that in our places of worship we shall find, as indeed on Sunday afternoons we now frequently do, only women and children, as was the case during the second century in the temples of Rome.

* "This article is a translation, by an accomplished American lady, of *Counsels to the modern German Preacher*, being Dr Tholuck's Preface to his second series of Sermons."—*Princeton Review*, July 1870. [Although this translation is in some places obviously incorrect, we do not hesitate to give it insertion as it stands, from regard to the intrinsic value and present importance of the thoughts which it contains.—*Ed. B. & F. E. Review*.]

I speak here of what is very common in a great part of Protestant Germany. There are, of course, many cheering exceptions. In whole districts, from long-established custom, church-going is as general now as it was formerly. This is the case in Wurtemberg and in a number of the Saxon provinces. Besides, there are individual preachers who, by their brilliant oratorical gifts, know how to draw together a cultivated audience. There are also those who fill the churches by their bold exhibition of Gospel truths.

Good church-attendance, therefore, is either the continued influence of an earlier and happier period, the effect of distinguished talent in the preacher, or the fruit of a strong and newly awakened faith. But with the greater part of the public, the customs of this former period are becoming more and more obsolete. Teller once preached a sermon to *sixteen* hearers, in which he warned them against the error of considering church-going an essential part of Christianity.

This doctrine, which he and others like him inculcated, has borne its legitimate fruit. Every year in the cities, and from their example in the villages also, the number is continually lessening of those who attend divine service, either from habit or a sense of duty. The magnetic power of brilliant oratory is imparted to but few; and even of these there are many instances where neither this attraction nor that of a heart glowing with faith is sufficiently strong to turn back to the church the better-educated classes who are setting from it in full tide.

The prospect for the future appears still more gloomy. Will those times ever return when, at the sound of the bell, the father, bearing his hymn-book under his arm, hastened with all his family to the house of God? when every pew contained a household? when it was matter of common remark, if, in the seats of the church officers or magistrates, there was a single vacant place? Will those times return, when the faithful pastor shall find, not a scanty representation from different sections of the town, but his whole flock collected as one man before him. Many a preacher now stands in his pulpit who is forced to cry out with Harms, "Ah, Lord, one thing only I ask of thee, that I may not preach to *empty seats*."

By what means can the educated classes be induced once more to join in public worship? Even at the very time when aversion to this worship arose, such a delusion was prevalent, that Marezell, a very popular preacher, advised his brethren to present fewer and fewer of those positive truths of Christianity for which the cultivated cherish unconquerable dislike; thus, in homœopathic fashion, proposing to cure the unbelief of the hearer by the unbelief of the preacher. The time of this

delusion has gone by. Many now feel that the preacher, if he would fill the church, must enter it as a man called to unfold the mysteries of God. Faith, however, is not the only thing necessary in order to win back our educated classes to the service of the sanctuary.

We must extend the hand toward the despisers of religion among the learned. One important reason why evangelical preachers often fail to attract this class, is, that they speak *from* the circle of faith to those standing *within* that circle, thus rendering themselves unintelligible to those without it. The power of habit in the form and style of the sermon has an injurious influence. Although Scripture truth presented in this form bore blessed fruits for centuries, yet it was at a period when faith was a vital element in the religion of the people. This period, for the middle and higher classes, is almost entirely past. To them the Bible narratives are a fable-world, illuminated by a magical mingling of light and shade.

In order to make apparent the difference between the past and the present, the past should be recalled. Let the preacher, as was then common, request his people to bring their Bibles with them, in order to satisfy themselves that he declares not the word of man, but that of the eternal God. And to establish the truth on every important point, let him call on them to open at the text he cites. "This is altogether too simple," the cultivated ladies and gentlemen would exclaim.

We ought not, however, to find fault with them on this account, because for many of them there is no longer any Word of God. In this circle there is at most only traditional faith enough to allow the minister to open the Bible and read from it a proof-text. And even this many look upon as a stage stroke for effect. The preacher must therefore begin and build anew. Not that he should come out from the strong, high tower of his faith founded upon revelation, and descend to that wide, treeless desert where one is driven hither and thither by the rising and falling winds of doctrine. But he should turn in a friendly way toward those wandering in the mazes of error, and invitingly point them to the path leading to this tower of faith.

To accomplish this, there is needed a clear and attractive *exposition of Scripture*. George Müller wished he could lose all memory of the Scriptures, so that, studying the classics down to Pliny and Seneca, and coming freshly to the Bible, he could observe how it would then appear to him.

Reverence for the sacred oracles, is connected in numerous minds with hallowed reminiscences of the past. There is many a one who has seen the grey head of his father bowed in family devotion, and upon whom his mother, when he was

a child, was wont to lay her hand in prayer—to whom a choral of Bach, or a cathedral like that of Cologne, has given the impression that a religion which calls forth such creations, *must* contain some germ of truth. Let the preacher regard such reminiscences as sacred, and weave them into his discourse.

The wish expressed by George Müller, a truly excellent man, whom a pious mother taught to lisp the name of his heavenly, at the same time with that of his earthly father, has been to many among the learned more or less unconsciously fulfilled. For such ones let the preacher expound the Scriptures, looking for hearts which, rejecting the divine, are open only to what is human. Thus, here and there, Herder has done, except that like Chateaubriand, he has exhibited the beauties of the Christian religion rather than its eternal truth. The same, yet in loftier flights, has been done by Schleiermacher for those still farther estranged. No one of later times has been so much as he the preacher of religion to the learned among its despisers. That there is something more in Christianity than in the beautiful fables of antiquity—that it is a reality enduring beyond all time—for the knowledge of this truth, many are indebted to Schleiermacher, who afterward obtained a deeper experience.

From Schleiermacher, the preacher among the educated can learn much. For the work of the ministry the most liberal culture is essential, as well as the nicest discernment. At a time, when for many, Shakespeare is higher authority than Paul—when a single distich of Goethe has more weight than the whole Epistles to the Romans and the Galatians; at such a time, if a preacher would have influence over his congregation, he should not be unacquainted with their authorities. If anywhere, certainly here may the words of the apostle be applied: "All things are yours."

An English divine was found one Saturday studying Gibbon. On being questioned concerning this, he replied: "If I belong to Christ, Gibbon is surely mine, and a harvest-field that bears fruit for my master."

On this point the preacher of our times is met by that mode of thinking which can hardly make wide enough the separation between common life and the pulpit. For this reason, preaching appears to educated minds, pedantic, formal, mummy-like. "Even the word Russia has been used in the pulpit," complains a sensitive reviewer.

In opposition to such purists, one might be tempted to exclaim with Harms:—"6thly. Let the preacher speak negligently and incorrectly."*

* "Treatise on Speaking with Tongues," p. 824.

I do not, however, here allude merely to the approximation of the *language* of the pulpit to that of common life, though in this respect, too, I am of the opinion of Harms, but also of the *doctrine* of the pulpit, the two being connected. If we would win back our educated men, and bring them under the influence of the pulpit, we must not avoid there, any more than in every-day conversation, a reference to those scenes among which life is spent. If the homilists complain of and condemn us, Paul, who in Athens quoted Aratus in his discourse, and among the Cretans, Epimenides, will be our protection. One of the advantages thereby gained is an increase of confidence in the preacher. He no longer appears to us a man of the sacred caste, who speaks from the schools, but with us, he has experienced the trials of a difficult and troublous time. It is not the *preacher*, but the *man*, who speaks to us.

In order to make the understanding of Scripture more easy and attractive for this class—instead of preaching upon single texts, the homily, and still more, the *connected exposition* of the *sacred books* is desirable. Sermons from individual, isolated texts, have contributed not a little to strengthen the opinion that the Bible is only the magical background, of whose ancient religious gloom, the preacher makes use to heighten the effect without ever daring approach it.

And, indeed, would not many a preacher feel himself under constraint if, instead of the single text to which he appends his remarks, it were required of him to present fully and clearly all he knows and believes concerning an extended portion of Scripture. This method of sermonising, however, would tend to establish a more personal relation between the preacher and his audience. The more particular the exposition, the more will his dependence upon the Bible be manifest, and the more will disappear those miserable common-places and that vague, essay-like style which now make many sermons so tedious.

Let it also be considered what a very great want of knowledge of the Bible there is in the present generation of hearers. Apart from that abundance, nay, that superabundance of catechetical and biblical instruction which we find in the schools of former centuries, how must the mere habit of church-going have extended the knowledge of the Bible!

With this was also connected a far greater use of church history, and a fuller comprehension of the various old ecclesiastical forms which yet exist, but upon which the educated modern looks with smiles of wonder, just as the listener in the English Parliament, in the midst of a crowd among whom is seen nothing but what is modern, looks upon the long peruke of the speaker.

With what increased interest will his hearers attend, when the preacher is prepared to make them acquainted with the origin of the present mode of divine worship, to inform them what relation the sermon bears to edification, and to explain the object of the blessing or benediction, to speak of the right kind of church order and church discipline?

One of the most pressing necessities of the times is to prove that *divine service does not consist in the sermon alone*. So long as the Protestant, satisfied with his sermon, undervalues the singing and prayer, as, on the other hand, the Catholic, satisfied with his mass, undervalues the sermon, so long public worship cannot again flourish among us. But the preacher must endeavour, as far as possible, to conform the devotional parts of divine service to the wants of a cultivated taste. Oh, how have the beautiful words, church and congregation, lost their significance among us Protestants! Let us learn once more to comprehend their import—then shall we again feel their power.

So much as to *what* should be said. Let us now consider the *manner* of saying it. On this point, Harms has expressed himself so admirably in his "Treatise on Speaking with Tongues," that I earnestly wish his words might find a loud echo in the hearts of all young preachers. "The source of right preaching," says he, "is the Spirit—the Holy Spirit, and he who preaches by His assistance preaches in the way I mean—preaches, as I call it, with tongues."

That our sermons are *made*, that they do not *grow* out of the fulness of the heart in the presence of God, is the chief reason why they do not hit the mark, why they do not new create. Says Pindar, the Nemean poet, "He who would speak, must first *breathe*."

But not merely must the *production* of the sermon be inspired by the Holy Spirit—its *delivery* should be so likewise. It is difficult to express the vast difference between the effect of a sermon delivered from memory, excellent as it may be in other respects, and that of a sermon born again in a living inspiration. Did we Germans, in other religious services besides that of the sanctuary, know more of that power which the Word, directly inspired by the Spirit, exercises upon the hearer, above the word delivered from memory, we should be still less satisfied with the presentation of a lifeless preparation.

The sermon must be a creation of the preacher in his study and a re-creation in his pulpit; and when he descends, he should feel a *mother's joy*—that a child has been born into the world! Only when the sermon is thus a double creation of the preacher, will it become a reality in his hearers. The

discourses he has thus heard are way-marks in the life of a hearer, by which he determines how far and in what direction he has travelled.

It were much to be desired that more preachers were able to dispense with a full writing out and committing to memory; yet, it is not always necessary to discard this formal preparation. But if the sermon has been born by the Spirit in the study, why should it not, under the breathing of the Spirit, live again in the pulpit? We should preserve so much of our freedom that when we stand in the presence of the devout congregation, borne up by the collected feelings of the assembly, we may not reject what we receive anew from the Lord, but with free power of production, incorporate it with what we have already prepared. Mere extemporising generally brings no salvation with it, and in our days, least of all to the educated. Even should our whole life and the entire range of our studies bear fruit for the text which we explain to the congregation, yet who can venture to trust so entirely to the spur of the moment as to expect that these resources will always be at his command?

The sermon thus inspired by the Spirit speaks to the whole man; it contains, first of all, a substantial doctrine, with the thoughts and conclusions suggested by it. Upon this point I cannot agree with the man in Kiel, who speaks with tongues, expressing himself slightly of doctrine and the communication of knowledge from the pulpit. When the Holy Spirit once takes up his abode in the heart of a hearer, every accession of knowledge of the truth, and every new application of it to the life, will be an inward quickening power.

Well does Harms say of the instruction connected with Confirmation—"If it only were what it should be!" If, indeed, it were this, would it not always be the principles of the doctrine of Christ—the foundation upon which perfection should be built? In our time especially, when all hands are stretched out toward the tree of knowledge; when, even in the middle classes, intelligence is more and more diffused, and the truth needs an attractive mediation—at such a time the continued study of the Scriptures, of theology, of literature, is indispensable in order to teach the principles of Christianity in a thorough manner, and to assist the spring of thought to a new outflow. Yet these principles should always be clothed with illustrations and quickened by feeling.

On this point we must explain ourselves farther, as what we demand might appear to contradict that which gives primarily to all Christian development its highest rank, a *holy simplicity*. We have here to do with those in whose eyes perfect intelligibility and popularity are the highest predicates of a

sermon. This may seem a singular demand when the question is proposed, how far Scripture satisfactorily meets it. Does then, the predicate of perfect intelligibleness belong, above many other books, to the Gospels of St John and the Epistles of Paul?

We are now told by quite a numerous class, that the range of subjects in the New Testament, from which a preacher is allowed to select is very limited. The mysteries are stricken from the Word of God, and the *caput mortuum* of the so-called simple religion of Jesus, is delivered over to the preacher for him to hammer out as thin as possible.

"I should like," said one of the dictators, when Christianity was about to be introduced anew into France—"I should like a simple religion, with only a couple of dogmas." The atmosphere where there are no objects is clear, indeed, but at the same time empty and cold. With that illumination which assumes to itself the name of simplicity, we have nothing to do. But in respect to that which the counsel of God has revealed for the salvation of men, the preacher must be silent in nothing. Nor must he speak otherwise of divine things than God himself has spoken of them. If, however, we are careful to introduce Scripture correctly into our sermons, we may be permitted at the same time to drape them with imagination and feeling.

They are strangely mistaken who think that the people prefer from the pulpit the language and style they are accustomed to use in their hours of labour. When they go to church they put on their Sunday dress; and so it pleases them that the sermon which they hear should be clad in festal garments, only let the preacher not confound the festal garment with what the Scriptures call high sounding words, where the thirsty hearer is forced to exclaim with Augustine when he was in error: "*Sed quid ad meam sitim pretiosorum poculorum decentissimus ministratur.*"

We do not commend him who walks on stilts. When the tongue goes upon stilts, reason spreads but half her sails. What Denham says of the Thames is applicable to the stream of words:—

"Though deep, yet clear; though gentle, yet not dull;
Strong without rage, without o'erflowing, full."

We ask only for the simplicity of Scripture language;—for the illustrative, the sententious, the enigmatic, which more or less pervade all the books of the Old and New Testaments. This is the language of which it may be said, as a father of the church says of Scripture in general: "It is a stream in which an elephant can swim and a lamb not be drowned." It is this language which is attractive to the educated,—this which belongs to the beauties of the gospel.

Is the sermon a living reality of the preacher in the pulpit?

and has it been a living reality in his study? Then it will not be likely to want imagination and feeling. And if the full tide of words, as in a confidential, heart-to-heart intercourse with the hearer, breaks suddenly into the ordinary language of life, it will take so much the deeper hold.

It is not enough that one says the truth; it is also of essential importance *how* he says it. Can it be the perspicuity of the argument merely which obtains the victory in the English Parliament? The two political parties that oppose each other have, indeed, their clubs where their votes are prepared, yet the power and the gift of eloquence have now, as in the time of Demosthenes, their inalienable rights. "The secret of eloquence," says Pope, "is the right word in the right place."

Let no one think that it is only through the artistical arrangement of its sentences, as in battle array, that the ruling mind gains the victory. Fox, the greatest of modern orators, conquered by means of *feeling*,—to whose impetuous torrent it was willingly forgiven that all *the waves did not form waving lines*. And if there, where the worldly interests of a commercial people cause the calculating understanding to spread all its sails,—if there the force of eloquence and the power of feeling obtain such conquests, how much greater will be the victory upon an arena where the orator has, in the hearts of his hearers, the Holy Spirit for an ally.

To all this, one thing more has to be added. The sermon should *grow out of the circumstances of the flock*. There are sermons which have their origin *without* the flock, and sermons which spring up *within* it. The first are those which the preacher forms in accordance with the common maxims of homiletics, and also with the idea of a Christian sermon of ecclesiastical times and seasons. Thus he will continue to do so long as no living reciprocity of relation exists between himself and his people.

It is otherwise when the Sabbath sermon is the echo of experiences which his visitings through the parish during the week have enabled him to gather. The more the sermon is the result of this, the more individual, the more local, the more pertinent will it be. As it has its origin in the life of the flock, it will also serve to increase still more that life. The first consideration I have named should not be excluded from the sermon, but it should embrace this second, or be connected with it. Then will preaching outside the pulpit furnish the true enlivening material for preaching within the pulpit.

But here rises up again that grim spectre of the general rules of pulpit style and pulpit decorum, which frightens back every particular application springing up in the mind of the pastor. If, however, the preacher only bears the souls of his

flock upon his heart,—if he sorrows and rejoices with them, he is in a condition to exclaim with Paul, “Besides those things that are without, that which cometh upon me daily, the care of all the churches. Who is weak and I am not weak? Who is offended and I burn not?” Then the monotonous, essay-like tones, soaring far above the heads and hearts of the people, will disappear; the sermon will cease to be a formal preparation, and will become the voice of nature, an audible sigh of the warm, throbbing heart.

And oh! if finally, all other gifts which we have here considered fail, let the sermon only be *natural*; let it be a fresh witness drawn from the life of the flock, and it will not be in vain. And for this, it is astonishing how little is necessary. For example, on certain festive occasions, to awaken emotion, let a mere faithful, unsupported word of truth be uttered; let language be given to those feelings which the hearer has already brought with him. But when, instead of this, you present the formal preparation of the study—the essay, spun out in long-drawn, honeyed accents, like an old-fashioned beauty wrapped in a hundred envelopes, with her fan in her hand,—then, instead of a holy flame enkindled in the breast which needed only a few sparks, a frosty lethargy will chill the whole assembly. O ye full-souled men! Chrysostom and Augustine, Heinrich Müller and Harms, would that your spirit of life might breathe in our sermons!

If now, after this frank utterance of the heart, I come to my own sermons, I remark, in the first place, that they are prepared according to the circumstances of the people before whom I preach; and, secondly, that they are prepared for an audience drawn from the higher classes. But it has given me great pleasure, that under this very preaching, if the sermons are not merely elaborately wrought as a logical or rhetorical piece of art, other classes need not go away empty. If, however, they do go away unprofited, I then conclude that however good the sermons may be *as sermons*, either they contain not the gospel, or it has not been evangelically set forth.

I acknowledge, further, that I have by no means satisfactorily met the requisitions here exhibited; I confess that a certain timidity has withheld me, and still withholds me, from proceeding in respect to the whole structure as I might do, and as, under many circumstances, I should consider it more profitable to do. The unconstrained homily, as Chrysostom used it, is the form most suited to my wants as a preacher, and in which, as I think, I could also obtain the best fruits, though I would by no means reject other forms.

In this prefatory discourse, I have conformed myself to the custom which in our day proscribes this kind of homily; yet I

go on in the usual course with constraint. I have a special aversion to the violence done to the connection of Scripture in the common treatment of a text. Yet if we take the parts logically derived from its fundamental idea, and then attach to this logical division, in a neat, beautiful, and even rhythmical fashion, the separate parts of the text, such violence will often hardly be avoided. How frequently will it be with the preacher who is frittering away his powers on this artificial structure of the sermon, as with the poet whose rhymes are not at hand ; the spirit's bloom is withering. Hence Jean Paul wrote poetry in prose.

In many other respects, also, I have not found it best to make use of the freedom which in the preceding remarks is required for the sermon, and in which I should, under other circumstances have indulged myself. Since my duties as a preacher are only the smallest part of my calling, I have generally been unable to bestow that labour upon my sermons, which he is able to give them whose duties find their central point in his weekly sermon. All this may serve as an apology for the imperfections which exist in them.

In one point only, as I think, have I met the expressed requisitions. They are not formal preparations which I lay before my people, but *spontaneous outgushings*, created in the study and born anew in the pulpit. Nor have they had their origin outside the flock, but within it. The experiences of the preceding week among the members of the congregation have almost always been the birthplace of the leading idea of the sermon.

This circumstance may be my explanation, and will justify me if the same materials are used more than once. The general rule that there should not be a repetition either in the subject-matter or in the use of set phrases should be applied to sermons with discretion. In the language of books, repetition should be avoided ; but in the language of life, the pulsation of love is often revealed by it. "To write the same things to you, to me, indeed, is not grievous ; but for you it is safe."

Only let these repetitions not be presentations of different copies of one and the same idea, but continually new productions occasioned by new experiences ; only let them not be artificial flowers which upon every new festive occasion are brought down again out of their glass case for exhibition, but repetitions like those of nature, which brings forth anew every spring the same leaves and flowers.

God has given me many proofs that these discourses, when they were spoken, were not spoken to the wind. May he now also accompany the written word with the blessing which he has promised.

ART. XI.—*Germany and the War.*

Religious Thought in Germany. Reprinted by permission from the *Times*. London: Tinsley Brothers. 1870.

Religious Life in Germany during the Wars of Independence. By WILLIAM BAUR. 2 vols. London: Strahan & Co. 1870.

THE despatches of King William of Prussia, from the battle-fields in France, to Queen Augusta at Berlin, are the subject of much comment, chiefly ignorant and adverse, in the England of to-day. Even amongst those who do not, with the peace society, regard all war as sinful, the appalling slaughter in the Gallo-German war of 1870 has engendered a natural feeling of horror and aversion,—a frame of mind in which it is impossible to distinguish rightly between cause and effect. Having respect only to the resultant aggregate of misery and suffering, it is difficult to view its association with the name of God as other than impious. May not the fault be ours, that we cease to recognise a personal God in any of the events of our time? When stunned by the news of the earthquake at Lisbon, Goethe, then in youth, viewed the catastrophe as wholly subversive of the notion of divine government in the world; but he subsequently admitted that it was his own estimate of the relative value of human life which was at fault. God's ways are not as our ways, but we may strive to put them in unison. With the secular and scientific spirit of our age, which refers all things to the operation of invariable law, God is an abstraction; and we fear that the Church lacks the requisite boldness of conviction to assert, in its concrete realism, the Divine rule on earth. If all things are to be done to the glory of God, it surely cannot be that patriotism, of all things, can only be guarded in the darkness of His oblivion and dishonour. The woe is pronounced upon the nations that forget God. There was no such forgetfulness in Cromwell's puritan host, nor in the grim and sturdy fight for the Scottish covenant. The time can scarcely yet have arrived, one would think, in which there can be no longer a righteous cause to defend; and when, in the historical order of Providence, the religious life of a nation becomes a condition of its political integrity, it is then that a danger threatening the State is a danger to all that a genuine patriotism would secure with its blood. A Christian state may thus have its noble army of martyrs on a battle plain; and such a state, notwithstanding many isolated observations of a contrary import, and outliving those transient phases of development which meanwhile check our sympathies, we are now about to behold in united Germany.

“Christianity should permeate patriotism, and it is only at

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its peril that patriotism can withdraw from the influence of Christianity." So writes the reverend author of the second work with which we have introduced these remarks ; and after expressing his conviction that the German nation is emphatically Christian, he observes that nothing short of national ignominy can be the result of declension in patriotism and religion. "It is only," he adds, "when conscientiously seeking to regain the right path, that we shall see German honour vindicated. Thus," he proceeds, "in studying the German wars of independence, we find that the low state of religious life in the nation was a principal cause of its fall ; that the revival of religion was an essential element in its regeneration. The blessing which resulted from war and victory, was a renewed apprehension of the mission with which it had been entrusted, when first its national strength had been imbued with Christianity, and which had been very much lost sight of." Here, then, is a people which calmly took its time of adversity as in chastisement from the hand of God, and we have the unimpeachable word of its present leaders, that the tide of victory is ascribed to the same source. They will morally belie the nobility of their descent, if now they carry not their prosperity with equal grace. Likely enough the old King William may be a warrior of King David's stamp, but such men justify their mission in a nobler manner than the fatalists of Napoleonic ideas, who at once believe and misconceive their own destiny. With no inferior dignity has the Chancellor of the North German confederation approved his moral worth in the eye of Europe. The character of Count von Bismarck, much maligned and almost entirely misunderstood, is now seen to be not less conspicuous for its high Christian principle and honour than for its intellectual strength. It is a fashion of diplomatists to stigmatise as unscrupulous the more astute statesman by whom they are outwitted ; and it is the fashion of some English journalists to keep their readers well advised that the Prussian Premier is a rank Tory. Now, this is not the place to discuss the famous secret treaty, but we may briefly record our opinion, which we are quite ready to support, that Count Bismarck's share in that job was limited to a lively exercise of the organs of sight and hearing, and to a wise reticence of speech. Nor are we here called upon to discuss the merits of Whig and Tory, more especially when the wily Chancellor happens to be neither in any sense intelligibly corresponding to English political traditions. When, therefore, we do say that he is Conservative, we have sole regard to that which he may desire to conserve, and we find it in the burden of his public speeches,—the conservation of the Christianity of the State. He at least sees that necessity for

Germany, which, we must remember, has had no experience of our extensive denominational system. Therefore, he says, "Let us not diminish the Christianity of the people, by shewing that it is superfluous in the legislature." We would not, however, disingenuously imply that he can be credited with any distinct leanings towards modern liberalism, having seen too much its effects in the radical disturbance of a divided Germany in 1848. In his political creed, we believe him to be quite Hegelian. Meanwhile, he wisely postpones an ameliorative home policy, not, as we are sorry to see a conscientious writer of Mr R. H. Hutton's ability, led to assert*—because, being a pupil of Napoleon III. (*credat Judæus*) he prefers a "brilliant foreign policy;" but because he sees first and paramount the necessity for an imperial policy of national unification, to which all domestic legislation must meanwhile give place. Then, as to the divine right of kings, which, it will be remembered, King William asserted at his coronation in a manner so remarkable, that one knows not whether most to admire its moral grandeur or to condemn its pretence, Count Bismarck has most satisfactorily explained the conditions of his acquiescence in the matter. It is not the right divine to govern wrong, for here again we are tempted to read the history of other nations by the local light of our own, as if God could not fulfil himself in many ways; "it is only a divine right," said Count Bismarck in a very memorable speech, "when it is exercised in harmonious co-operation with the New Testament code." This is unquestionably a political doctrine, which, in evil hands, might be terribly abused; but during this great period of transition, we believe, the sacred trust may safely be left to strengthen the heart of the old Soldier King. May it likewise preserve his clemency in the flush of victory.

If we have not yet made it clear that Bismarck lays the very foundations of the State in Christianity, and that in so doing he gives voice to the national will, it only remains to state in round terms the indisputable fact, that patriotism and religion are so indissolubly connected with the highest aspirations of Germany, that their separation, even in idea, cannot be endured. Englishmen in their island security can with difficulty realise a sentiment so foreign to their experience; but it will be well for us if we can at least read the lesson of those Continental revolutions which hitherto have but remotely troubled our shores. Now we find this Christian patriotism of Germany shining with a bright light, though occasionally intermitting, in all that is best in its modern history, whilst we can also trace the

* *Vide* "The Politics of the War," in the *Contemporary Review* for September.

fitful glare of a fierce patriotism, devoid of Christianity, through the last eighty years in France. We know something of the results in both countries; let us hear something of the causes, even from the little read and less understood philosopher, Hegel, a thinker who, with all his subjectivity, thought his way through the political problems which environed him quite objectively enough:—"It is a false principle," he contends, "that the shackles right and freedom should be stripped off without the previous deliverance of the conscience,—that a revolution is possible without reformation. Until religion is reconciled with political freedom, there will be periodical revolutions; and the problem which France has been striving to solve, is the accomplishment of a revolution of the State without a reformation of the Church, while the proper course is *vice versa*. The position of matters," he concludes, "is happier in Germany, where there is no such gulf of separation between the secular and religious consciences, and where there is a real co-operation of the people in the work of the State."*

As the throwing up of a straw will shew how the wind blows, so the favourite war-songs of the two nations illustrate the contrast between them to which we have pointed, more than any lengthened description could have done. The "*Marseillaise*," which has been screamed of late through every town of France, is little milder in spirit than the war-whoop of the savage, breathing vengeance against the enemy, and ending with the chorus crying for his blood to manure the soil. "*Mourir pour la patrie*" is little better in tone and sentiment. How different the "*Rhine-watch*" of Germany, calling upon mothers, wives, and daughters, to keep up their courage at home, for sons, husbands, and fathers would sooner die than let the enemy approach them. It is a trusty band of blood and steel that guards the Rhine. And while this martyr-spirit fires every German bosom, who can fail to sympathise with the noble scene presented before the walls of Metz, when to the astonishment of their Gallic foes, there arose to heaven from the united voices of the whole army, guided by their military bands, that sublime evening hymn:—

"Ein feste burg ist unser Gott!"

"A strong city is our God!"

We almost wish that Mr Baur had given Hegel a place in his biographical series illustrative of religious life in Germany; but as he has chosen only representative men from every class, we are satisfied that Fichte should represent the patriotic philosopher, while we have Schleiermacher and Arndt,—the one as the apostle, the other as the minstrel of the same Christian patriotism.

* Vide "*Hegel as a Politician*," a recent able paper in the *Fortnightly Review* well meriting a studious perusal.

To prevent our quoting almost endlessly from the spirit-stirring pages of this work, which we are under strong temptation to do, we shall confine ourselves to one paragraph presenting the dominant idea in the devout soul of Mr Baur, while urging our readers to peruse these memoirs for themselves:—

“Schleiermacher,” he tells us, “like Arndt and Fichte, was one of those clear-sighted men who ascribe to Germany a special vocation among the family of nations, through the depth and intensity of her religious life. In the Reformation they recognised a return to the task assigned to her by God; and they regarded the conflict with France not only as a defence of territory, but a struggle for the preservation of intellectual, moral, and religious life. Arndt was indefatigable in endeavouring to awaken his countrymen to a consciousness of their nationality. Fichte addressed himself in his discourses immediately to Germans; and Schleiermacher’s ‘Discourses on Religion’ were addressed exclusively to the ‘sons of Germany.’ It was his strong conviction that their minds were adapted in a superior degree to the receptivity of divine truth. He reproaches the proud [British] Islanders, with having *no other watchwords than enjoyment and gain*; and even when Christian zeal was extraordinarily active in England, he would not give it credit for being quite free from political and mercantile motives.” [These last lines we have ventured to italicise, by reason of our sad conviction of their present truth.] “It was, however, French influence, threatened by the invasion of Napoleon, which it was needful for Germans to oppose with all their might. He was firmly convinced that Napoleon had a special hatred for the idealism and profound mental life of Germany, for the spirit of Protestantism, and for that free and mighty faith which overcomes the world.”

Then following up these remarks, his biographer introduces a noticeable letter, penned by the patriotic theologian himself, and from which we shall here extract the substance:—

“Now, my dear friend,” he writes, “you must be willing to sacrifice everything in order that you may gain everything. You must remember that no one stands alone, that no one can save himself. Would you not undergo any danger, any sufferings, to prevent our posterity from being sacrificed to ignominious slavery, from being subjected to every insult, and from falling into the debased condition of a subject people? Believe me, sooner or later a struggle will arise in which we shall have to defend our sentiments, our religion, our intellectual culture, no less than our property and our personal freedom. We cannot shun the conflict. The victory cannot be won by kings and their hired soldiers; it must be won by rulers and their people combined. It will unite people and princes more closely than they have been united for ages; all must take part in it as they value the common weal. The crisis is for Germany, and Germany is the heart of Europe. There is thunder in the air, and I wish that a storm would hasten the explosion, for it is useless to think that it will pass over.”

It is with bated breath that we now witness, at this instant,

day and hour, the literal fulfilment of these brave prophetic words in all the startling fidelity of detail and circumstance.

And this is the man with whose name the *Times'* correspondent at Berlin opens his volume; and, by way of inferring the decline of his influence,—or rather the decline of the patriotic spirit which he shared with all the head and heart of Germany—he tells us that a commemorative celebration held about two years ago in his honour was but indifferently observed. We know too well how such memorial occasions are contrived in our own country, ever to dream of gauging the popular opinion by the manner of their observance. The history of the last month affords the most emphatic commentary upon the slender inference we are asked to accept. The Crown Prince read better the temper of the nation, when he gave sympathetic expression to the sentiment, that “the name of Schleiermacher, a man who resuscitated the dormant energies of the church, and gloriously shared in the revival of patriotic enthusiasm at a time of sore trial, deserved to be held in everlasting remembrance by the people.”

Although we cannot agree with the wide generalisations which the author of these letters on *Religious Thought in Germany* expertly contrives out of a limited observation, his work is not without some interest, as exhibiting current phases of rationalism in “cool cynical Berlin.” He is, however, entirely out of sympathy with the ideal genius and character of the German people, and apparently quite unfamiliar with their dialect of thought. And while he fails to discern their inner habit of mind, he is carried away by the seeming oddness and novelty of a few superficial incidents that have captivated his fancy. As an illustration of his manner let us take the well-known sensational story of the assassin in the Berlin cathedral. A clergyman is reciting the creed; a crazy youth discharges a pistol at his head; in most papers the event is treated as a commonplace crime: therefore—seeing that Berlin preserves its usual composure, and seeing that only one clergyman was shot at—it is because the Berliners did not reckon any of the cloth worth powder. This logic is conclusive against the presumption of any logical capacity in the exponent of “religious thought” in Germany. It may, however, have reconciled the unhappy culprit to the failure of his attempt.

But while disregarding his loose deductions and shallow criticisms, we gladly acknowledge that the *Times'* correspondent has furnished a valuable report of German opinion on the proceedings of the Œcumenical Council. The Catholics of South Germany have been provoked to assume a decided attitude of hostility to the dogma of Papal Infallibility. They

cared not to loiter the weary days in the eternal city, merely to record their adverse vote in a packed assembly, when they could protest at home. And their leading men have already protested; and some amongst them have been led by the logic of protest, and by their dislike to sectarianism, to embrace the national protestantism of Germany. The present war, identified on the side of France with the cause of Ultramontaniam, is now determining the hesitation of many others. Assuredly, if Jesuitism—as we are told by Mr Baur—if “Jesuitism is the very antipodes, the arch-enemy of the German mind,” then assuredly its latest and worst development into arrogance and blasphemy must be simply intolerable. And so it has proved. The author of “Janus” first blew the blast of disenchantment. Dr Sepp of Munich—the only Catholic capital of central Germany—an eminent Catholic professor, has avowed the opinion that “for Catholics *and* non-Catholics, the enactment of infallibility will be the signal for setting to work and effecting a second dissolution of the order of the Jesuits.” All the German sovereigns are arrayed against the pope; and even Cardinal Rauscher, the father of the notorious Austrian concordat, and hitherto the acknowledged head of Ultramontaniam in Germany, was the most unflinching member of the opposition in the Roman Council. *All* the professors of Catholic theology at Bonn, and nearly all the most eminent Catholic theologians in Germany, have signified their unqualified dissent from the new papal dogma, which threatens the disruption of the church, and claims a permanent and comprehensive supremacy over the State. Even the German bishops are now making the remarkable concession, that it is less dangerous to give the people a voice in matters ecclesiastical, than to let the pope have his way unimpeded. The Bishop of Rottenburg has just intimated his resolution, under no circumstances to submit to the infallibilist dogma, and he has received the unanimous support of his chapter, and of the Catholic Theological Faculty of Tübingen, in his resistance. Professor Michelis of Braunsberg has issued a personal protest charging the Pope with heresy. And, as we write, it is announced by telegraph, that the Conference of German Catholic Theologians, meeting at Nüremberg, has published “a decided protest against the absolute power and personal infallibility of the Pope.” The meaning of all this has been well anticipated by Count Bismarck’s organ, the semi-official *Nord-Deutsche*, which expresses the hope that the latest pretensions of the papacy, in hastening its overthrow, will draw closer to each other the various Christian denominations so long divided by the ascendancy of Rome. We need not stay to point out its important political results in pro-

moting the cause of German patriotism, and securing its triumph. We lack space adequately to indicate the character of that service which Dr Döllinger of Munich,—himself a Roman prelate, and the most eminent Catholic theologian in Europe,—has rendered to the cause of religious emancipation. Suffice it to say, that he is the leader of this great protestant movement of the nineteenth century; and let us conclude with his terse reading of the papal pretension, as given in the columns of the *Allgemeine Zeitung* :—

“Up to the present day the Catholic has been wont to say, ‘I believe in this or that doctrine, on the testimony of the entire church of all ages, because that church has the promise of existing for ever, and for ever remaining in the possession of the truth.’ But in future, a Roman Catholic would have to reason thus :—‘I believe, because the Pope, having been declared infallible, has commanded this doctrine to be taught and believed. As to his infallibility, I believe it, because he asserts it of himself.’

“Who, then, can help remembering what a far higher being said 1840 years ago? ‘If I bear witness of myself, my witness is not true.’”

There seems to be something more than a curious coincidence between the simultaneous promulgation of the dogma of papal infallibility and the declaration of war by the eldest son of the church. Even Austria, the unready, has been prompt to annul her concordat. And now, with Paris once more in the chaos of revolution, with an Italian army at the gates of Rome, with the Emperor of the French a prisoner of war, and the vicar of God allowed simply on sufferance to occupy the vatican as his private hotel, we have witnessed the most eventful month in all modern history. Verily, there is a God that judgeth in the earth.

XII. GENERAL LITERATURE.

Poems. By ROBERT WILDE, D.D., one of the ejected ministers of 1662. With a Historical and Biographical Preface and Notes by the Rev. JOHN HUNT. Strahan.

These poems, which Mr Hunt has edited with intelligence and care, give us some fresh glimpses into the social condition of England two centuries ago, amidst the turmoil of political and ecclesiastical change. For one thing, it is clear that the early Puritans were not necessarily “Philistines,” as Mr Matthew Arnold, with that verbal licence or effrontery which too often runs away with him, declares decidedly that their descendants are. Wilde was a Presbyterian; and yet he attended a cockfight,—the

famous Norfolk and Wisbeach cock-fight,—and wrote a poem upon it, in which there is little trace of his having been stirred to anything like angry condemnation. Indeed, generally speaking, we have throughout this little volume traces of an absolute escape from philistine narrowness, so far, at all events, as that is bound up with the gloomy propriety which men like Mr Arnold would have us to inseparably associate with puritanism. Wilde is sometimes rather broad and free in phrase, too, though never exceeding what was quite common in the best society of his day; even the pulpit occasionally using what would now be deemed extremely coarse phrases and references to make itself effective against the leading vices of the time. Wilde was free and genial,—a man of open humanity, much more prone to enjoy himself, and crack a joke over disputed points than to wax offensive or ill-natured, so long as these points did not involve serious principles; and then, to be sure, he could be as grim and serious as any one.

But he was by nature a wag; and grace no doubt had a severe contest to keep him from passing over to the enemy in times like his. He should therefore have the more lively sympathy from us. His natural bent inclined him to be a courtier. He had lightness, tact, and that supreme readiness which would have rendered him a favourite. And then he was a humorist. And does not Butler's "*Hudibras*," and other writings innumerable, prove to us how much there was on the Puritan side at that time to gratify an indulgence in that peculiar quality? When men are struggling as for life and death in any cause, they will not be careful as to propriety, and hence a thread of the grotesque will mix itself up with their doings, easily turned into ridicule by lighter spirits. Even Wilde cannot help smiling at his own side,—smiling at himself occasionally, when he glances aside for a moment at the extreme positions and the oddities now and then presented. This is the chief and characteristic element in his humour; and thus it is never bitter, but kindly in the best sense, even when he deals with his enemies. There is not a sour drop in his composition; and isn't that a great deal to say of a man who lived and fought through these drizzling and changeful years of the Revolution and the Restoration? But we believe it was his humour and his rhyming which saved him from sheer self-torment and distraction. He needed an escape from himself, and from the impetus of his own serious resolutions; and happily he found it in his verse. For there is a good deal of the fineness of the feminine character in Wilde, as is seen in some of these very beautiful elegies which are the gems of the volume. And this type—steady, serious, gentle, ready to sacrifice much for a loved object or for a great purpose—is yet prone to be playful even when most deeply concerned and burdened, ready to relieve itself by piquant dashes of fun when suffering most keenly. So we read Wilde's poems; so we interpret some incidents of his life. After the ejection of a "scandalous minister" from Ayhno, by the Parliamentary commissioners, he had been a candidate with another minister, and when asked whether he or his competitor had got Ayhno, Wilde answered, "We have divided it. I

have got the *Ay*, and he has got the *No*." He remained at Ayhno till the Restoration. And all this is further borne out by the anecdote Mr Hunt here repeats about Richard Baxter. The Kidderminster pastor "was much displeased with Dr Wilde's facetiousness, and thought it injurious to his usefulness as a minister. Baxter called on him on his way from Kidderminster to London to reprove him, as 'the times were very dark.' When he came to Ayhno he found the doctor just gone to church, it being observed by him and his people as a fast day. Baxter got into a corner of the church, and when the service was over, came to the doctor, thanked him for his sermon, and desired that he would *reprove and rebuke him sharply*, as he deserved it. Being desired to explain himself, Baxter said, 'For my great uncharitableness and folly in believing reports;' and then told why he had called upon him."

The elegy on the Rev. Richard Vines, the distinguished Presbyterian leader, best known as a member of the Westminster Assembly, is very characteristic:—

"Art thou gone too, thou great and gallant mind,
And must such sneaks as I be left behind?
If thus our horsemen and commanders die,
What can the infantry do then but fly?
Oh divine Vines! tell us, why would'st thou go,
Unless thou could'st have left thy parts below?
If there's a metempsychosis, indeed,
Tell us where we may find thee at our need.
Who hath thy memory? thy brain? thy heart?
Whom did'st thou leave thy tongue? For every part
Of thee can make a man. What if we find,
As I'll not swear this age won't change her mind,
Prelacy, though her lands are sold, revive?
Or Independency, who hopes to thrive,
Nowhere suits trump, should dare dispute at length?
Where hast thou left thy Presbyterian strength,
With which thou gott'st the game in the Isle of Wight,
Where the King cried that Vines was in the right?
When Essex died, the honour of our nation,
Thou gav'st him a new life in thy Oration;
But when great Fairfax to his fate shall yield,
Whom hast thou left—to fetch from Naseby field
The immortal turf, and dress it with a story
That shall perpetuate his name in glory?
Where's the rich fancy, man? To whom, beneath,
Did'st thou thy lofty and high strain bequeath?
Tell us for thy own sake, for none but he
That hath thy wit, can write thy elegy.
Till he be found, let this suffice, which I
Leave on the stone,—'Here lies the Ministry.'"

The following epitaph on E. T. is also fine and full of those sweet conceits which even enter into Wilde's purely satiric pieces, giving them a peculiar flavour:—

"Reader, did'st thou but know what sacred dust
Thou tread'st upon, thou'dst judge thyself unjust
Should'st thou neglect a shower of tears to pay,
To wash the sin of thy own feet away.
The actor in the play, who looking down

When he should cry, 'O Heaven!' was thought a clown
 And guilty of a solecism, might have
 Applause for such an action o'er this grave.
*Here lies a piece of heaven, and heaven one day
 Will send the best in heaven to fetch't away.*
 Truth is, this lovely virgin from her birth
 Became a constant strife 'twixt heaven and earth;
 Both claimed her, pleaded for her; either cried,
 'The child is mine!' at length they did divide:
*Heaven took her soul, the earth her corpse did seize;
 Yet not in fee, she only holds by lease,*

With this proviso—when the Judge shall call,
 Earth shall give up her share, and heaven have all."

We have preferred to give these specimens rather than bits from the satiric pieces, such as the "Loyal Nonconformist" or the "Recantation of the Penitent Proteus," whose force would only be lost by extract; but we recommend the booklet to our readers, assured they will find enough in it of quaint, curious, and new to reward their time and pains; besides introducing them to a very rare, charitable, and beautiful mind; for Wilde was all that.

Man and Wife. A Novel. By WILKIE COLLINS. J. S. Ellis.

That Mr Wilkie Collins' new novel is largely devoted to Scottish characters, and aims at a reform of the Scottish marriage laws, may be held to justify our devoting a few minutes to it here. Of course, we expect that his plot should be intricate and carefully wrought out, that there should be rare ingenuity of expedients, that the work should abound in complexities, surprises, narrow escapes and sudden disclosures and deliverances; for Mr Collins could not write a novel without these. But with such striking elements of interest, the work is very defective in others. The characters are not only merely outside creatures, most inadequate and unsatisfactory: they are utter travesties, mere shells of caricature. In the case of Bishopriggs—the waiter at the Craig Fernie "Hottle," where the secret marriage, on which so much depends, takes place, and yet does not take place,—we have a creature made up of mere conventional hints caught up here and there and wrought most incoherently together. Such a character is simply impossible, just as is the Scotch which Mr Collins puts into his mouth. And so of the whole atmosphere of the novel, so far as it is Scotch. Mr Collins' many blunders as to habits and customs, as to speech itself, shew that he is quite incompetent to deal with Scotch life. We have nothing to urge in favour of Scotch irregular marriages; but Mr Collins, it seems has a great deal, though he can hardly intend it, and must be an unwilling witness. Anne Silvester's mother, after living for years with him she called her husband, is ruthlessly turned adrift because of an imperfect Irish marriage; and Anne Silvester herself is saved from a fate as bad, if not worse, looked at from the point of view Mr Wilkie Collins professes to take, simply by virtue of a Scotch irregular marriage. The mother died wondering if her daughter's fate would be like hers; and it *was unlike hers*, because, accord-

ing to Mr Collins, the Scotch irregular marriage was, after all, a regular one; and the conscienceless, brutish, physically developed Geoffrey Delamayn, was firmly held by it. Geoffrey Delamayn wanted to be a villain, and to make Anne Silvester a creature of nameless infamy; and it is surely saying something for a law that it prevented him from doing either. We do not see that Mr Collins has made out his point against the Scotch marriage system; although we sincerely wish he had; for we are certainly no partisans of it. But his novel is so loose, and displays such ignorance of the matter of which he treats, that we must say he has lost a golden opportunity; unless indeed, it may be that he is still pursuing his studies, and purposes writing another clever novel, in which he may correct the blunders he has fallen into in this one. Then we may be reckoning without our host, and may be laying ourselves open to Mr Collins' sarcasm.

That quaint, grim, repulsive dumb creature, Hester Dethridge, lies on the memory like a nightmare. There is no health or nature in her; and really we cannot see the good of filling the imaginations of the young of both sexes with such creations. There is a weird fascination about her and her story to be sure, just as there is about all abnormal and horrid developments; but that is no reason why they should be nakedly exposed in the public street. Mr Collins may think this an ungrateful criticism; but we cannot help it; for the conviction renews itself within us every time we think of her. Still, it must be said she is no more an improbability than are some other parts of the story; so that in isolating and excepting her in this way, we may be pointing a criticism which is, by that very circumstance, declared to be beside the mark.

Passages from the Note-Books of Nathaniel Hawthorne. Strahan.

Nathaniel Hawthorne, though pre-eminently a man of solitude and reflection, was a very keen observer. His delight was to scrutinise secret motives, to probe the tender places of human nature, and to write an apologetic or justificatory word for the "suspect." But he had some of the qualities of the man of the world too; and hence his note-books are full of the most attractive matter. He had his dislikes and antipathies, and very often they were neither weak nor disguised; but generally his curiosity was too strong to allow him to turn away wrongheadedly without *trying* to do justice to the thing or person before him. He was too true an artist for that. He delighted to observe—the only condition being that he should not be too determinedly pulled out of the sheltered gloom which he loved to linger in, looking out of it wistfully upon the bright world. He came to England as consul in 1853, and remained till 1857; and as he systematically kept a note-book in which he noted down what struck him most,—whether a suggestion for a tale, or a startling fact in physiology or psychology, peculiar traits in the persons he met with, or odd occurrences illustrating national character,—we have here a rare repository, carefully and judiciously edited. As an illustration of the truth of what we have just said, it is noticeable and worth

drawing attention to, that many of the prejudices which Hawthorne, as an American, brought to England with him, and which he very freely expressed, underwent gradual modification, so that before he left he had formed likings for many things English. Indeed, it is one of the most interesting studies possible to trace how the artist mind, interested *per force* in history and antiquities, subdued the mere Yankee in Hawthorne, and compelled a kind of sympathy for what is best and most characteristic in English thought and English ways.

But what is most valuable in these volumes is, the picture we have of a most remarkable mind. To those in quest of characteristics, nothing could be more attractive or opportune; since, although the work consists, for the most part, of mere tentative notes and jottings, there is not a page on which some sentence or other does not radiate all the fascination of Hawthorne's peculiar imagination. And fascination comes nearer to describing the mental character of the author of "Blithedale" and "The Scarlet Letter" than any other single term. His themes are invariably chosen from exceptional and morbid conditions of human nature, and yet he succeeds in throwing round them a halo or glamour which transfixes and holds the attention of the reader right through. Even in this work it is very noticeable that the cases which attract him most are invariably those which have a smack of the weird and queer run into the texture of them. Take these two:—"My clerk tells me that there is now, and has been for three years, an American lady in the Liverpool Almshouse, in a state of insanity. She is very accomplished, especially in music; but in all this time it has been impossible to find out who she is, or anything about her connections or previous life. She calls herself Jenny Lind, and as for any other name or identity she keeps her own secret." And this:—"The other day, at the entrance of the Market-house, I saw a woman sitting in a small hand-waggon, apparently for the purpose of receiving alms. There was no attendant at hand, but I noticed that one or two persons that passed by seemed to enquire whether she wished her waggon to be moved. Perhaps this is her mode of making progress about the city, by the voluntary aid of boys and other people who help to drag her. There is something in this—I don't yet well know what—that has impressed me as if I could make a romance out of the idea of a woman living in this manner a public life, and moving about by such means." Chester—that strange city with its old wall and its Rows burrowing out and in—seems to draw him to it with power; he goes there oftener than any other place, and speaks of it with enthusiasm. The following may have its interest for many of our readers:—

"Oct. 3d. Saturday evening, at six, I went to dine with Mr Aiken, a wealthy merchant here, to meet two of the sons of Burns. There was a party of ten or twelve, Mr Aiken and his two daughters included. The two sons of Burns have both been in the Indian army, and have attained the ranks of colonel and major; one having spent thirty and the other twenty-seven years in India. They are now old gentlemen of sixty and upwards, the elder with grey head, the younger with a perfectly white one,—rather under

than above the middle stature, and with a British roundness of figure,—plain, respectable, intelligent-looking persons, with quiet manners. I saw no resemblance in either of them to any portrait of their father. After the ladies left the table, I sat next the major, the younger of the two, and had a good deal of talk with him. He seemed a very kindly and social man, and was quite ready to speak about his father; nor was he at all reluctant to let it be seen how much he valued the glory of being descended from the poet. By and by, at Mr Aiken's instance, he sang one of Burns's songs,—the one about 'Annie,' and the 'Rigs of Barley.' He sings in a perfectly simple style, so that it is little more than a recitative, and yet the effect is very good as to humour, sense, and pathos. After rejoining the ladies, he sang another, 'A posie for my ain dear May,' and likewise, 'A man's a man for a' that.' My admiration of his father, and partly, perhaps, my being an American, gained me some favour with him, and he promised to give me what he considered the best engraving of Burns, and some other remembrance of him. The major is that son of Burns who spent an evening at Abbotsford with Sir Walter Scott, when, as Lockhart writes, 'the children sang the ballads of their sires.' He spoke with vast indignation of a recent edition of his father's works by Robert Chambers, in which the latter appears to have wronged the poet by some misstatements. I liked them both, and they liked me, and asked me to go and see them at Cheltenham where they reside. . . . The eyes of the major glowed when he sang his father's verse, 'The rank is but the guinea stamp.' It would have been too pitiable if Burns had left a son who could not feel the spirit of that verse."

He is a little bitter against some things English; but it is, in the main, a wholesome bitterness, and with a sense of incisive honesty hits duly some of our weak points. With respect to distinguished English people whom he met, he is very just and sympathetic; witness his exquisite characterisation of Monckton Milnes. It seems Mr Hawthorne gave distinct orders that no memoir of him should be published; and his wife, herself no mean adept in literature, as is testified by her recent volume, 'Notes in England and Italy,' has certainly done well in presenting us with this substitute, which is like introducing us to the shy, embarrassed, retiring man in his dressing-gown and slippers, and herself cheerily filling up the gaps of conversation, and giving leading points for her husband's truly strange talk. This book is full of interest, and varied in topic; and should be widely read, both on account of the insight it gives us into a truly great man, and the fresh insight it gives us into ourselves.

In Exitu Israel. A Historical Novel. By S. BARING-GOULD, Author of "Curious Myths of the Middle Ages." Macmillan & Co.

We are usually suspicious of novels with a purpose; and Mr Baring-Gould, who has already had considerable experience in authorship, has been so unwise as to boldly advertise his purpose in the very forefront of his novel. He thinks the ritualists, and

he is a ritualist himself, are in a very precarious position, and that they should not be interfered with; for if they are interfered with, and coerced in any way, he will not answer for the result. It may be rupture, it may be disestablishment, but he is oracular, and like oracles, he is a little vague as to what may happen. He is sure, however, that something terrible will visit England if the ritualistic priests are coerced by unsympathising bishops; and he actually writes a novel shewing how the pre-revolution French bishops erred in coercing the poor short-shorn curés in their time, and the sad effect it had in hastening on the revolution, when the inferior clergy joined the rabble against nobles and king. Mr Baring-Gould cannot write thus in sober earnest. The two periods have literally no parallel; and surely it is too much to say that the "English curate is as much at the mercy of the bishop as was and still is the French curé; and this has been made painfully apparent." Mr Baring-Gould mourns over the existence of a liberation party, such as did not exist a few years ago; and yet the very object of his novel, if it has any meaning or any the remotest reference to the Church of England, is to prove that such a liberation party is on the right road, and will only be wholly right when it *acts* in practical consistency with the principles it struggles to uphold. But it is too much to expect any party in the Church of England to take such a bold step as might incur the imputation of separatists for any cause or principle, and hence Mr Baring-Gould's consistent inconsistency. That may suffice to justify him to himself as a churchman, but certainly it will not justify him to any rational creature as a writer of fiction. A more totally incoherent and inapplicable piece of rubbish was never written. Not that we mean the novel is worthless in itself, only it is absolutely beside the mark. Mr Baring-Gould can tell a story; there are some clever bits in these two volumes, though most of the characters are sadly overdone. Berthier is a mere scarecrow, and Madame "Plomb," his wife, who might have been something, is spoiled; Madeline is too knowing and cynical; Gabrielle too innocent and stupid. The curé, Lindet, is, perhaps, the best portrait. The novel is readable; but Mr Baring-Gould should have known better than alily try to take a rise out of fiction for his own or for purely party ends; even though the party is a church party.

Miscellanies from the Oxford Sermons and other Writings of John Henry Newman, D.D. Strahan.

What effect the declaration of infallibility the other day would have upon a mind like that of John H. Newman, it is somewhat difficult to guess. Beneath his subjective mysticism there is a strong current of rationalistic logic, which now and then rises up to justify his position in reference to Catholicism, and which often threatens to force him a pace too far, and then the remembrance of the church steps in to make him put his finger to the lip and bow in silence. When, with that admirably caustic semi-casuistic logic of his, he demonstrated that Protestants as well as Roman Catholics were dependent on tradition, on a series of unknown

links, because human hands might just as well have tampered with the written as with the unwritten word, he was using a dangerous instrument which was very apt to cut the hand that wielded it. His only safety against the impartial searchingness of his own logic is very often simple retreat under the shadow of authority. It is, indeed, a mystery how a man like Newman can be a Catholic, still more a mystery how he can remain one. It will be a deeper mystery yet, if he swallows without protest the new dogma. His history, his associations, his bent of mind, should lead him to take the same position as the German bishops. But men of his type are not to be reckoned on in anything that threatens to disturb an object round which any tendril of the inner life has twined. They are men of over-faith, and that is the other term for superstition.

- These selections, however, are made from the best of Newman's *Anglican* writings, and are every way worthy of attention. For one thing, they are models as to style. Newman is simple, easy, familiar, colloquial almost. He is never diffuse or turgid. He arranges his topics simply, and his language keeps smooth, equal pace with the thought, neither outrunning it nor lagging behind it, but the two are always abreast, and often look like one. Generally his theology, though saturated with subjective assumption, is sounder than one would expect; here and there we have indirect proof that Thomas Scott's influence abode with him longer than he thought. All his writings have an exquisite simplicity, and a kind of delicate pale purity that tell of retirement; but these qualities are not likely to attract the busy mass of English readers to big volumes. In his purely theological works, he is usually clear, logical, and sustained, so that the editor of this volume has found it better not to attempt to detach passages from these. Even in his little Church History volumes, the texture of thought is invariably so close, that we wonder how the editor has managed to separate so neatly from the setting those portraits of early church worthies. Nothing could well be finer than Newman's portraits. Though they do not have the brightness and colour of Dean Stanley's pictures, nor the severe suavity of Pusey's, nor the meditative subtlety of Maurice's, yet they are more searching, and fix and signalise traits which either would probably have missed. The introductory passage in this volume, "The World's Benefactors," is a piece of characteristic eloquence; and the pictures of Baalam and Antony are simply exquisite. Some of the shorter passages, as, for example, that on "Religious Privileges," are touched and penetrated by poetry. The possessors of this volume have Newman in essence—Newman at his best—the very cream of his varied productions; and, therefore, we may say with safety that the editor's words can scarcely fail to be realised, when the hope is expressed in the close of the preface, that "the passages chosen will, in some degree, contribute to make still better known one of the deepest thinkers and most eloquent writers of the present time." The hope, we take it, is already fulfilled by the fact of such a volume appearing, else the English reading public are more stupid than we believe.

XIII. GERMAN LITERATURE.

Theologische Studien und Kritiken. Jahrgang 1870. Viertes, Heft.
Gotha, Perthes.

We have here (1.) a paper by Dr Diestel of Jena on "Biblical parallel-pictures in the Churches of the Middle Ages." In the eighth or ninth century, the custom of adorning churches, both internally and externally, with pictures and images began to be introduced. It is supposed that there was a certain typical parallelism intended between the pictures placed on the left side of the nave and those on the right, the former being of Old Testament, and the latter of New Testament personages and scenes. The literature of the subject is reviewed, and much curious information is adduced illustrative of the theology of the middle ages, and of the place held by the Old Testament in the Christian church. This article may be regarded as in a certain sense an appendix to the author's "*Geschichte des Alten Testaments u.s.w.* Jena 1869" (History of the Old Testament in the Christian Church), to which we have already directed the attention of our readers. (2.) "On Piety," by F. Fauth, Candidat. This article is a criticism of Schleiermacher's definition of piety. Schleiermacher is the most distinguished representative of those theologians who do homage to the idealistic philosophy. His definition of piety is "A determination of feeling, or of the immediate self-consciousness." He views religion only on its subjective side, regarding it as consisting neither in knowledge, nor action, nor practice, but only in *feeling*, the feeling of absolute dependence on God. The writer of this article enters into a very elaborate discussion of the subject. He differs from Schleiermacher in holding that piety is the feeling which springs from the knowledge of a right relation to God, and at the same time falls in so far with his opinion in holding that piety springs immediately from feeling as the only part of man's nature in which the apprehension of God is given to him. (3.) "On Concordances," by Professor Bindseil of Halle, contains an historical account of Biblical *verbal* concordances, Latin, Greek of the New Testament and of the Old Testament, Hebrew, Syriac, German, Belgian, Swedish, English, French, and Slavonic, and following the same order also of *real* concordances *i.e.*, not of words but of subjects.

In this number there are two reviews, (1.) Broglie's "*L' Eglise et l' Empire Romain au ive. siecle*," six vols. That work, written from a decided Catholic point of view, is of great repute in France and Germany, and has already, since its first appearance in 1866, passed through four editions. (2.) The German edition of Schaff's "*History of the Ancient Church*," a work to which we have already called the attention of our readers on the first appearance of the English edition. The review gives a lengthened account of the work, presenting a summary of its contents, and deservedly speaks of it in terms of the highest commendation, as a work of great industry and accuracy. In

1844 Schaff was called from Germany to fill the situation of Professor of Church History at Mercersburg in America. For twenty years he continued in that situation, till he removed to New York, where he is now editing the American edition of Lange's *Bibelwerk*. He is the author of a considerable number of valuable works in the department of Church History, most of which have been published both in German and English.

Zeitschrift für die gesammte lutherische Theologie und Kirche. 1870.
Drittes Quartalheft.

There are two articles of considerable length in this number of the Lutheran Quarterly. The *first* is an able exegetical exposition of Peter's sermon on the day of Pentecost, Acts ii. 14-36, by Professor Köhler of Erlangen. The *second* article is a critico-doctrinal discussion of 1 Peter iii. 17-22, in which the writer, Dr H. Müller, argues with great zeal in defence of the Lutheran idea of a real "*descensus Christi ad inferos*." Professor Schweizer of Zürich some two years ago published a pamphlet entitled "*Hinabgefahren zur Hölle als mythus ohne biblische Begründung*." (The descent to hell a myth, and without foundation in Scripture.) Dr Müller is very elaborate in his argument, and enters into the subject with a great deal of the German "*gründlichkeit*," taking up a position of violent antagonism to Professor Schweizer, who argues that the idea of a descent into hell, and preaching to the spirits in prison, receives no countenance from the language of Peter. His theme is that, "Peter affirms that there was already a revelation of the divine plan of salvation and of mercy to man in all ages, but that this revelation was nothing else than the work of Christ before his appearance in the flesh; the work of Christ in the Spirit, or as the Logos before the Incarnation." This Dr Müller, by a very lengthened argument, endeavours to controvert; and on the other hand, to prove that Christ did in reality go into the realm of the dead, into Hades, and that he preached or announced, not the gospel or the law, but *himself* to the spirits there in prison, and to all the inhabitants of Hades.

The most important of the works noticed in the critico-bibliographical department of this journal are these two—(1) the new edition, the fifth, of "Dr Meyer's Exegetical Handbook on the Gospels of Mark and Luke." Since 1832, when the first portion of Meyer's exegetical commentary on the New Testament appeared, it has kept the foremost place among works of the kind in Germany as sound and scholarly. We are very glad to learn that the Messrs Clark of Edinburgh intend bringing out an English edition of it. (2) Dr Pressel's "*Anecdota Brentiana*." Brenz the reformer of Würtemberg lived during the whole period of that great religious movement (died 1570), and was in correspondence with all the Reformers on the continent. In this volume, Dr Pressel has collected together three hundred and eleven unpublished letters and expressions of opinion by Brenz on the great questions of the times in which he lived. These "*Anecdota*" are of great historical value. They throw much light especially on the controversy on the subject of the Eucharist between Luther and Zwingli on Bucer's

relation to the Wittenberg Concord, on the Internal History of the Swabian church, and on the controversies which preceded the Concordien-formel (form of concord between the different theological parties in the Lutheran Church, 1577).

Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie. Jahrgang. 1870. Viertes Heft. Gotha.

The first article contains a comprehensive historical account of the labours and controversies in which the distinguished *Wetstein of Amsterdam* was engaged. The writer, Dr Böttger of Hanover, thus introduces his subject:—"The name of Wetstein is so celebrated in the theological world, that no apology is needed in presenting any facts that may contribute to the elucidation of the history of his life, which is so little known. It must be acknowledged, however, that Professor Hagenbach, in his Dissertation (which appeared in this Journal in 1839), entitled 'John James Wetstein the Critic, and his Opponents: a contribution to the history of the theological spirit in the first half of the eighteenth century,' has given a most admirable account of the controversy between Iselius and Frey the theologians of Basel, and Wetstein." Hagenbach could find no complete and reliable account of the difficulties which stood in the way of the publication of Wetstein's critical edition of the N. T. (published at Amsterdam, 1751, four years before his death, in 2 vols. fol.), and of the suspicion under which he fell as to his orthodoxy, and he expresses a wish that the Dutch theologians who share with Basel the fame of Wetstein (as they do also that of Erasmus) would set themselves to the thorough investigation of these points. Dr Böttger enters on this subject, and seeks to accomplish the wish expressed by Hagenbach. He presents the facts as they are brought out in certain publications by the Remonstrant professors of theology, Adrian Stolker of Rotterdam, and Amoré van Hoeven of Amsterdam. The whole paper is extremely interesting, giving a graphic view of the theological controversies and conflicts of those times. The old polemical theology of the Reformation had fallen into the background, and the rise of English deism compelled theologians to investigate the history and formation of the Bible that it might be proved to be worthy of being received as the last test of truth. From the beginning of the eighteenth century, theological science became more and more a system of Biblical criticism. First of all attention was turned to the Greek text of the New Testament, and the pioneers in this work were John Albert Bengel and J. J. Wetstein, names yet deservedly held in great honour because of the important and enduring service they rendered to the cause of Scripture interpretation.

The second article is "The Waldensian Text of the Interpretation of the Song of Solomon, from an MS. found in the Library of Geneva." It was transcribed from the original MS., and is edited by Dr Herzog of Erlangen. He published in this Journal, in 1861, a translation of this document. He thinks that it was composed in the later part of the fifteenth century, which he supposes to be the date

also of the composition of "*La Nobla Leyczon*" (The Noble Lesson). It is of interest, not only as presenting the views of the Waldensian Church on many important doctrines, but also in a literary point of view, as a specimen of the old Waldensian language, which is a dialect of the Romanic.

Dogmatische Abhandlungen. Von Dr JULIUS MÜLLER. Bremen, Verlag, von E. Müller. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 1870. Pp. 657.

The venerable Dr Müller is professor of Systematic and Practical Theology at Halle. He began his career as professor at Marburg in 1835, from which he was called to the situation he now holds in Halle in 1839. To distinguish him from others of the same name, which is very common in Germany, he is generally spoken of among students as the "Sünden-Müller," from his well-known able work on "*The Doctrine of Sin*," an excellent translation of which by Urwick has recently been published in Edinburgh. The volume before us consists of seven historico-theological essays on the following subjects:— (1.) The Relation between Faith and Knowledge; (2.) The Formal Principle of the Evangelical Church, i.e., that the normative authority of the Holy Scriptures is the life-principle of the evangelical church—a principle necessary to its very existence. This principle is expounded in its relation to Protestantism and Catholicism. (3.) An Investigation of the question: Whether the Son of God would have become man if the human race had remained without sin? This question arose to a position of great significance in Germany in the collision of Christianity with Pantheism. The aim of evangelical theologians was to prove that the incarnation took place, not in the entire race of man, but in a single historic person, Jesus Christ. This Pantheistic element has not yet disappeared from the Christology of Germany. It has developed itself in the question of the *Necessity of the Incarnation*. The scholastic theory of the middle ages, that an incarnation would have taken place even though man had never sinned, has in modern times found its advocates. Among the German theologians who have maintained this theory, we may mention Dorner, in his great work on the Person of Christ, Ebrard, Lange, Rothe, the Danish theologian Martensen, and in general, those theologians whose tendencies have been influenced by Schleiermacher. In our own country, this theory has found an advocate in Dean Trench. It has been opposed in Germany by Thomasius, Philippi, and especially by Müller, who here enters into a full discussion of the question. (4.) The Relation between the Work of the Holy Spirit and the means of Grace of the Divine Word. In this essay the author treats of the doctrine of predestination, and of the freedom of the will, and of the relation between Augustinism and Pelagianism, and between the doctrine of Calvin and that of Luther. (5.) The Invisible Church. (6.) The Doctrine of Luther regarding the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper compared with that of Calvin. He argues that the views of these reformers do not necessarily contradict each other, but only represent

different aspects of the same truth. (7.) The Divine Origin of the Office of the Christian Ministry. This is a very lengthened and elaborate essay. It discusses the Power of the keys, the *αγγελὸς τῆς ἐκκλησίας*, the Angels of the seven churches, &c.

In his preface, the author says, "The seven Essays comprehended in this volume treat for the most part of subjects which have a place in the controversies of modern theological literature. They have already been made public, either as articles in journals, or as academical lectures. They are here presented to my readers in a form very greatly changed. I cannot say in regard to any of these treatises, that my views on the subjects discussed in them have undergone any essential change since they were first published, and this applies to the seventh, which has been entirely re-written, as much as to the others. My object in these discussions is only to promote peace. Nothing fills me with greater sorrow than to see strife among those who place all their hopes on a crucified and arisen Saviour—a strife which has almost wholly excluded all brotherly fellowship, and all loving, confidential intercourse between them. I know not whether these dissertations may in some degree contribute to the restoration of friendly intercourse between the opposing parties, but one thing I know, and that I earnestly entreat the contending parties never to forget, that a war against the common foe is for both of them near at hand. That foe is not the Romish Church which, despite the efforts of its head to trample down all who will not believe in his infallibility, or swear to his syllabus, counts in it many members who are conscious of a higher union with us as we are with them, because they as well as we believe in Him without whom there is no salvation; but it is the spirit of the world, which unveils, with ever-increasing boldness, its hostility to Christianity. In this war with those to whom the gospel of the cross is an offence or foolishness, no middle ground is to be sought. We must remain faithful to him who has called us into the fellowship of his Son."

This volume of essays is appropriately dedicated by the author to his no less venerable colleague, Dr Tholuck. In Tholuck's work, "Sin and Redemption, or the true Consecration of the Sceptic," which first appeared in 1825, Dr Müller is the person represented by "Julius," while under the name, "Guido," the author portrays himself. In the dedication of this volume to Tholuck, Müller says:—"These dissertations I dedicate to you, my dear friend, as a memorial of an unbroken friendship of almost fifty years. When at the call of the Lord I devoted myself to theology, and had entered on its study, and particularly on the study of philosophy, and was agitated by conflicting doubts, then I had the consolation of finding in you a friend. You made me acquainted with the true spirit of Christianity, and awakened within me the confidence, that the truth which could make wise unto salvation was to be found in the Gospel alone and nowhere else. You persuaded me to go to Berlin, where, under you and under our departed Neander, I studied the theology, the character of which is denoted by his favourite saying: '*Pectus est quod disertum facit*.'" At that time I little dreamed that, at a later period,

it would be my privilege to labour with you, as I have now done for thirty years, at the same university, in behalf of the same theology."

Kurze Erklärung der Apostelgeschichte, von Dr W. M. L. DE WETTE.

Vierte Auflage bearbeitet und stark erweitert, von Lic. the FRANZ OVERBECK, a.o. Professor in Basel. Leipzig: Hirzel; London: Williams & Norgate. 1870. Pp. lxxi., 487.

Dr De Wette was the colleague of Schleiermacher at the University of Berlin. They were men of kindred sympathies, and of similar theological tendencies. In 1819 he compromised himself by attempting to justify the conduct of the enthusiast Sand, a student at Jena, and a member of the famous Burschenschaft, in murdering Kotzebue, who was hated by the liberals as a traitor to Germany. De Wette wrote a letter to Sand's mother containing an expression of his sentiments. This letter came to the knowledge of the King of Prussia, and led to his deposition from the professorial chair, which he had occupied about nine years. He was succeeded in Berlin by Tholuck, now in Halle. In 1822 he removed to Basel, where he died in 1849. He is well known as the author of several works in the department especially of Biblical criticism, and of exegetical commentary on the New Testament. His translation of the Bible is a work of permanent value. His semi-rationalistic novel, "Theodör oder des Zweiflers Weihe" (Theodore, or the Consecration of the Sceptic), 1822, led to the publication of Tholuck's "Wahre Weihe des Zweiflers" (the True Consecration of the Sceptic—Guido and Julius). De Wette devoted the latter part of his life to an historico-critical commentary on the New Testament, which appeared in three volumes under the general title of "Handbuch zum neuen Testament" (Handbook to the New Testament). His commentary has a decided tinge of rationalism pervading it, yet it seems that, as he advanced with his work he approached nearer and nearer to sound views on the authority of Scripture and on the doctrines of Christianity. The volume before us, on the Acts of the Apostles, is a part of that commentary. During the author's lifetime it passed through three editions, the last in 1846; and now a fourth edition, under the editorial care of Overbeck, recently of Jena, now professor in Basel, has appeared. "My commentary," says the editor in his preface, "is as little as De Wette's, written for the sake of maintaining a theological thesis, but its aim is, by the method of exegesis, to deduce as accurately as possible the historical and peculiar meaning of the text of the Acts of Apostles. Theological consequences may follow from the exegesis, but not a single line has been written with this object in view." De Wette did not go the length of Baur, in saying that the Acts of the Apostles was for the most part a book of pure fiction, though he did not regard it as a genuine history throughout. He opposed Baur, and condemned his destructive criticism. Overbeck is a disciple of the school of Baur. He regards the Acts of the Apostles as an altogether untrustworthy book, the author of which falsifies history, and deals arbitrarily with his sources of information.

XIV. CRITICAL NOTICES.

A Commentary, Critical, Experimental, and Practical, on the Old and New Testaments—Acts—Romans. By the Rev. DAVID BROWN, D.D. Glasgow: William Collins, Sons, & Co.

This new exegetical work of Professor Brown forms part of the sixth and concluding volume of the extensive Bible Commentary in which he has been associated with Dr Jamieson of Glasgow and Mr Fausset of York; and it will be welcomed by the evangelical church of all denominations as a valuable sequel to his Commentary on the Gospels, published in 1863—being written in the same devout spirit—upon the same judicious plan—with equal care and painstaking, having been evidently as much a labour of love as the others—and in a style of execution in all respects equally satisfactory. We could have wished that he had undertaken to go through the whole of the New Testament on the same plan (meaning, hereby, no disparagement of the labours of his colleague, Mr Fausset); but, failing this, we are truly glad that he has been able to give us his comments upon the three most important sections of the New Testament: the Gospels, the Acts, and the Epistle to the Romans.

Entering upon his treatment of the Acts, he expresses his high appreciation of the place and importance of the book in the following terms:—"This book is the indispensable link of historical connection between the Gospels and the Epistles of the New Testament. Had there been no such record of the events which drew thousands around the standard of the Cross, from the memorable day of Pentecost onwards, and of the circumstances out of which churches arose in the principal centres of population and civilisation, of intelligence and commerce, Christians would have been driven to construct a history of them out of the incidental allusions to them which abound in the epistles—an effort in which the most honest and acute historical critics could have succeeded but indifferently; while the apocryphal "Acts" of the apostles, and other such productions of the second century, are enough to shew how little that is worthy of the name of authentic apostolic history would have come down to us from that age. That we should have been thus left is inconceivable, save upon one supposition. Had Christianity been a purely human religion, the history of the Founder, and the labours of his immediate followers, would have been written just as the inclination and opportunities of writers might chance to prompt them. But if Christianity is a divine and supernatural provision for the religious wants of mankind, it is not to be conceived that the history of its Founder—on which all right apprehensions of it depend, and of its inauguration as a visible religious society among men, should have been left to be written or not written, authentically or the reverse, at the mere caprice of its honest or dishonest, well or ill-informed, adherents. Accordingly, while the Gospels are the peerless history of the one, the "Acts of the Apostles" is the invaluable record of the other."

What does our author think of the notion which has of late become so popular, that this book is not so properly a book of the Acts of the apostles, as of the Acts of our exalted Lord himself; and that this idea was meant to be suggested by St Luke when he speaks of his *former* treatise as an account of "all that Jesus *began* both to do and to teach, until the day when he was taken up?" It may interest the reader to know at once that Professor Brown does not accept this somewhat catching suggestion. "All that Jesus *began* both to do and to teach" means no more, in his view, than "all that Jesus did and taught from the beginning," as Bengel, Humphry, and others rightly understand this expression. It is pressed too far by Ols-

hausen, and, after him, by several good critics, who consider the word "began" here as a hint, by the historian, at the outset, that Christ's whole work on earth is to be viewed but as a beginning; while that in heaven is but a continuation of one and the same work; and that what is to be related in this book, is not so much the Acts of the apostles as the actings, through their instrumentality, of the glorified Redeemer upon earth. Nothing, indeed, can be more true and delightful than this view of Christ's present work in the heavens; and when Lange says that "the reins of Christ's kingdom, of which the Acts of the Apostles relate the first and fairest part, are in the pierced hands of our blessed Lord and Saviour, exalted from the cross to the right hand of God," he writes not more beautifully than correctly. But to draw all this from the word "began" here, is (as De Wette and Meyer justly protest) to strain the sense of that word. It is not, indeed, pleonastic, but means simply (as in a great many similar cases where a *course of continuous speech or action* is intended) "proceeded" to say or to do (Matt. xii. 1; Luke xiii. 25; 2 Cor. iii. 1, and in this same book, ch. ii. 4)." This is the first criticism on the text of the book which occurs in the Commentary, and it curiously happens to be a characteristic sample of the execution of the whole work, which is remarkable throughout for the happy combination of spirituality of feeling and sound solidity of judgment. The author's Commentaries profess to be both critical and experimental, and they have the great merit of coming fully up in both respects to what they profess.

It must be an interesting and spirit-stirring thing for a commentator of high intellectual and spiritual sensibility, like our author, to pass from the close of the Acts—where the historian leaves the great apostle of the Gentiles "the prisoner of the Lord" in Rome, "dwelling in his own hired house," in daily intercourse with the members of the young Roman Church, and "preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ to all that came in to him"—and to find himself at the next step standing on the threshold of the glorious treatise-epistle which St Paul had only two years before indited for the use of that very church. We can thoroughly sympathise with the feeling of double admiration—both of the great man and his great book—with which he must have passed so directly from the one to the other—each interpreting so richly the other—each illuminating and revealing so brightly all that was deepest and strongest, in the other. And it could scarcely fail to strike him by what a *cablida junctura* the two books are as it were jointed together, that St Luke's summary of the apostle's preaching and teaching, in the very last words of the history, might well be taken as the very motto and key-note of the grand epistle following it? For what is that epistle in its sum and substance but the preaching by the pen instead of the voice of the same kingdom of God—and the teaching or expounding, on a grand and comprehensive and almost systematic scale, of "those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ." If it be asked what these few summary words of the apostle's biographer meant—how much of glorious, gracious truth was indicated by them?—see, here is their meaning fully told in the apostle's own greatest epistle. And if it be asked, what is the main theme and drift of the whole complex epistle?—see, here it is most aptly set forth in a dozen words: "The kingdom of God—the things which concern the Lord Jesus."

"How shall we characterise this wonderful epistle?" exclaims the admiring and sympathetic commentator. "Fragmentary answers to this question—or rather some things which may be accepted in lieu of an answer—have once and again forced themselves out in the course of our exposition, where its depths or its heights would not suffer us to be altogether silent. But we attempt not what cannot but fall below the feeling of every penetrating

and reverential student. While all Scripture has stamped its impress indelibly on the Christian world, perhaps it is not too much to say, that for all the precision and strength which it possesses, and much of the spirituality and the fire which characterise it, the faith of Christendom, in its best periods, has been more indebted to this epistle than to any other portion of the living oracles. It supplies, to a larger extent than most are aware of, both the bone and the marrow of the evangelical system, as handed down from the beginning, and as received in the living church of every name. Its texture is so firm, its every vein so full, its very fibres and ligatures so fine and yet strong, that it requires not only to be surveyed again and again as a whole, and mastered in its primary ideas, but to be dissected in detail, and with unwearied patience studied in its minutest features, before we can be said to have done it justice. Not only every sentence teems with thought, but every clause; while in some places every word may be said either to suggest some weighty thought, or to indicate some deep emotion."

A commentator who writes thus of his author is evidently in the fullest sympathy with his thought and spirit. It only remains to ask, whether he has an equally just and full sense of the exegetic canons which ought to give law to the commentator of such a book?—a book which more than any other, as he has himself truly observed, has been the dogmatic standard of the church's faith. Does his exegesis dogmatise too much or too little? One more extract from the Introduction to the Epistle will satisfy the reader upon this essential point.

"Two opposite errors are to be eschewed by the interpreter of this book of the New Testament. If the theological element absorb too much of his attention, he will be in danger of unconsciously forcing its teaching, or at least of substituting for the simplicity and freshness with which it is here given forth the hardness and dryness of a mere system. But undue jealousy of system, and a marked determination to make every passage speak for itself irrespective of its hearings and connections leads but to laborious trifling; and springing as it does from a lurking disbelief of the unity of Scripture, it only tends to aggravate that evil. At the same time, nothing is more difficult than, in such an exposition, to give the due proportion to each of these elements, the exegetical and the theological. That he has fully succeeded in doing this, the author of the present work is far from pretending. But if there is one feature of it more than another to which he would venture to claim attention, it is the rigidity with which the exegetical element is made throughout the basis of its doctrinal superstructure, and yet the richness and the definiteness of theological teaching which a strict exegesis is seen to yield, and which it is possible to divest to a large extent of its modern technicalities."

The claim which the author puts forward here so modestly he has, in our best judgment, very amply substantiated in the whole conduct of his arduous work. Everywhere we have seen equal reason to admire the conscientious fairness of his exegesis, and the richness and definiteness of the theological teaching which he founds upon its results. Of course his theology has helped much his exegesis, but without distorting it. No doubt, if he had had a less rich and definite theology to bring to the appreciation of the teaching of the epistle, he would have found a much less rich and definite teaching in it. But that would not have been the fault of the epistle. It is only he that hath eyes to see who can see; and if it is only a proficient in mathematical knowledge and perception who can be expected to understand the full meaning of the Principia of Newton, it is only what might be expected, that he should be the best able to interpret the richest and most definite theology anywhere to be found in the Bible who is already a ripe and rich dogmatic theologian. And in this connection we need scarcely remark that Professor Brown keeps a vigilant eye upon all the erroneous

theologies of our own times, and is specially careful to bring the teaching of the Word to bear upon all of these in their turn. This feature increases much the value of his exposition as a handbook for preachers and teachers; and no commentary upon the Scriptures, in any age of the church, can be satisfactory, or indeed even relevant, which does not perform this useful function. As Neander so fully points out in his *Essay on the Importance of the Practical Interpretation of Scripture*, the one great function of the Christian ministry is to *mediate* between the Word of God and the moral and spiritual conditions of every succeeding age. And neither commentators nor preachers fulfil their functions aright who do not make this practical mediation between the human disease and the divine Remedy a prime and steady object of their concern.

There is only one other point in the numerous high merits of this work which we think it indispensable to advert to, viz., the ample evidence it contains of the author's acquaintance with almost all the latest literature of his subject, both British and Continental. His printed list of "Works quoted or referred to" is a very extensive one, and includes almost all the newest works of the foreign press. In the critical department he is specially frequent, and wisely so, in his references to the latest forms of the negative criticism of Germany. We observe numerous strictures of this kind in his treatment of the Acts of the Apostles, where they are chiefly called for. In his treatment of the Epistle to the Romans, we do not find that he has made any use of two recent works which seek to bring out more fully than was ever done before the *occasional* character of this epistle in common with all the rest. We allude to the German volumes of Theodore Schott and Dr Mangold. It has long been too common to ignore this occasional element in the book, in forgetfulness of the fact that it is an epistle to a particular church arising out of particular circumstances to which it carefully applies itself, and not a treatise at large in the proper sense of that term. And no doubt it was the character of the occasion of the epistle which determined very much both its substance and form. The two writers just named have contributed much to the elucidation of the structure of the epistle in this direction. But we cannot go into so large a subject here and now. The handling of the question would better befit a paper on the whole recent literature connected with the Epistle to the Romans, than such a notice as the present of a single exegetical work upon it.

L.

Belief—What is it? or, The Nature of Faith, as determined by the Facts of Human Nature and Sacred History. William Blackwood & Sons. 1869.

This anonymous work, though faulty in style, and not easily read, is no ordinary production. It is remarkable for originality and freshness in many of its chapters, and important for the influence which it cannot fail sooner or later, to have upon the evangelical mind of the country; an influence, which, though sure to be disliked and resisted in the first instance in some quarters in the interest of some long-established conventionalisms of thought and language, will in the end, we are persuaded, be generally acknowledged to be, in the main, wholesome and happy.

"The task attempted in the following chapters," says the author in his preface, "is to make a natural history of religious faith, describing the matters with which religious faith occupies itself, and the mental experience of its dealing with them. The writer has endeavoured to treat the subject purely in this light, avoiding all help or entanglement which might arise in considering faith in connection with any religious or philosophical system; and with the same view, has avoided the use of conventional lan-

guage on the subject, which might be suggestive of theoretical thought. The means of investigation are the authentic history of religious experience contained in the Bible, and the explanatory analogies by which revelation instructs mankind in the nature of the religious relationship."

We regret that the author in the very first sentence of his work, should have made use of so stumbling a phrase as "*a natural history of religious faith*," which will suggest to most readers the idea that he is of opinion, that the life of faith is a pure product of natural forces, and that he has written this volume to prove it. The fact is, that the author holds no such opinion. The theology of his book, though objectionable in some points of importance, is sound and scriptural in its substance and spirit; but the author, while shunning for his own reasons what he deems conventionalisms of divines, should not have so far departed from the understood and established conventions of the mother tongue, as to speak of making "*a natural history*" of that faith which he himself holds with St Paul to be, on one side at least of its origin and history, "*not of ourselves, but the gift of God—the fruit of the Spirit.*"

The method of reasoning adopted in the treatise is exclusively analytical, and in consequence, "the concentrated presentation of result which synthetic statement allows, has had to be sacrificed, and the reader apprehension at different stages of the writer's whole meaning which that facilitates." He therefore very judiciously states, by anticipation, in the preface, the result arrived at, which in his own words is the following:—"If the induction attempted be correct, religious faith cannot be intelligibly defined by any of the conventional terms or short expressions generally used as sufficient in speaking of it, but can only be described by its experienced consciousness, and that man's religious faith is his habitual emotional thinking of the historical manifestations of God's love to him, associating these with the person of the Son of God in such a manner as to make his believing a life, whose essence is union of affection, and of conscious spiritual sympathy with him."

To this, we add here the "author's reason for presenting this description of faith in the form of a lengthened investigation." "Room seems to exist," he thinks, "among writings on the subject of faith, for a somewhat detailed representation of it in non-theological language, from a natural history point of view. Perhaps it is greatly in consequence of a compendious definition of faith being unattainable, that religious teachers have presented it almost always in its connection with systems of doctrine, and have treated of the importance of faith, and the consequences attached to possessing it, without such description of itself as would enable learners to recognise it in their own consciousness. The effect of this, however, is the prevalence of hurtfully indistinct notions respecting this great element of religious life. Very many religious persons have no definite thought of what faith is. Many have a kind of feeling that it is some mysterious possession which those who are in Christ have, and others have not, but which cannot be understood at all by them until they have it. Some are afraid to think upon the subject with the definiteness which they would strive after in any other inquiry. Others, in contrast to this modest but injurious diffidence, make presumptuous assumptions of a faith which is not described in the Word of God. The following pages are meant to be a contribution to that simplicity which belongs to the practice of religion—what we have to do to be saved—as certainly as mystery is to be recognised reverently by human minds in the theology contained in revealed truth."

The author, then, is of opinion that a compendious *definition* of faith is unattainable, and that none of the usual definitions given of it in theological language by religious teachers, in the use of single conventional terms or short expressions, are sufficient to make it intelligible to learners. He

no doubt refers to such terms as *belief*, *trust*, *acquiescence*, *confidence*, *embracing Christ*, *receiving Christ*, *resting on Christ*, and the like, which are all every day current and familiar in religious discourse. He prefers a *description* of faith to any definition of it, and this description should be such as fully to cover the "experienced consciousness" which every true child of God has of faith in his own heart; and the author is farther of opinion that he gives a true *description* of faith—true equally to Scripture teaching and the Christian consciousness, when he describes it as a man's "habitual emotional thinking of the historical manifestations of God's love to him," associating these always and inseparably with the person and work of the Son of God.

Now there is a good deal in these opinions of our author which the "religious teachers" of the country can hardly be expected to hear without surprise. They will be slow to think with him that so familiar a state of the Christian mind as faith does not admit of definition. Why should it not? It is not a mystery of the divine nature or of the divine government. It is not anything in religion of which we are only imperfectly informed, and which we only know now in part. It is a subject which, as he amply shews, has its illustrations and examples in all parts of Scripture; it is a grace which has its home in every sanctified soul. Why, then, should a compendious definition of it be unattainable? We remain of opinion, after reading all that the author has written upon the point, that the definition of faith in our Shorter Catechism is as good, and adequate, and scriptural a definition as any of the other admirable definitions contained in that compendium. Nor will it be thought by many, we predict, that the *subjective* side of the description given us of faith by the author (in lieu of a definition) is a very definite and intelligible account of it. Faith, he tells us, is a *habitual emotional thinking* of so and so. These are very large and vague terms, not in the least definitive or distinctive—"Emotional thinking," we are told the thinking is to be, but this is a very inadequate determination of its quality. For what particular emotions or affections of the soul are intended? Not surely all or any emotions or affections whatsoever. And what is the form of thinking intended? Not surely all forms of intellectual action, whether of the judgment, or the memory, or the imagination, or the associative power. Thinking on religious things may be either believing thinking, or unbelieving, or disbelieving, and in all three cases alike it may be *emotional*, i.e. accompanied with feeling or affection—either of love or hate—either of complacency or repugnance.

The author is much happier, we think, in the *objective* part of his description of faith, and it is the copious and rich illustrations of this side of the subject which he brings from Scripture and the analogies of family life, which constitute, in our view, the chief value of his work. A man's religious faith, he writes, takes hold of, or has regard to, "the historical manifestations of God's love to him"—especially, and above all, in the person and work of the Son of God. "The subject with which religious faith is to occupy itself as its peculiar business is a restricted one. It is God's exceptional affection towards mankind. What we may call the key-words of revelation, which all its histories, promises, and forms of assurance expressed, are "God so loved the world." Our religious thoughts are directed, not to God's nature, but to the facts and assurances of his love to man; and what thoughts are given to us of his natural attributes are presented to us in connection with that—the essential contemplation of our religion—his love to man, enhancing to our feelings its sureness, or its extent, or its tenderness." "Inseparable from the subject of thought revealed to religious faith is the manner of the revelation. The form employed by God of making his love known to mankind is essentially a *history* of what it has done; and, in being so, is in exact accordance with what he tells us, that his nature is above our investigation. The revelation was of a

Person, assuring them of his love, but a Person declared not by attributes but by actions, the description of whose love was not a philosophical connection of it with his essential nature, but a history of its manifested care over individuals or peoples. . . . To believers, to the end of time, the name of Jesus is to be a word calling up not attributes but a specific history, the centre portion of which is a human biography. Such a faith the apostles called Jews and heathens alike to, and that by divine direction—their argument being prescribed to them: "Jesus Christ and him crucified."

The illustration and verification of these statements, both of the great object of religious faith and of the historical manner in which it is mainly held forth in the revelation of God's truth, constitute a large proportion of the author's work, and, in our judgment, much the most valuable portion of it. We have long felt the importance of the distinction here drawn between the formulated doctrines of the Christian theology and the historical persons and facts and events made known in the original Christian revelation. It has undoubtedly been too common to put an abstract theological Christianity in the place of the personal Christ and the concrete historical action or work of Christ; and the author is unquestionably in the right when he holds that "the well marked way in which faith in God's love has been *learned* by man—viz., in contemplation of that truth as it appears in the history of it—must determine much what manner of *teaching* is expedient in man's endeavours to extend the faith. The teaching should essentially be historical as distinguished from doctrinal. It should be chiefly the facts and the expressions of the word of salvation. . . . These facts and words of God's own representation of saving truth, and not doctrines logically arranged by man out of all the materials afforded by the Word, are the knowledge which faith feels its possession of—the effective help to the human soul to "have the Lord ever before it." Systems of doctrine do not carry the same life, the same conviction of reality, with them to man's recognition. Containing always a mixture of other language with the Bible's language of facts—containing also, unavoidably perhaps, as history would seem to teach, a mixture of human theory with Scriptural facts . . . they fail in coming home."

Thoughts of this kind are, we are persuaded, as seasonable as they are just; and they are thoughts, besides, which are at this day striving for utterance in many minds. The author has given to them here a very able, full, and convincing expression and verification; and, in this regard, we commend his work to the special attention of "religious teachers" of all churches and of all degrees. The author is worthy to be a teacher of teachers—a man of original mind, of fine culture, and of high spirituality. L.

The Testimony of the Catacombs and of other Monuments of Christian Art, from the second to the eighteenth century, concerning questions of doctrine now disputed in the Church. By the Rev. WHARTON B. MARIOTT, B.D., F.S.A., sometime Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, and Assistant Master at Eton; Select Preacher, &c. London: Hatchards, 187 Piccadilly. 1870.

This volume consists of three parts or essays—1. Monuments of Christian Art from the second to the eighteenth century, illustrating the gradual development of the cultus of the Virgin Mary. 2. Monuments of Christian Art, having reference to the supremacy claimed for the See of Rome. 3. The Autun Inscription, having reference to the Sacrament of Baptism and of Holy Communion, and to the state of the faithful after death.

The first part or essay is a review of a work by Rev. J. S. Northcote, D.D., President of St Mary's College, Oscott, and Rev. W. R. Brownlow, M.A., entitled, "Roma Sotterranea; or, Some Account of the Roman Cata-

combs. Compiled from the works of Commendatore de Rossi." What the author censures in that work is, that the authors have sought as their special object to find in the monuments of primitive Christianity testimony on behalf of modern Romanism; and he joins issue with them on three controverted questions, for which they invoke the evidence of these early monuments—the worship due, according to the Church of Rome, to the mother of our Lord; the supremacy claimed by the Roman See; and the doctrine of the Sacraments, particularly that of the mass.

In the first essay he takes up the question of the evidence afforded by the early monuments in regard to the worship of the Virgin Mary. The monuments to which he confines his remarks are the rude frescoes upon the walls of the catacombs or places of Christian sepulture at Rome, which in all probability date from a time but little later than the age of the apostles; and the mosaic pictures, dating from the close of the fourth century onwards, which cover the walls of some of the oldest churches of Rome and Ravenna. In opposition to Dr Northcote and his coadjutor, he establishes in the most satisfactory manner, that, as regards the pictures on the catacombs, they furnish no evidence whatever that religious worship was yielded at the periods to which they relate to the mother of our Lord. He establishes with equal clearness that the mosaic decorations of the churches at Rome and Ravenna, exhibit not the slightest evidence, even at the close of the sixth century, of idolatrous worship having been offered to any creature whatsoever. But in the eighth century there are indications of religious homage having been paid to the Virgin Mary; and in the ninth, she was represented as a queen on a gorgeous throne, bearing the infant Saviour on her knees, wearing a royal crown upon her head, and adorned with all the insignia of royalty, a conspicuous object for the worship of the faithful. It was only in that century that a pictorial representation of the doctrine of the assumption of the Virgin Mary, that is, her ascent into heaven body and soul together, the anniversary of which is celebrated in the Church of Rome on the 15th of August, obtained a distinguished place upon the walls of a Roman church.

In the next essay in the volume the author traces the gradual development, as revealed in different monuments, of the power of the Bishop of Rome, till as Pope he came to claim and to be regarded as God's viceroy on earth, in whose person was invested supreme power both temporal and spiritual.

The third essay is a dissertation on an inscription in Greek, a language of which the writer evidently had no common command, found in the year 1839 buried in the soil of an ancient cemetery in the immediate vicinity of the town of Autun, once the capital of Gallia *Æduensis*, and believed to belong to about the year 400. The inscription, in which some Roman Catholic writers have attempted to find conclusive evidence of the doctrine of the Real Presence as having been held in the second century, according to the date they assign to it, the author understands as written on the tomb of a Christian youth who is represented as addressing his friends in symbolical language, which simply amounts to an exhortation to faith and a holy life, and to the expression of his strong confidence in Christ's saving presence in death.

Mr Marriott is a trustworthy guide. To him these archæological inquiries are evidently a very captivating pursuit. He writes with a full mastery of his subject; and in tracing the gradual development of the worship of the Virgin Mary and of the Papal supremacy, he triumphantly refutes such writers as attempt to find in the earliest Christian monuments testimonies in favour of these leading doctrines of the Roman Church. These monuments, which are to be found "in the principal cities of Italy, in Southern France, and here and there in parts of Africa and of the East,"

and which date from nearly the age of the apostles onward to the close of the fourteenth century, are of the most varied kind, consisting of "frescoes, mosaic pictures, sepulchral inscriptions, sculptured sarcophagi, carvings in ivory, ornamental glass, illuminated books, coins, medals, works in bronze and other metals." We are struck with a pleasing surprise at the remarkable manner in which they reflect the prevailing tone and the distinguishing characteristics of the successive centuries from which they date, constituting a "pictorial history of Western Christendom," for many centuries. To the student of Christian antiquities who would obtain an accurate view of early Christian history, this volume is of great value; and it will serve as a corrective of those writers who, from their Roman tendencies, would, by the grossest perversion, convert the discoveries made in this department of archaeological research into the means of proving the early reception in the Christian Church of certain popish articles which were unknown to the church for centuries after the commencement of the Christian era. The interest of the work is much enhanced by woodcuts and photographs of some of the most curious and instructive frescoes and mosaic pictures, which are described by the author.

The Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics. Translated from the German of Dr E. ZELLER, Professor of the University of Heidelberg. By OSWALD J. REICHEL, B.C.L. and M.A., Vicar of Sparsholt, Vice-Principal of Cuddesden College, and sometime Scholar of Queen's College, Oxford. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1870.

Dr Zeller's work entitled "Socrates and the Socratic Schools," translated into English by Mr Reichel,—a work forming an introduction to the real philosophy of Greece as it found expression in the systems of Plato and Aristotle,—has been favourably received. This volume, which takes up the systems of philosophy that were formed posterior to the times of Plato and Aristotle, displaying as it does the same thorough knowledge of the subjects treated, and the same power of presenting them in an attractive form, will, we doubt not, meet with an equally cordial welcome.

The Stoical, Epicurean, and Sceptical systems of philosophy were in full vogue in the time of Christ and his apostles; and they continued to flourish till about the close of the second century from the birth of Christ, when Neoplatonism, which professed to adopt what was truth from every sect, and to arrange the whole into one comprehensive system, arose and became so popular as rapidly to eclipse every other system of philosophy, and to maintain its place for several centuries. These systems, while they existed and flourished, much obstructed the progress of the gospel and its embracement by persons of rank and learning, as appears from the contempt in which the philosophers of Athens and Corinth held Paul's doctrine and the manner of his preaching. But the Neoplatonic philosophy proved far more injurious to the Christian faith than these systems; for, having been admired and adopted by many Christian teachers of the first name, it corrupted the simplicity of its heavenly doctrines, and imported into it opinions wholly at variance with the teaching of inspiration.

The greater part of this volume is occupied with discussions on the philosophy of the Stoics. In examining their system of philosophy, we naturally first inquire what were its conceptions concerning God; and on this point Dr Zeller supplies us with ample information, affording a melancholy proof of the truth of the statement of the apostle, that "the world by wisdom knew not God," and shewing that many of our modern free-thinkers do not essentially differ from the Stoics in their conceptions of a God; the conceptions of both being pantheistic, and consequently atheistic. According to the Stoics, there was no difference between God and original matter; both were one and the same thing. They maintained that reality

belongs only to the world of matter ; that everything really existing must be matter. How then did they conceive of God ? They distinguished in what was material two component parts,—the part which is acted upon and the part which acts, or, in other words, *matter* and *force*. To matter alone, they held, belonged real existence ; but the characteristic of real existence they sought in the capacity to act and to be acted upon ; a capacity regarded by them as belonging to matter by virtue of certain inherent qualities. God, therefore, was simply matter conceived of as acting, the force that resides in matter as such, and that fashions it into the various forms which it assumes or presents. Heat or fire was the power to which the life and existence of the world were to be referred. This power the Stoics conceived of as being the soul of the world, as being God himself. When, therefore, in speaking of God they made use of different terms, such as reason, soul of the universe, destiny, providence, fire, ether, or even the universe, they meant, not what we usually understand by these terms, but simply the force resident in matter, and not different from it. It is, therefore, evident that the philosophy of the Stoics was strictly pantheistic, involving the denial of a personal God, and spurning the idea of an eternal God calling into existence a temporal world. From the pantheism of the system necessarily followed the Stoical doctrine of necessity or fate, for everything was considered as resulting from the unchangeable operation of the divine force which acts upon the world, producing what it does by an absolute necessity, so that nothing can happen different from the way in which it has happened under given circumstances. Nor does divine providence extend to individuals taken by themselves, but only in so far as they form part of the universe. It is hardly necessary to say that the conclusions to which many rationalists, who claim to be scientific thinkers, arrive in our own day are exactly similar.

The Stoics were especially proud of their system of ethics, the theory of which was entirely based on the principles that virtue is not only the greatest good, but the alone good, and that vice alone is evil. Neither health, nor riches, nor honours, nor even life itself was regarded by them as a good ; nor poverty, pain, sickness, disgrace, and death as evils. They, therefore, held that we ought not to be affected with joy on account of the former, nor with grief on account of the latter. A uniform calm tranquillity of mind constituted, in their estimation, the glory of human nature, and this led them to affect what is plainly at variance with the constitution of human nature, and with the example and teaching of Christ, a proud insensibility under the calamities of life.

The discussions in the volume on the Epicureans and the Sceptics occupy a much smaller space than those on the Stoics, but they are not less interesting and instructive. The learned author authenticates his statements throughout by numerous footnotes, consisting chiefly of quotations from the works of the most eminent of the philosophers of the different schools which pass under review.

Colloquia Peripatetica. By the late JOHN DUNCAN, LL.D., Professor of Hebrew in the New College, Edinburgh. Second Edition. Edinburgh : Edmonston & Douglas. 1870.

"This little volume," writes the compiler of it in his prefatory note, "is a mere collection of fragments—deep-sea soundings, we may call them. They skirt the margin of many great questions, and enter the very heart of others. Casually, and sometimes fitfully, the plummet is let down ; and, while the water is deep, you feel that he has either touched the bottom, or reported why he cannot reach it." For the gathering of such fragments, the preserving of such occasional soundings, we feel deeply grateful to the

Rev. William Knight of Dundee, who has done his work lovingly and well. Dr John Duncan was, in the estimate of all who knew him, a remarkable man,—remarkable for clear far-seeing vision, giant grasp of intellect, profound learning, these gifts and acquirements being harmonised and heightened by deep piety of heart and life. Of all this, however, the literary outcome was small and somewhat disappointing; so that the reputation of the Rabbi—as his students loved to call him—was much greater within a limited circle than anything he gave to the public, or did in public, might seem to justify. This arose partly from a peculiarity in the structure of Dr Duncan's mind, which unfitted him for public appearances, partly from the absence of method which, along with an inveterate shrinking from the manual labour of composition, characterised him to the end of life, and which has given rise to many anecdotes regarding the absent-minded Professor. Hence it is that we do not expect ever to possess more than fragments—fly-leaves, so to speak, of the “breathing library of wisdom,” which Mr Knight says so truly has perished with him.

But of these let us by all means have as many as possible. Their suggestive value is beyond all price. In the region of insight what could be finer than this: “A lady once said to me, ‘The more I see of myself, I see nothing so properly mine as my sin.’ I said to her, ‘Well, you do not see deep enough. There is something far more properly yours than your sin; and your sin is improperly yours. It is a blot in your being, which, if you do not get quit of it, will never cease to be *unnatural* to you. No, the image of God is more properly yours, though you had no share in the production of it.” Very many pious people do not rise high enough in their anthropology. They ascend to the fall, and forget the higher fact that we fell from a height where we were fitted to dwell, and where we were intended to remain. And Jesus Christ has come that He might raise us even higher than to that height, and make us sit in the “super-celestials” with Himself.

Dr Duncan's strictures upon theories and schemes, philosophic and theological, are often most felicitous. We refer more particularly to his remarks upon Sir W. Hamilton's theory of the Infinite, Mansel's doctrine of Nescience, Augustine's theory of Evil, and Jonathan Edwards' “love of Being” definition of Virtue. Some of the shorter aphoristic utterances preserved in this volume are very fine, shewing marvellous powers of analysis combined with a rare felicity of expression; while others indicate a breadth of view and a range of sympathy which lead us to rank the peripatetic theologian among the catholic order of intellects. From Hegelianism to Photography, from Chrysostom to Carlyle, from Kantianism to Plymouthism, from Satan, ghosts, and angels to ritualists and seceders, he passed with a readiness and fulness of information which betoken perfect mastery and thorough acquaintance. When referring to and quoting Newman's well-known hymn [why does “W. K.” not give the two lines correctly?], Dr Duncan calls him “the subtle devout man.” We have sometimes thought that of living men Newman is the one to whom we would most readily compare the late Free Church Professor. Subtlety, devoutness, learning, catholicity (other and higher than Roman), these are to be found in John Henry Newman; and they were strikingly exhibited in John Duncan. Whether or not our readers accept of this comparison, certain we are they will enjoy this volume of what the compiler calls “deep-sea soundings,” but of what Dr Duncan, with the humility of his great child-heart, would probably have called “babblings in the dark.”

English Derived from Hebrew; with Glances at Greek and Latin. By R. GOVERT. London: S. W. Partridge & Co. 1869.

This is an ingenious, if not quite successful, attempt to shew that
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English is derived from Hebrew. The origin of the work is thus described by the author: "Professor Max Muller, in his lectures on language, having shown that several of our common English words are derived from the Sanscrit, it struck me to inquire, What would be the result of tracing the obligations of the English language to the Hebrew? And, having gone into this matter to some extent, I now believe that *English is derived from the Hebrew*."

"Dean Alford supposes that the Celtic, Hebrew, Arabic, Persian, and Spanish jointly contribute some five per cent. of words to our native tongue. As the result of my inquiry, I should be inclined to say that there are not five per cent. of SAXON words which cannot be traced to the HEBREW. I wish, however, not to theorise, but to present the reader with examples from which he can deduce his own conclusions."

In his mode of presenting these examples, Mr Govett is very racy, and therefore interesting. He is always confident, and never tedious. If his statements sometimes are not very instructive, they are often highly amusing. We give a specimen from chapter third, which is taken up with words relating to "The Dwellings of Men":—

"We move on into the SALOON, and notice the WINDOW with its diamond squares of GLASS, and its old-fashioned HASP. The word SALOON seems to us at once to arise out of SaLHOON,¹ 'a table'—it being the great centre of the room, the place of meals. The WINDOW we derive from ID(ו),² 'to perceive, to see.' In English, W is generally prefixed to words beginning with this Hebrew letter. The Hebrew word is the parent of many other words which will suggest themselves to the scholar. The GLASS comes from GLaS,³ 'to shine, to glisten.' The HASP, from HaSB,⁴ 'to contrive, a contrivance.'

"In the centre is the TABLE. At the side of the room are the SHELVES, and one broad SLAB for the sideboard. These three words own as their parent the Hebrew SLaB,⁵ 'a ledge, a border.' The B changed into F gives SHELF. The S is exchanged for T by the Chaldee; and from the two other letters transposed we get 'Tabula,' table. Thence also, I suppose, we obtain our 'sleeve,' and the Irish name for a flat-topped mountain, *Slieve*, as 'Slieve-Bloom'; while the French also own the *Salève*, as one of the lower mountains adjacent to Mont Blanc. The *lip* and *lap* come from the same root, the S omitted."

From this specimen, it will be seen that the author's method is too dashing to be strictly scientific. He sometimes also derives an English word alternatively from two or three Hebrew words, a clear and admitted proof of the want of certainty in his system, if system it can be called. Indeed, he does not appear to be always guided by sound or settled principles in that changing and transposing, adding and omitting of letters to which he has recourse, in tracing an English word to its supposed root or roots in Hebrew. It is not to be expected that judicious readers will be persuaded by the fanciful, vague, and indefinite arguments which are the result of so capricious a mode of procedure. On the contrary, the employment of such proofs is fitted to weaken the relative force of those that are intrinsically legitimate and valid.

The whole materials brought forward in the work, after setting aside those that on the face of them are without solidity, are far from being sufficient to maintain the position taken up by the author, that *all but five per cent. of the words of the English language are derived from the Hebrew*. Notwithstanding, enough, and more than enough, remains to demonstrate that the relation between English and Hebrew is not only real but extensive.

D. N.

The United States of America. A History. By ROBERT MACKENZIE. London: T. Nelson & Sons, Paternoster Row; Edinburgh, and New York. 1870.

The absence of all references to authorities, of footnotes or appendices the placing of important dates down the side of the pages in bold figuring, and the breaking up of the contents of the book into short chapters, these things all indicate that Mr Mackenzie's history is intended to serve a popular purpose. Were it not for the ornamental style of the binding, with its sketch of the *Mayflower*, and of the granite boulder on which the pilgrims stepped in 1620, one might suppose that it was intended for school as well as popular use; and possibly to such a use it may afterwards be turned by the enterprising publishers, who will then place it in simpler and lighter boards. Regarding it in a popular and educational light, we give the volume our hearty commendation.

Of the United States, up to this time we have not had a concise history, such as young people and general readers would care to open. What little was known of American history in our schoolboy days, was gathered in a fragmentary and vague way from the lives of Columbus, Franklin, and Washington, a mode of learning history which manifestly leaves many blanks unfilled up, many chapters unread.

In the course of some 278 pages, Mr Mackenzie takes his readers from the discovery of the continent in 1492, down to the amendment of the constitution on the 30th of March in this year of grace. Of the four books into which the history is divided, the first and second acquaint us with the colonising of the land, and the formation of the nation; while in the third and fourth, we have traced for us, in succinct statement, the beginning of internal troubles connected with King Cotton, the war of secession, and the emerging therefrom of re-united America. Apparently more interested in the later than in the earlier part of this undertaking, and perhaps on that account more successful in the general treatment of it, our author has evidently given conscientious labour to his work in all its divisions; and never, so far as a careful perusal enables us to judge, has he secured pictorial effect at the expense of accuracy.

As it is supposed to be the duty, if not the delight of the critic, to find fault with something, it may be permitted us to hint, that occasionally the historian is lost sight of in the politician, and we have history-writing which will find favour only with the admirers of Thorold Rogers of this country, and Goldwin Smith in America. With one of such pronounced liberal views (some would employ a much stronger term to describe our author's school of politics), it is evident that Monarchy, even when limited, finds little favour, and Kingcraft none at all. Perhaps the republican sympathies and proclivities of our author will secure for his history such cordial welcome on the other side the Atlantic as more than to neutralise any evil resulting from offence given to British royalists and conservatives.

In the matter of style Mr Mackenzie is graphic in the arranging of his material, and correct in the structure of his sentences. Not unfrequently we think, grace and rhythm are sacrificed to terseness by a number of extremely short sentences occurring in succession. Thus, in describing the antecedents of Benjamin Franklin, Mr Mackenzie writes:—"He kept a small stationer's shop. He edited a newspaper. He was a bookbinder. He made ink. He sold rags, soap, and coffee." Surely the information conveyed in these five sentences, might have been woven into a single and not too long verbal tissue. But our author has evidently a love for short chapters of two or three pages, and short sentences of three or four words; and if he cares to vindicate his preference by affirming that, for popular

and educational purposes, this extreme of brevity is better than its opposite our fault finding is at an end.

As indicating our high appreciation of the historical merits and the literary attractions of the volume, we have no hesitation in assuring teachers, that in its present form, it furnishes them with a most readable prize-book, while, in the form we hope soon to see it assume, it will form an admirable text-book of American history. We trust our assurance of the sincerity with which we bestow this praise, which school-books as a rule do not merit, will induce Mr Mackenzie to devote some portion of the few leisure hours a mercantile life affords to other historical pursuits.

Fiji and the Fijians. By THOMAS WILLIAMS. *And Missionary Labours among the Cannibals; extended with Notices of Recent Events.* By JAMES CALVERT. Edited by GEORGE STRINGER ROWE. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 27 Paternoster Row. 1870.

The Fiji islands, situated in the South Pacific, which comprise not fewer than two hundred and twenty-five, though only eighty are inhabited, and which surpass most other groups in the Pacific, both in extent of surface and in the largeness of the population, were first discovered by Abel Jansen Tasman, a Dutch navigator, in the year 1643. It was not till about the year 1806 that these islands were visited for the purposes of commerce, &c. For a long time our only information regarding them and their inhabitants was derived from those so engaged, who were chiefly American. But from the exploring expedition of the United States, from the voyages of British ships of war, and especially from the work before us, fuller and more accurate knowledge on the subject has been obtained.

The Fiji islands eastward are small and much resemble each other, but those lying westward are large and diversified. "So beautiful was their aspect," says Commodore Wilkes, "that I could scarcely bring my mind to the realising sense of the well-known fact that they were the abode of a savage, ferocious, and treacherous race of cannibals." The inhabitants of the Fiji islands have been estimated by some authorities at 300,000. Mr Williams limits their number at about 150,000, an estimate which is probably nearer the truth. But it is calculated that within the last fifty years the population has diminished one third, and in some districts one half, both on the coast and in the interior, in consequence, it is believed, of the ravages of war, and of the murderous customs of heathenism.

This volume consists of two parts, 1st, *The Islands and their Inhabitants*; embracing the origin and polity of the people, war as conducted among them, their industrial produce, their manners and customs, their religion, and their language; and, 2dly, *The History of Missionary Enterprise* in these Islands, forming, from its commencement, scarcely thirty-five years ago to the present time, a record of evangelising success so astonishing as to resemble the history of the church in the age of the apostles rather than in our own day.

To shew the mighty results which have been achieved by the preaching of the gospel among these savage islanders, we would quote the summary account given by Mr Calvert. "Thirty-five years have not yet passed," he writes, "since the two first missionaries landed in the Fiji islands, and the labourers ever since have been few; yet the change effected is marvelously great, beyond precedent in modern times. The Gospel, proclaimed in a straightforward and earnest way, has done its old work. The Spirit has accompanied the truth with His convincing and transforming power; and the result on a grand scale is manifest, real, and deep. Cruel practices and degrading superstitions have been greatly lessened. Thousands have been converted, have borne persecution and trial well, maintained good

conduct, and died happy. Marriage is sacred, the Sabbath regarded, family worship regularly conducted, schools established generally, slavery abolished or mitigated, the foundation of law and government laid, and many spiritual churches formed. A native ministry is raised up for every branch of the church's work. The language has been reduced to written form, a grammar and dictionaries have been printed; 22,000 copies of the New Testament and 5,000 of the completed Scriptures have been supplied, and, for the most part, purchased by the native converts; catechisms with Scripture proofs, reading-books, a large edition of Bunyan's 'Pilgrim's Progress,' two editions of a valuable System of Christian Theology, and hymns, have been widely circulated and profitably used. The returns of the Fiji district in 1869 are,—391 preaching places, 13 missionaries, 1 English school-master, 44 native assistant missionaries, 839 catechists, 2,266 day-school teachers, 2,541 Sabbath-school teachers, 494 local preachers, 2,260 class-leaders, 20,348 full and accredited church members, 5,900 on trial for membership, 914 Sabbath schools, 51,159 Sabbath scholars, 1,524 day schools, 51,125 day scholars, 105,947 attendants on public worship."

A Critical English New Testament: Presenting at one view the Authorised Version and the Results of the Criticism of the Original Text. London: Samuel Bagster & Sons. 1870.

The end contemplated by those who have issued this publication, and the way in which they have sought to attain it, are described by themselves as follows:—

"The design of the publishers in this edition of the English New Testament is the employment of that version as a ground-work on which to exhibit the results of the criticism of the original text, for the use of the general reader.

"For this purpose, they have taken the following critical texts to furnish the readings which have been thus exhibited; those, namely, of Lachmann; of Tischendorf, in his last completed edition; of the Two-fold New Testament, slightly altered in some places, on a careful review; of Alford, as finally given in the abridgment of his larger work; and of Tregelles, as far as it has been already published.

"With each variation from the common reading, those of the above-named critical texts are cited in which such variation has been adopted; and, in addition, the principal documents by which it is supported, whenever such citation has been deemed material.

"OMISSIONS from the common text are marked by brackets. INSERTIONS are printed in Italics, and enclosed in brackets. VARIATIONS are indicated thus: | her first-born son: *a son* |."

The plan adopted, and executed by the eminent publishers with their usual care, exhibits with clearness, distinctness, and neatness, and with great brevity, the differences between the Authorised Version on the one hand and the five texts, set up as the standards of modern criticism, on the other. But, what we call in question is, Whether it is justifiable, under cover of making a comparison, summarily to assume that the five texts selected are to be received as the standards of the results of modern criticism. No account is taken of texts containing only one or a few books of the New Testament. Nevertheless, it stands to reason that, the *more extensive* the field, there is necessarily the *less time* available for the minute and satisfactory examination of its several parts. Take, for example, the case of Dean Alford's text of the whole New Testament with its various readings. Bishop Ellicott, in one of his small but very valuable critical commentaries on some of the Epistles of Paul, well says that, supposing Dean Alford to have devoted to the examination of his various readings all the time at his disposal after the discharge of his official

duties, he could not, on an average, have given more than a quarter of an hour to the consideration of each of these various readings. But the time available to him for the examination must, in reality, have been less than that stated; for, as is well-known, the Dean does not limit his labours to his official duties. We ask, then, Is it right to set up the hurried and hasty judgment of any man, however great his abilities and learning, at once as one of the highest standards in a matter so important?

Moreover, whatever may have been the design of this publication, its direct tendency and effect—as may be seen at a glance and ascertained by continued inspection—is, to present the Authorised Version to the mind of the general reader under the greatest disadvantage. At the bottom of the page, the first place is indeed assigned to the reading in Greek of the “Rec.” Text. Nothing, however, is added to support it, or even to hint that ought can be adduced to support it, in that place of honour. While, on the contrary, the five competitors are not simply arrayed in opposition, but also supported by the letters and figures usually employed in quoting the ancient codices of the sacred Scriptures. To take a single example:—we observe that in the famous disputed passage, 1 Tim. iii. 16, the reading is given thus:—“Great is the mystery of godliness: | God: *who* | was manifest in the flesh.” Here no reference is made to the fact that the Sinaitic manuscript of Tischendorf—one of the oldest and best—has clearly *eu*, God, as in our version. The effect, designed or not, which the whole is fitted to produce on the mind of the general reader, is unfavourable, as it is unfair, to the Authorised Version.

Daybreak in Spain; or, Sketches of Spain and its New Reformation. A Tour of Two Months. By Rev. J. A. WYLIE, LL.D., author of “The Papacy,” “Pilgrimage from the Alps to the Tyber,” &c., &c. Cassel, Petter, and Galpin, London and New York.

We consider this to be one of the most important and interesting works of the present day. Though the startling news of the Franco-German war have occupied the minds of all for these two months, almost to the exclusion of everything else, still the remembrance of the present aspect and future destiny of Spain cannot fail to recur at every lull of the tremendous contest; and recur, too, as not unconnected either with its origin or its issues. We refer not now to the mere fact of the Hohenzollern proposal. We cannot forget that this notable affair was only one of the results of a previous revolution, which involved the deposition of the reigning majesty of Spain, and which now threatens an entire change in its constitution. No intelligent observer of the signs of the times can fail to experience the deepest anxiety to know the part which Spain is likely to play in the stirring drama of continental revolution. To such the pages of Dr Wylie's new book must afford matter of serious study, and cannot fail to suggest much thoughtful reflection. They are the result of the author's personal observation during a late tour in that interesting country; and like the other works of that talented writer, they are full of graphic delineations, which add greatly to the effect of the solid and judicious remarks with which they are interspersed. Had our space permitted, we should have gladly transferred to our pages some of the more salient passages, such as the Ecceñal, and the new scenes witnessed at Madrid. This is decidedly one of Dr Wylie's best works, and likely to prove most successful. The publishers have spared no pains in the numerous illustrations with which it is embellished. Altogether, it is a beautiful book, and will go far to enhance the popularity which Dr Wylie has earned, more especially in England, where his works have met with distinguished celebrity.

Ante-Nicene Christian Library. The writings of Methodius, Alexander of Lycopolis, Peter of Alexandria, and several fragments. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 38 George Street. London: Hamilton & Co. Dublin: John Robertson & Co. 1869.

Methodius, Bishop of Tyre, who suffered martyrdom in the year of our Lord 312, had the reputation of being a very learned man, and was the author of various works, of which the greater number has been lost. Here is given the "Banquet of Virgins," the only complete work of this father which has been transmitted to our time. It is throughout eulogistic of a virginal life, which, in correspondence with the sentiments in favour of celibacy, prevalent in his time, he pronounces "the best and noblest manner of life," "the root of immortality, and also its flower and first fruits." To this performance are added various fragments, by the same author, of which the principal are the portions still extant, of his discourses on the resurrection, in opposition to Origen, who maintained, that in punishment of the fall the body is given as a fetter to the soul, which, in a pre-existent state, lived without a body; and that the resurrection promised, is not the restoration of the same flesh, but simply of the form of each man's corporeal frame, as it now appears, stamped upon another spiritual body.

The treatise of Alexander, Bishop of Lycopolis, who lived in the beginning of the fourth century, against the Manichean opinions, especially the leading tenet that matter is essentially evil, is a sound and sufficiently complete refutation. Having been an adherent of the sect himself, he had peculiar means of communicating information concerning it; and he may be regarded as here presenting the arguments and train of reasoning by which he was convinced of its errors.

In this place, we gladly embrace the opportunity offered of speaking in terms of the highest commendation of the whole series to which this volume belongs. The Messrs Clark have rendered great service to theology, by furnishing English readers with such an immense treasure as that of the Ante-Nicene fathers; and we cannot but refer generally to the excellent style in which the translations have been executed, under the learned superintendence of Dr Roberts and Dr Donaldson.

Men of Faith; or, Sketches from the Book of Judges. By LUKE H. WISMAN, M.A., Author of "Christ in the Wilderness," &c. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 27 Paternoster Row. 1870.

In this volume the author gives a general view of that important period of the history of the Hebrew people during which they were governed by judges—by those extraordinary persons whom God at different periods was pleased to raise up to deliver them from their oppressors, to suppress the idolatry into which they so often fell, to reform their manners, and to administer justice. He then takes up the history and character of four of the most eminent of the judges whose exploits are recorded by the inspired writer, and who are commemorated in the Epistle to the Hebrews as men of faith,—Barak, Gideon, Jephthah, and Samson.

In the selection of his subjects from the wide field to which they relate, the author has displayed a wise discrimination; and while uniformly studying brevity, he handles every topic with much ability and in a forcible style, which not infrequently rises to a masculine eloquence. He has mastered the drift and spirit of the sacred narrative, and has thrown much light on a part of the history of God's ancient people, which, though very interesting and replete with varied lessons of instruction, is perhaps less studied than the other inspired portions of their history.

The Blessed Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, regarded from a Layman's point of View. By DANIEL BIDDLE, Author of "the Spirit Controversy," &c. Williams & Norgate, 14 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London; and 20 South Frederick Street, Edinburgh. 1870.

"I trust," says the author of this volume in the preface, "that an indulgent public will pardon the obtrusion upon their notice of the following work, coming as it does from one who cannot speak with the authority conferred by office, but who must depend for a hearing, solely upon the rationality of his arguments. I may plead, in excuse, the example of several eminent men, such as Chillingworth and Wilberforce, who, as laymen, wrote works which have been none the less warmly cherished by the Church for whose benefit they were penned. Nay, I may plead the example of St Luke, who, though belonging to the same profession as myself, and being strictly a layman, was permitted to contribute more towards the store of gospel truth, than any of the apostles even, except St John and St Paul."

The author needed not to make any apology on the ground of his being a layman for the publication of a volume which recommends itself by its own intrinsic merits. The whole subject of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper he has carefully investigated in the light of Scripture, and the result is, the production of a masterly and very instructive treatise on one of the most sacred rites of our religion, in regard to which it is important in these days of ritualism and rationalism, that every Christian should have accurate conceptions.

Works of the late Rev. James Hamilton, D.D., F.L.S. Nisbet & Co., London.

This valuable collection of "Golden Remains," has now reached the fourth volume, and in point of size, typography, and style of "getting up," is everything that could be wished. It cannot fail to be a most acceptable publication to ministers and others who wish to possess a library edition of works so precious and in many respects so unique, although it is likely that the general public will still prefer to have the separate works in the small, neat form in which they originally learned to love them. No editor's name has yet appeared on the title page, and the anonymous editor would have done well to have given us a little more editing in the last volume, which is a reprint of a great many short pieces, single sermons, contributions to periodicals, lectures, &c., which first appeared at very different and distant dates. Although the pieces are arranged in chronological order, we could have wished each and all of them, instead of only some, to have borne an exact date, and, where desirable, to have been accompanied with a brief note of the occasion on which each piece was originally written. But we are still more solicitous about the editing of the remaining volumes of the series, which are to consist of a selection from the unpublished discourses of the lamented author. The respected publishers will, we hope, be alive to the great responsibility involved in the task of making such a selection; and to the reasonableness of our expectation, that they will give the Christian world a guarantee for the judiciousness and good taste of what is done, by publishing the name of the editor whom they may call to their assistance.

